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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

OCTOBER, 1835, ... JANUARY, 1836.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. LXII.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND COMPANY,

FOR LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMAN, LONDON; AND ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, EDINBURGH.

1836.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1835.

No. CXXV.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of Lord Bolingbroke.* By GEORGE WINGROVE COOKE, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1835.

THE fate of Lord Bolingbroke affords a signal instance of the instability of fortune, and precariousness of fame. Few persons have experienced greater or more sudden vicissitudes. From the height of power in England, with the fairest prospects before him, he was reduced within a few months to the condition of an attainted exile. In one short year he was Secretary of State to Queen Anne, and Secretary of State to the Pretender. At his first visit to Paris, he was courted as the saviour of France—the arbiter and pacificator of Europe. During his second residence in that capital, he was constrained to avail himself of the meanest and vilest agents to obtain a clandestine intercourse with the government of a country he had rescued from destruction. His early ambition had been gratified by a rapidity of elevation beyond the ordinary lot of statesmen. His riper years were passed in penury and banishment; and when restored to competence and home, he was destined to waste the remainder of his life in ineffectual struggles to regain the station he had lost—embittered by disappointments and mortifications, which his proud and ambitious spirit was ill able to endure. After toiling for years in the service of the party he had espoused, it was hinted to him that the greatest kindness he could do them was to go back into exile, because his presence in England was an insuperable bar to their success. His varied, and on the whole unfortunate, career shows how necessary it is for public men to possess moral character, as well as ability of conduct and intellectual endowments.

Bolingbroke was a man of brilliant parts, with much quick-

ness and penetration, and extraordinary powers of application and capacity for business. He had accomplishments and attainments, that rendered him the delight and ornament of society; and possessed warm and generous affections, that endeared him to his private friends. But with these merits and qualities, he had defects which more than counterbalanced them. Bold, decided, and unscrupulous in the means he used, he was better fitted to achieve a single object, than to pursue and bring to a successful issue a course of policy that required time for its accomplishment. Under an appearance of openness and frankness, which disarmed suspicion, he concealed a dissimulation and want of sincerity, that, when once detected, destroyed all future confidence in his character. At the commencement of his political career, he found the Tories the most powerful body in the state; and though he despised their narrow prejudices and exploded doctrines, ambition led him to attach himself to their party. Having taken this false step at his outset in life, he was never able to extricate himself from the consequences of his first error. In serving his party, he was continually offending and doing violence to their opinions. In combating for them, he borrowed his weapons from their adversaries; and in serving and plotting for the Pretender, he vindicated the Revolution. To injure the Whigs, he went beyond them in the popular principles they professed; and to overturn the Ministry of Walpole, he scrupled not to sacrifice the whole dynasty of the Stuarts. In his political attachments to individuals he was warm but unsteady; and when provoked, his resentment was implacable. After having been the bosom friend of Oxford, he came at length to loathe and detest him with a bitterness of hatred seldom to be found any where but in the quarrels of theologians. After having sacrificed his fortune and station in the service of the Pretender, he sat down deliberately to expose to ridicule and contempt the character, the party, and the cause of the man he had so recently served. He had been provoked, it is true, to this course by the intolerable usage he had received from the Pretender and his court; and to his resentment, and to the hopes he indulged of entire forgiveness in England, we are indebted for the wittiest, the most lively, and most finished of his works. But his 'Letter to Sir William Windham' did more harm to the Jacobites, than service to its author. He was suffered to languish for several years in exile, and when permitted to return, he was carefully excluded from those paths of ambition he was still desirous to tread.

The style of his best works is vehement and spirited; but he is apt to be diffuse and declamatory. His letters of business are admirable—clear, short, and precise; and where argument is re-

quisite, plain and convincing. His correspondence with his private friends is easy, playful, and affectionate; but spoiled by an affectation of disgust at the world and its vanities, and a pretended love for rural retreats and occupations, the farthest possible from his thoughts. His political writings are the works of a skilful partisan—a master in the arts of insinuation and sarcasm. They abound in animated and splendid passages, and contain many sound constitutional truths, which are now trite and common, but which had never been so clearly stated, nor so well expressed before. But his applications of his general principles to his own times are more plausible than just; and neither his facts nor his representations of character are to be trusted without examination. He seems to have studied history only to pervert it to party purposes. But with all their defects, the political disquisitions of Bolingbroke deserve to be read and studied by every one who desires to understand and trace the constitutional history of his country. Though professing to the last his adherence to the Tories, adversity and reflection had made him a thorough convert to the great principles of liberty, which he seemed to have abjured in his youth. His other books, most of them now forgotten, show extensive reading, but knowledge more diversified than accurate, and powers of reasoning more ingenious and specious than solid.

After having been for half a century the admiration or dread of his contemporaries, Bolingbroke, since his death, has been pointed at by the hand of scorn as an unprincipled politician, a flimsy reasoner, and a superficial declaimer. Whigs, Tories, parsons, and even players, have joined in scoffing at and decrying him. The Whigs have pursued his memory with acrimony for his sacrifice of the national faith and honour at the peace of Utrecht; and from the belief they firmly entertained of the criminal designs projected by him and his colleagues to bring back an unhappy race, the inveterate enemies of the religion and liberties of their country. Churchmen, who had regarded him at one time as the most splendid champion, and brightest ornament of their party, and had overlooked his private frailties in consideration of his zeal in their service, turned against him with rancorous hostility when they discovered that he had never believed nor respected the holy doctrines they profess. So universal has been the clamour against him, that his present biographer is the first who has undertaken to write an extended Life, or to attempt a vindication of the once celebrated Lord Bolingbroke.

The performance of Mr Cooke is a very creditable work. It is written in good language; and if the author had no original information to communicate to his readers, he has at least taken pains to consult most of the printed books that could throw

light on his subject. Like other biographers, he is partial to his hero, and on most controverted points takes his part. He speaks with just indignation of the scandalous violations of faith that preceded and accompanied the negotiations at Utrecht; and from the scepticism of Lord Bolingbroke in matters of religion he expresses his utter dissent. But in his animadversions on that good-humoured and sagacious minister, Sir Robert Walpole, and in the account he gives of the quarrels between Bolingbroke and Oxford, he adopts the language and sentiments of a partisan; and of the last-mentioned nobleman, he exhibits a portrait such as Bolingbroke himself might have drawn in the first moments of his exile, with the smart of a bill of attainder tingling in every vein.

The last four years of Queen Anne form the most important period in the life of Bolingbroke, and on the conduct then pursued, and on the designs then meditated by him and his party, must their character with posterity stand or fall. Was it with a view to bring back the Pretender that they took such unjustifiable means to obtain peace with France at the expense of their allies? Did they correspond with the agents of the Stuarts merely to amuse the Jacobites at home, and keep them quiet during the lifetime of the Queen? Or had they any serious intention, before or at the time of her death, to repeal the act of settlement, and restore the exiled family to the throne? These are the questions we are called upon to discuss by the opinions expressed in the work before us.

Mr Cooke is of opinion that there was no design on the part of Queen Anne's last ministry to bring back the Pretender. He admits there are 'proofs of Harley's correspondence with the 'Court of St Germains,' but thinks, with Berwick and other Jacobites, that 'it was merely to deceive the Pretender, and pro-'vide for his own safety, in the case of an event, which he thought 'not improbable, although he had no intention of attempting to 'bring it about.' Of such an extenuation or justification, if so he pleases to call it, we say not a word. But, setting Oxford aside, 'Bolingbroke,' Mr Cooke contends, 'must be acquitted 'of all suspicion.' There is no trace in Macpherson's voluminous collections of any correspondence of Jacobite agents with him, and only one letter in which he is named. 'From the 'historical documents we possess, it may,' he concludes, 'be 'affirmed as certain, that Bolingbroke had no part in the intrigues 'which so many individuals carried on with the Pretender during 'the latter part of the Queen's reign.'*

That the Whigs and Hanoverian ministers were fully persuaded

* Cooke, I., 343, 349, 353.

of the reality of such a design appears from innumerable passages in the papers published by Macpherson; and that this conviction was not the mere effect of party jealousy and suspicion is shown by the conduct of many of the Church party in the last Parliament of Queen Anne, who concurred with the Whigs in demanding additional securities for the Protestant succession. That no direct charge of conspiring to restore the Pretender is contained in the articles of impeachment against Oxford or Bolingbroke, affords no proof that, on reflection, these apprehensions were felt to be groundless. The enemies of these ministers may have had secret information of their designs which they were not at liberty to divulge. They may have had private communications with Jacobite agents whom they could not produce. Azzurini was shut up in the Bastile—Gautier had retired into France—D'Iberville was protected by his diplomatic character. There may have been others, unknown to us, who had made revelations to them under the promise of secrecy and concealment. Of this we are certain, that the court of the Pretender was filled with spies and traitors, and that no one saw him, no one sent messages to him, no one held communications with him, that was not speedily known in England. Nor were his agents and friends at home more cautious, more discreet, or more trust-worthy. Sir Robert Walpole, in the latter part of his life, frequently declared that the leaders of the Whigs were fully apprised of the machinations carried on in favour of the Pretender.* 'He, in particular, drew his information from two persons who were present at a meeting in the 'country, between the chiefs of the Ministry, and the leading men 'of both Houses. Their deliberations turned on the manner of 'invalidating or repealing the act of succession. An actual repeal, 'and a positive declaration of the Pretender's right was moved 'by some. It was recommended by others to leave the Queen 'a full power to nominate her successor by will.'

But, independently of secret information, there were many things in the aspect and conduct of affairs sufficient to excite jealousy and alarm. The Jacobites, who had seemed for years resigned to their fate, became suddenly zealous and active at elections, and many of them were returned to Parliament. The language they held was open even at court, and no secret was made of their expectations. Sermons were preached, and publications issued from the press, in support of indefeasible hereditary right, without discouragement, if not with approbation from the government. Attainted Jacobites were allowed to reside and live with impunity in England, and one of them, at least, was received at court. In Ireland men were openly enlisted in the

* Coxe's Sir R. Walpole, I., 48.

name of the Pretender, and similar levies were attempted in England. Some of the agents concerned in these practices were punished, but the greater part, when arrested, were either pardoned after conviction, or dismissed without trial, on their own recognisance. Whig officers, desirous to remain in the service, were compelled to quit the army, and their place supplied by men of suspected principles. But what chiefly gave a colour to these suspicions was the conduct of ministers in their negotiations for peace.

Notwithstanding the many victories and the brilliant success of Marlborough, it cannot be denied that the landed interest in England, oppressed with taxes and alarmed at the progress of the national debt, had become extremely desirous of peace. The termination of the conferences at Gertruydenberg had left a germ of dissatisfaction against the Whigs, which the trial of Sacheverell brought to maturity, and the Tory writers cultivated with care. If the new Ministry had renewed the negotiations then broken off, they might have made a good peace, and established their power on a permanent foundation. Nothing more was required than to negotiate, according to the terms of the Grand Alliance, in conjunction with their allies. There was a party, it is true, in Holland, as there had been in England, averse to peace, except on terms which Louis, after all his reverses, could not be induced to grant. But there was also a pacific party in Holland, desirous to terminate a war, the object of which had ceased to be attainable; and, with the cordial assistance of that party, the English Ministry might have been assured that the rest of the allies would be brought to reason. Mere peace, however, was not the object of the English cabinet; and, therefore, instead of following this plain, honourable, and straightforward course, they conducted their negotiation with a duplicity and want of faith unparalleled almost in the annals of diplomacy.

They began with a wanton and useless attempt at deception. On 12th-23d January, 1711, Bolingbroke wrote to Buys, Pensionary of Amsterdam, that to obtain a good peace, the first advances must come from the enemy,* though he had despatched the Abbé Gautier ten days before, with a message from the English Ministry to Torcy, proposing a renewal of negotiation. Gautier having brought back a favourable answer, the clandestine intercourse thus begun was continued till April, when propositions from France, drawn up at the instigation of England, were sent to London, and from thence transmitted to Holland. The Dutch, in their reply, thanked the Queen for her assurances, that she would take no step towards peace but in concert with

* Bol. Corresp. Edited by Park.

them, and engaged, on their part, to enter into no negotiations without her knowledge and concurrence. In disregard of these mutual engagements, Bolingbroke sent Prior privately to Paris in July, with proposals from England, which were to be kept secret from the allies.* Prior having been detected by a custom-house officer at Deal, on his return from France with Ménager and Gautier, Bolingbroke desired his correspondent at Amsterdam† to inform the Grand Pensionary Heinsius, that a gentleman had arrived from France with proposals of peace; that the Queen had refused to enter into a separate treaty, and had desired to have specific terms transmitted to her, which could be laid before her allies,—concealing the fact, that the first advances had been made by England, and that Prior had been the bearer of specific proposals to the French.

After several conferences in London, private articles in favour of England were signed by Ménager, on the 27th September–8th October, and accepted by Bolingbroke and Dartmouth, the two secretaries of state, on behalf of their mistress. General propositions for the allies were at the same time presented, which were transmitted to Holland, while the private articles were kept secret.‡ In the midst of this duplicity, Bolingbroke had the effrontery to complain of the Dutch for manifesting a want of confidence in his sincerity, and both he and Oxford boast of the honesty of their proceedings.§

From the signature of the private articles with Ménager, the most perfect understanding subsisted between the ministers of France and England. While the negotiations for peace were ostensibly conducted at Utrecht, Torcy informs us, that he maintained a constant though secret correspondence with Oxford and Bolingbroke, that with Oxford being carried on through Gautier.‖ The Dutch were kept entirely in the dark, and compelled by threats to treat on the terms proposed to them. In December, Bolingbroke desired Strafford, English minister at the Hague, to assure Buys, that neither Spain nor the Indies should be allotted to any prince of the House of Bourbon, though the contrary had been tacitly, and, by implication, settled with Ménager in the preceding October; and so secret was this determination kept, that it was not communicated to the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht till after the conferences had been opened.¶ As the

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* Torcy, Mémoires, ii., 17, 22, 26. Edition of Petitot.
† 17th August, 1711.
‡ Torcy, 36—Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1715.
§ Bol. Corres., 30th Nov. 8th Dec., 1711.
‖ Torcy, 78.
¶ Torcy, 143, 148.

negotiations advanced, the impatience of the English ministry for peace, and their undisguised partiality for France, became every day more apparent. In spite of the remonstrances of their own plenipotentiaries, they hurried on the conclusion of a definitive treaty with a precipitation which left many of the articles intended for the particular benefit of England undigested and useless. Their treaty of commerce, in particular, was so defective, that it was rejected by the House of Commons. In the affairs of Tournay, their conduct was little short of treason. While still at war, they privately suggested to the French government pretexts for insisting on the cession of that important place to France, though, at an earlier stage of the negotiation, Louis had consented to leave it in the possession of the Dutch, as an essential part of their barrier.* The faithless and cold-blooded desertion of the Catalans was more peculiarly the work of Bolingbroke, and it forms, perhaps, the foulest stain in his character.

Few acts so base are recorded in history as that of inviting the Catalans, on the faith of England, to support the pretensions of the House of Austria, and then abandoning them without remorse to their fate, when a single word from the English Ministry would have secured to them their former rights and privileges. Nor was it a mere desertion of which they had to complain. Bolingbroke threatened to employ English ships against them. In his private letters, he treats them as rebels to their lawful sovereign; and in his public despatches, he urges the King of Spain to hasten the conclusion of peace with Portugal, that he might be enabled more speedily, to chastise and reduce to obedience the Catalans.

The conduct of the English ministers in their negotiations for peace was bad. Their conduct in the operations of the campaign was worse. Though still professing their adherence to the Grand Alliance, all the measures they pursued were calculated and intended to frustrate and defeat the efforts of the allies. They were afraid of some brilliant success in Flanders that might derange their plans; and to prevent such a calamity, they gave secret information to the enemy of the military projects of the allies, and at the most critical moment of the campaign, they withdrew their troops from the contest. Gautier was sent to Torcy in March, with a message from Oxford to inform him, that the Queen was more eager for peace than ever, and that the supplies for the war were to be reduced from eight millions to four; but that he must nevertheless press forward the negotiations at Utrecht, for though directions might be given to the Duke of Ormond, who had succeeded Marlborough in

* Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1715.

the command of the English army, not to seek occasions to fight, it might not be in his power to avoid them, or refuse to assist the allies in any siege, such as that of Cambray, which was then in contemplation.* Within less than a month after the communication of this secret intelligence, Ormond received ostensible instructions, 'to press the war with all pos-'sible vigour;' but these were speedily followed by positive commands, 'to avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle.'† The order was private, but the intelligence was instantly communicated by Bolingbroke to Gautier, by whom it was conveyed to Torcy. When I asked him, says Gautier, what Marshal Villars was to do, in case Prince Eugene and the Dutch attacked him? 'il m'a répondu qu'il n'auroit pas d'autre chose à faire qu'à 'lui tomber dessus et à le tailler en pièces lui et toute son armée.'‡ In June, these private orders were succeeded by a formal suspension of arms in the Netherlands between France and England. The English troops, separating from the allied army, retired to Dunkirk, and Eugene must have experienced the fate prepared for him by Bolingbroke, if the Germans in the pay of England, had not refused to abandon his standard. As it was, a division of his army was defeated at Denain, and the fortune of the campaign entirely changed. So identified were now the interests of France and England, that Ormond having learned from a private and confidential source, that Eugene entertained the project of surprising either Nieuport or Furnes, sent intelligence of it to Bolingbroke, and advised him to communicate the information with the utmost secrecy to Villars. The advice was followed. Gautier was informed of the design, and instantly conveyed the intelligence to Torcy and Villars, that measures might be taken to prevent its success.§

Mr Cooke admits, that 'in separating England from her 'allies, in taking part with the enemy, and in negotiating a sepa-'rate peace, Bolingbroke acted a treacherous part;' that this original error pervaded and tainted every part of the subsequent negotiations; that the eagerness betrayed by the English Ministry for peace encouraged France to rise in her demands; and that the haste with which the treaty was at last hurried to a

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* Mémoire de M. de Torcy au Conseil d'Etat, March 24, 1712. Mackintosh Collections.

† The public instructions were dated 7-18th April. The private orders were given 10th-21st May, 1712.

‡ Gautier to Torcy, 21st May. Mackintosh Collections.

§ Bol. Corr. 21st Oct. 1712. Gautier to Torcy, 29th Oct. 1712.

conclusion, left her, ‘ after having been beaten for ten years, ‘ with the prize of victory in her hands.’ These errors or *crimes*, as Mr Cooke acknowledges them to have been, he attributes in Bolingbroke ‘ to an undue preference of party over national in- ‘ terests.’ The contemporaries of Bolingbroke went farther ; and though they could produce no direct evidence of his guilt, they had no doubt that the systematic violations of honour and good faith which marked the whole course of the negotiation, had their origin in a design to set aside the act of settlement, and bring back the Pretender. It was difficult to imagine, why the English ministers should place themselves in this new position with respect to France and to their former allies, if they had no other object in view but peace. It was therefore suspected that they had some secret and ulterior design, in which the friendship of France might be of use, and to which the allies, and particularly the Dutch must be disinclined. What object so probable as the restoration of the Pretender? The French had openly espoused his cause and recognised his title. The Dutch were induced by interest, inclined by religion, and bound by treaty to maintain the succession established by the act of settlement. The Queen, though timid and tremblingly alive to every thing that could possibly affect the stability of her throne, was understood to entertain friendly sentiments towards her brother, and to have a decided aversion to the House of Hanover. Her dread of Popery, and attachment to Church of England principles, had made her, under the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough, abandon and take part against her father. But to her filial disobedience at the Revolution she was known to attribute the premature loss of her children ; and she was said to have been deeply affected by a letter written to her by her father on his deathbed. She was, besides, under the influence of a new favourite, suspected, and not without reason, to be as much inclined to the House of Stuart as the Duchess of Marlborough had been to the Whigs. The Tories, who formed the main strength of the administration in England, still professed their old doctrines of hereditary, indefeasible right, against which nothing but zeal for the Church had ever induced them to act. They were ready to acquiesce in the title of the Queen while she lived, considering her as a *quasi* legitimate ; but their eyes were directed to St Germains after her death, with a superstitious reverence for her exiled brother, chilled by recollections of his father, and fears for their religion. If the Pretender could be persuaded to conform, or even to assume an outward appearance of conformity to the Church of England, it was clear they would prefer him to his competitors. The Ministers themselves were well aware

that the Whigs were the favourites at Hanover; and though they did not anticipate the entire disgrace that awaited them, the utmost they could hope was to share in the power of which they possessed at present a monopoly.

Whatever weight may be thought due to these considerations, it cannot be doubted that both in England and on the Continent the belief was general that the English ministers intended to repeal the act of settlement and restore the Pretender. So strong was this impression, that the Bishop of Bristol, one of the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, in writing to Bolingbroke, informed him, that one of the Emperor's plenipotentiaries had not hesitated to say, 'that he took it for granted the great end of all 'our management was to bring in the Pretender;' and that a Dutch minister had confessed in private, that 'this apprehension 'was the fundamental reason of the conduct of the States during 'the progress of the treaty.'* These, which were the conclusions of contemporaries from the facts they saw passing under their eyes have been in part confirmed by the Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, the Collections of Macpherson, and the Publications of Coxe. But, with the exception of the short and imperfect communications of the Duke of Berwick, it must be owned that no facts of importance have since transpired; and if the opinion has gained ground, that the restoration of the Pretender was a project entertained by Queen Anne's last ministry, it has been founded on probable and presumptive, rather than on certain or direct evidence. It was under these circumstances that the late Sir James Mackintosh, encouraged by the success of Mr. Fox, undertook a journey to Paris, in the hope of obtaining from the liberality of the French Government permission to examine the Archives of the Foreign Office, and to extract from them whatever he thought necessary to elucidate the domestic history of England. In that expectation he was not disappointed. By the favour of the Prince de Talleyrand, he was indulged with free access to the diplomatic archives of France; and during his residence at Paris in 1814, he made ample collections for his intended History of England, beginning with the Revolution of 1688, and ending with the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Unhappily he lived to execute a small part only of the great work he had undertaken. The short but admirable Fragment he has left, is at once a proof of his eminent qualifications for the task, and an illustration of the sound and candid principles on which it would have been conducted. The valuable Collections he had made are still in possession of his family; and

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* Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1715.

having been favoured with the use of the volumes which relate to the four last years of Queen Anne, we shall extract from them what seem to us decisive proofs that the Tory Ministry of that princess were engaged in a design to restore the Pretender. Our extracts will necessarily be short, and far from exhausting the subject. Happy shall we be, if the specimen we give should induce our Government to secure for the public use the most valuable materials ever collected by a private individual, from a foreign and authentic source, for the internal history of his country.

The volumes we have examined consist chiefly of the Correspondence of Torcy with Gautier, a private agent of France, resident in London; and with D'Aumont and D'Iberville, who came to England in public capacities after the peace. They contain also numerous letters from the Pretender, and from the Duke of Berwick, both of whom corresponded with Torcy on the Pretender's affairs. Many of the letters of D'Aumont and D'Iberville are addressed directly to the French King.

Gautier had been attached to Marshal Tallard, who came as ambassador from France to England after the peace of Ryswick, and during that period he formed a connexion with Lord Jersey, who had married a Roman Catholic, and with Prior, who had been secretary of embassy with Lord Jersey at Paris. On the renewal of hostilities Gautier was allowed to remain in England, and though secretly in the pay of France, he had the address to get himself employed in the chapel of Count Gallas, ambassador from the Archduke Charles, recognised by England as King of Spain. When the English ministers determined to open a secret negotiation with France, Gautier, at the instance of Lord Jersey, was selected to be their confidential messenger; and, during the whole progress of the treaty, he was employed and trusted by both parties, in all matters where privacy was required. Imperfect as the correspondence was which fell into the hands of the Committee of Secrecy, enough was found to excite their suspicion of the transactions in which Gautier was concerned. 'It is evi-
'dent,' say they, 'that some negotiations, which required more
'than ordinary privacy, were verbally transacted; and upon all
'such occasions, Gautier was the person to whom the French
'and English ministers mutually referred each other. And, as
'of necessity,' they continue, 'nothing could be a greater secret
'than all matters relating to the Pretender, this province was
'particularly allotted to Gautier, that through his hands, and
'under his conveyance, such practices might be carried on with
'safety, which in any other manner had been too dangerous an
'undertaking.' That the utmost confidence was placed in Gautier by his employers, appears from many passages in the memoirs

and correspondence of those times. 'From first to last,' says Bolingbroke, in a letter to Lord Strafford, at Utrecht, 'Gautier 'has been in the whole secret of every transaction relating to the 'peace.' In a letter to Torcy, soliciting some preferment for Gautier in the church, Bolingbroke remarks that France and England were equally indebted to him; and in the same strong terms he recommends him through Lord Lexington to the King of Spain. Gautier having obtained from the King of France a rich abbey, Bolingbroke writes to Torcy:—'J'ai entendu avec 'beaucoup de plaisir, la nouvelle grâce que le Roi vient de faire 'à l'Abbé Gautier. En verité, monsieur, sa conduite a merité 'cette distinction; on ne peut pas servir le maître avec plus de 'zèle que lui; et j'ose avancer, que la connoissance qu'il a de ce 'pays, aussi bien que la confiance que ceux qui sont dans les af-'fairs ont en lui, le mettent en état d' etre fort utile dans toutes 'les occasions où il s'agira de negocier chez nous pour le service 'du Roi.'*

Gautier was equally successful in gaining the confidence of Lord Oxford. 'L'Abbé Gautier,' says Torcy, 'simple prêtre, 'sans faste, sans le moindre embarras de cérémonial, etoit telle-'ment du goût du grand Trésorier, que lorsque le Roi eut quelque 'dessein, et fit proposer d'envoyer en Angleterre un agent d'un 'caractère plus relevé, ce ministre demanda instamment que sa 'majesté voulut bien laisser à Gautier le soin d'executer ses 'ordres.' Speaking of Gautier after his death, and vindicating his claim to have been the first who brought proposals of peace from England, Torcy says of him, in another place:—'On doit 'à sa memoire la justice de louer sa sagesse, sa discretion, les 'bons avis qu' il donna pendant le cours de la negotiation, sans 'abuser de la confiance des ministres d'Angleterre.'† It was through Gautier that Oxford carried on his secret correspondence with Torcy, and it was by the same agency that he made his verbal communications to the Pretender and to the Duke of Berwick, to whom Gautier had been recommended by Torcy, as a person on whom they might have reliance. Gautier remained in England till the Queen's death, in constant correspondence with Torcy, and in daily intercourse with Oxford and Bolingbroke. Soon after that event, and before the arrival of the King from Hanover, becoming alarmed for his safety, he left the country, and retired to France. We have mentioned these particulars to

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* Bol. Cor. 19th Feb.-1st March, 1711-12. 21st Nov.-2d Dec. 1712. 25th Jan.-5th Feb. 1712-13. 18th-29th April, 1713.

† Torcy, II. 78, 80, 121. Berwick.

show the means of information he possessed, and to explain why he was not examined during the subsequent proceedings against the ex-ministers of the Queen.

Torcy owns, that during the whole progress of the war he received from Gautier occasional letters of intelligence; but he pretends that the services of Gautier were of little value, till he arrived unexpectedly at Paris as the messenger of peace. This is not strictly true. There had been an active and regular correspondence between Gautier and Torcy long before that period. On the 10th of July, 1710, Torcy had directed Gautier to gain over, if possible, the Duke and Duchess of Shrewsbury, and the new favourite of the Queen; and Gautier, in his reply of the 22d, had intimated that he might possibly be sent over to France with a verbal communication from England, and had desired that orders might be given at Nieuport to admit him there, under the travelling name of Delorme, and convey him without delay to Paris.* Several letters of intelligence follow, in one of which, written some days† before the dismissal of Lord Godolphin, he announces the resolution taken by the intended Ministers to dissolve Parliament, six weeks before it happened, and long before it was known to the English public. The person from whom he seems to have derived his information was Lord Jersey, a violent Jacobite, of slender capacity, but very much in the confidence of Harley. On the 3d of October he writes again, and sends a letter of the greatest importance. He begins by communicating to his correspondent the apprehensions expressed by Lord Jersey that the recent successes of the Archduke‡ might be an impediment to peace, unless the French sent immediate and powerful reinforcements into Spain, which he entreats them on no account to neglect. He then goes on to say :—'Sçavez vous bien que Madame Prothose (*la Reine 'Anne*) a des sentimens fort tendres pour M. de Montgoulin, '(*le Roi d'Angleterre*), et que M. Rolland (*le Comte de Jersey*)

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* Mackintosh Collections.

† 1st August, 1710.

‡ The successes to which Lord Jersey alluded, were the victory of Saragossa, and the triumphant entry of the Archduke into Madrid. The treasonable advice he gave was but too promptly and effectually followed. Vendome was sent into Spain with reinforcements—Madrid evacuated by the Allies—Stanhope with 7000 English surrounded and made prisoner at Brihuega—and Stahremberg, after a bloody and doubtful battle, compelled to retreat on Barcelona. Relieved from the embarrassment of victories, which they were not inclined to profit by, the new ministers ventured to send Gautier, in January, on a mission which they seem to have projected in July.

' m'a assuré, que tout ce qu'elle faisoit presentement n'etoit en ' partie que pour l'amour de lui ; et que Messrs Morand (*Shrews-* ' *bury*), Vivant (*Buckingham*), et Vanderberg (*Harley*), ne tra- ' vailloient que pour lui, et dans la vue de lui rendre ce qu'il lui ' a été oté autrefois, et lui faire bon les marchandises qu'on lui a ' confisquées.' * This letter, it must be owned, contains only the assurances of Lord Jersey, who was a weak and sanguine man, and may have exaggerated, without intending it, the inclinations of the Queen and designs of her ministers. But it must also be recollected, that he possessed the confidence of Harley ; insomuch that, had he lived, he was to have been employed in the negotiations for peace, and to have been intrusted with the entire secret of the government. How little he was worthy of that confidence appears from a transaction recorded in these letters. At the suggestion of Gautier, the sum of three thousand pounds was offered to him by France. The bribe was proposed to him with diffidence, but accepted ' de la meilleure grace du monde ;' and some delay having taken place in the payment, he seems to have become impatient for his money. It was remitted to him in May, 1711. His death, on the following September, which was sudden, prevented him from paying the expected price for his venality.

The subsequent letters of Gautier contain frequent allusions to the affairs of the Pretender, and to the interest taken by the Queen and her ministers in his restoration. But as the information of Gautier on these points was chiefly derived from Lord Jersey, we shall not extract any part of his correspondence, till he was admitted into the confidence of Lord Oxford. From that time, whenever Oxford wished to make any communication concerning the Pretender, he instructed or even dictated to Gautier what he was to write. Gautier's letters were addressed to Torcy, and Torcy's replies directed to Gautier, by whom they were communicated to Oxford, and by Oxford, as he told Gautier, read to the Queen. † The following extracts will show the nature of that correspondence.

While the negotiations at Utrecht were drawing to a close, Gautier writes to Torcy : ‡ ' Monsieur Vanderberg (*Oxford*), ' me fit venir chez lui, il y a sept ou huit jours, pour me dire qu'il

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* This mercantile jargon was used by Torcy and Gautier to conceal the real nature of their correspondence.

† Gautier to Torcy, 19th January, 1713. The fact that Torcy's letters to Gautier were shown to Oxford, and left for a day or two in his possession, is confirmed by D'Iberville, 2d January, 1714.

‡ 20th March, 1713.

'avoit quelque chose de consequence à me communiquer en 'particulier. En effet, il m'ouvrit son cœur et me fit voir les 'sentimens pour Montgoulin (the *Pretender*), et l'envie qu'il a de 'lui rendre service. Aussitôt que la paix sera faite, il fera entrer 'Prothose (*Queen Anne*), dans ses vues. Il n'aura pas de peine, 'car elle pense comme lui. Mais il faut, qu'en attendant cela 'Montgoulin prenne son parti, et qu'il declare que son dessein 'n'est pas de demeurer toujours où il est; et qu'il dise publique-'ment, et surtout devant sa famille, qu'il ira voyager quand la 'paix sera faite, tantôt d'un coté, tantôt d'un autre, en Italie, en 'Suisse, en Baviere, et même en Espagne, et le tout à fin qu'on 'ne croie pas ici qu'il ne reste où il est que pour être plus près de 'ses parens, et plus à portée de prendre des mesures avec eux en 'cas de necessité.'

Encouraged by the frankness of this communication, Torcy ventured to address a letter directly to Oxford, of which the following is an extract.* 'J'apprends, monsieur, avec une ex-'treme plaisir, par M. l'Abbé Gautier, ce que vous lui avez con-'fié de vos sentimens au sujet de Montgoulin, et je n'en suis pas 'surpris après avoir heureusement eprouvé que vous pensez tou-'jours ce qui est le plus raisonnable et le plus juste. Je regarde-'rai, monsieur, comme un second bonheur pour moi si je puis 'encore seconder vos vues dans cette affaire; et comme vous 'm'avez dejà honoré de votre confiance, j'ose vous assurer que ce 'sera directement de vous à moi que se prendront les mesures que 'vous estimez necessaires pour lui faire plaisir. Il est inutile de 'vous dire qu'il le merite. Si vous n'en etiez bien persuadé, 'monsieur, vous ne chercheriez pas à le servir.'

To this letter he received (what was a rare occurrence) an answer in the handwriting of Oxford, containing the following words:—'Je parlerai a M. l'Abbé avant son depart au sujet de 'M. le Chevalier.' This, Torcy thought of such importance, that he wrote to the Pretender,† 'Vanderberg (*Oxford*) va plus loin 'qu'il n'avoit encore été; car il m'a ecrit de sa propre main, par 'une lettre du sept de ce mois, "Je parlerai a M. l'Abbé avant 'son depart au sujet de M. le Chevalier." Ces sont les expres-'sions, sire, dont jusqu'à present il ne s'etoit pas servi, et que je 'ne croyois pas qu'il osât mettre sur le papier.'

The Pretender had not been trusted with the secret dispositions of the English Ministry in his favour till June 1711, as we learn from a letter of Torcy to the Duke of Berwick, which explains why the communication was then made to him, and why

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* 24th March, 1713. † 13th April, 1713.

it had not been disclosed to him before.* 'Il m'a paru si essen-
'tiel que le Roi d'Angleterre fût informé des bonnes dispositions
'qu'il y a pour lui, et d'empecher par ce moyen qu'il ne fît quelque
'demarche mal à propos, que je crus avant son depart devoir
'le sonder sur le secret qu'il seroit capable de garder à l'egard
'de la Reine et de Milord Middleton. Je lui dis que ceux qui
'vouloient travailler pour lui se defioient egalement de l'un et
'de l'autre, et que quelque desire qu'ils eussent de l'informer de
'leurs bonnes intentions, ils ne se decouvriroient jamais s'ils
'n'étoient assurés auparavant que leurs noms et leurs demarches
'seroient cachés et à la Reine et à Milord Middleton.'

Against this interdict the Pretender murmured as a son, but yielded to the advice and authority of Torcy. The Queen was told that matters of importance were in agitation, which must be concealed from her. She complained loudly of the injustice the English had always done to her, but submitted. Berwick was substituted as confidential adviser in place of Middleton.

On being made acquainted with the favourable dispositions of his sister, the Pretender made some vain efforts to engage her in a correspondence with him. Several letters were written by him, one of which was corrected by Torcy; but none of them ever reached her hands, Oxford having always declined to present them. Her health in the mean while became every day more precarious; and no satisfactory answer having been given to the enquiries of the Pretender what measures he was to take in the event of her death, and no public demonstrations being made in his favour, he became impatient and distrustful. In this state of mind he received Torcy's letter, enclosing the scrap from Oxford, and returned an answer to Torcy, expressive of his delight and satisfaction. His doubts, however, returned, when month after month passed away, without any measures being taken in England for his restoration. His letters to Torcy breathe, from time to time, a distrust of Oxford, and express discontent and indignation at the concessions demanded from him.

From its first commencement, the correspondence of Oxford through Gautier continued as frequent and confidential as ever. Whatever came to Oxford's knowledge that could interest or affect the French government, even in its domestic concerns, was instantly communicated through Gautier. At a time when the Duke of Orleans was suffering under the most cruel and unjust suspicions at the Court of France, Oxford transmitted to

* 17th June, 1711.

the French King* a report he had picked up in England, that his Highness was in secret correspondence with the Whigs, for which he had the warm thanks of Lewis, and a request to have further information of the same kind. But though strong in his professions of attachment to the Jacobite cause, and not unwilling to act the part of a spy for the French Court, he did nothing effectual at home, either to unite and consolidate the Tory party, or to prepare for the restoration of the Pretender. From this indolent, inconsistent, and uncertain conduct, in which he persisted to the last, Oxford gradually lost the confidence both of the Tories and the Jacobites. But, while he enjoyed the favour of the Queen, no steps could be taken without his assistance. He fell at length by the same back-stairs influence that had raised him to greatness. Lady Masham, who had recommended him, and long supported him at Court, abandoned him at last, and took a violent part with his enemies. By refusing to assist her in a scandalous job which Bolingbroke accomplished for her, and by thwarting and opposing other schemes she had devised for her private interest and emolument, at the expense of the public, he lost her favour, and with her favour the confidence of her royal mistress. After a long and arduous struggle he was dismissed. But the triumph of his adversaries was of short duration. Within a few days the Queen expired, and the designs, whatever they may have been, of his successors were extinguished for ever.

Oxford was at that time most unpopular among his former friends. The Tories were enraged at the weakness or obstinacy which had kept so many Whigs in office while he was at the head of the Administration. The Jacobites distrusted him on account of his secret intercourse with Hanover, and scrupled not to accuse him of having intended, from the first, to amuse and betray them. But these unfavourable, and, we believe, unjust suspicions of his sincerity, were removed before his death. While Bolingbroke was employed by the Pretender, Oxford was naturally excluded from his councils; but no sooner had Bolingbroke been dismissed than we find Oxford, not only busy in promoting the Jacobite interest, but restored to the general confidence of the party. During his confinement in the Tower, and before his acquittal from impeachment, there is a communication from him to the Pretender, preserved among the Stuart papers†—offering

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* Gautier to Torcy, 7th September, 1712.

† Notes and extracts by Sir James Mackintosh from the Stuart

his services and advice—recommending the Bishop of Rochester as the fittest person to manage the Jacobite affairs in England, he himself being in custody—adding, that he should never have thought it safe to engage again with His Majesty, if Bolingbroke had been still about him. Among the same papers there is a letter from Mrs Oglethorpe to the Pretender in 1721,* containing assurances from Lord Oxford of his eternal respect and good wishes, which, from accidental circumstances, he had been unable to convey in the usual manner. In the following year, when the hopes of the Jacobites were raised by the bursting of the South Sea bubble, the Pretender, in writing to Lord Lansdowne,† expresses his approbation of the five who now manage his affairs, but they want one head. 'Were Lord Oxford,' he continues, 'willing to undertake the task, I know no person so 'capable of performing it to advantage. Lord Arran would 'certainly agree to it, and as the others of that club are dis-'gusted with the Bishop of Rochester, they would, I dare say, 'enter heartily into it. On the other hand, Lord Gower and 'all that set would no doubt be pleased with the proposition, 'although they would not, may be, have submitted so cheer-'fully to the Bishop of Rochester; so that altogether, laying 'Lord Oxford's capacity out of the question, I cannot think of 'any other person so capable of uniting all the sets of my friends 'as he.' Other letters follow in the same strain. Lord Oxford died in 1724; and thus appears to have recovered, and to have retained to the last the entire confidence of the Jacobite party and of the Pretender.

It is impossible to peruse these papers without being convinced that, whatever may have been the causes of Oxford's inactivity and apparent vacillations after the peace, he was implicated and deeply engaged in a treasonable plot to bring back the Pretender. If the facts now disclosed had been known—if the documents we now possess had been accessible—if the witnesses to his guilt could have been produced—there seems little doubt that he must have paid the forfeit of his delinquency.

The proofs against Bolingbroke are not less complete. It is remarked by Sir James Mackintosh in one of his note-books (we know not on what authority) that 'the first introduction of 'Bolingbroke into the secret negotiation was during the illness

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papers at Carlton House. This communication from Lord Oxford was in September, 1716.

* 17th January, 1721.

† 13th April, 1722.

'of Harley after he had been stabbed by Guiscard.' When engaged, he was not less earnest than Oxford in the cause. It is chiefly, indeed, in 1713 and 1714 that we find in the letters of the French agents any mention of their confidential conversations with Bolingbroke on the Pretender's affairs. But as early as his journey to Paris in 1712, it is recorded by Azzurini that he had two interviews in private with the Pretender, one of them in a house at the distance of six leagues from that city;* and, in a conversation with Torcy at the same period, about the removal of the Pretender from France, which was a necessary preliminary before the signature of a definitive treaty of peace, he admitted that the time might come, when 'les bien intentionnés' (so the Jacobites called themselves) would be sorry if he were at a distance from the British isles.†

The correspondence of Gautier contains frequent references to the part taken by Bolingbroke in the designs for the restoration of the Pretender. But the most decisive proofs of his eager participation in these machinations are afforded by his confidential conversations with D'Iberville, who was charged with the affairs of France in England after the departure of the Duc d'Aumont. Take the following as an example. In a despatch to the King of France, written soon after the recovery of the Queen from a dangerous fit of illness, D'Iberville relates to his master a conversation he had had with Bolingbroke. The English Minister, he says, told him plainly that the Pretender had no chance of success, 'tant qu'il sera Catholique, pas même en epousant une 'princesse Protestante.' He did not blame the impatience of the Jacobites, 'mais, dit-il, nous connoissons mieux qu'eux la diffi-'culté qu'il y a de menager les differens esprits dont le Parle-'ment est composé. Il faut pour cela plus de tems et de manège 'que les etrangers ne peuvent se l'imaginer. Il a allegué à cette 'occasion l'example de la resolution prise dès 1707 par la Reine

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* Mr Cooke contends, that Bolingbroke could not have seen the Pretender at Paris, because 'the Pretender was not at Paris during any part 'of Bolingbroke's stay.' He is mistaken. Bolingbroke arrived at Paris on the 17th of August, went to Fontainbleau on the 20th, and had returned to England before the 7th of September. The Pretender did not leave the neighbourhood of Paris till the 7th of September, and slept that night at Meaux on his way to Châlons (Bol. Corres. ii., 27–23.) Bolingbroke owned to Swift that he saw the Pretender once at Paris, but protested that it was at a great distance, and at the opera.—(Swift's Work's, xvi., 297. Scott's Edition.)

† Mémoire sur la Negotiation, 19th August, 1712.

‡ D'Iberville to the King, 5th February, 1714.

'sa maîtresse avec M. D'Oxford et lui de faire ce que n'a pu 'être consommé qu'en 1710 et fini qu'en 1712. Il convient du 'peril qui se trouve dans le retardement par la raison qu'encore 'que la santé de la Reine ne soit si mauvaise qu'on le publie, on 'ne peut néanmoins compter surement sur une vie aussi longue 'qu'il seroit à desirer, mais il est bien persuadé que si l'on mar-'choit plus vite ce seroit tout gâter.'

The apparent slackness of the English Ministry, after the conclusion of the peace, excited the surprise of the French, and provoked the indignation of the Jacobites. Torcy wonders that for their own sakes they did not obtain permission for the Pretender to return to England, where he might remain under their eye till the death of his sister opened to him the succession to the throne.* Various projects of that sort were suggested by Berwick, D'Iberville, and others, but either not attended to, or rejected by the Ministers. The French and the Jacobites abroad were not aware of the difficulties which those in office at home had to encounter from the character of the Queen, their differences with one another, the vigilance of the Whigs, and the alarms of the High Church party for their religion.

The Queen, though inclined to her brother in preference to the Princess Sophia, was timid, procrastinating, jealous of an authority she had not sense to exercise, and apprehensive of attempts from the Jacobites in her own lifetime, if she acknowledged the legitimacy of the Pretender. Oxford was slow, indolent, irresolute, changeable, and distrustful of others. His coldness and reserve, his habits of concealment and evasion, offended his friends;†

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* Torcy to Gautier, 21st December, 1713.

† But, whatever may have been the faults of Lord Oxford, he had, it must be owned, a most impatient and unreasonable party to deal with. Not many weeks after he was in office, Atterbury came to him (as his brother, who was present, tells us), with a message from some of his particular friends, to acquaint him how uneasy they were that he had not yet dissolved parliament, nor removed as many Whigs from office as they expected, nor communicated to them what measures he was about to take. Offended at the tone and manner of this remonstrance, Harley replied with warmth, that he knew very well the persons from whom the message came, that he was fully sensible of the difficulties he had to struggle with; but if, in addition to these difficulties, he was expected to communicate to them all the measures he thought necessary for conducting the Queen's affairs, he desired Atterbury to acquaint them, that he must let her majesty know it was impossible for him to be of any further service, and that he must ask her leave to retire into the country. This reply allayed, or at least silenced for a time the grumbling of

and his intrigues in every direction destroyed all confidence in his sincerity. His differences with Bolingbroke, which are frequently alluded to in these letters, ending in deep and irreconcilable hatred, arrested him in the prosecution of measures, which, he feared, might exalt his rival at his own expense. The Whigs were on the alert, and the army and navy decidedly in favour of the Protestant succession. This last circumstance was not unknown to D'Iberville, who considers it to have been one of the causes why no proposition was made to Parliament in favour of the Pretender.* It was one of the complaints of the Tories against Oxford, that he had not remodelled the army, and discharged the naval officers and seamen, who were supposed to be disinclined to the ministerial projects. There were rumours of associations among military officers to stand by one another and by the Duke of Marlborough in support of the Protestant succession; and there were certainly confederacies among the leaders of the Whigs, and alliances among foreign powers in the same cause.

The conduct and character of the Pretender added to the difficulties of the Ministry. He was surrounded by persons in whom they had no confidence, and could not, without the utmost difficulty, be induced to remove from his counsels individuals who, in their opinion, betrayed all his secrets to his enemies. Every thing he says or does, said Bolingbroke to D'Iberville,† the name of every one he sees or corresponds with, is instantly communicated to the Whigs. Lord Oxford, says Gautier, ‡ 'qui craint toujours de trop s'expliquer sur le chapitre du

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the Tories; but no sooner was peace concluded than their discontent broke out afresh. Bolingbroke, Harcourt, Atterbury, and Lady Masham combined against him. He was accused of not being a sincere Churchman, because he kept Whigs in employments which he had not Tories qualified to fill. Bolingbroke, says Mr Harley, told me, 'if your brother will not put himself at the head of the Church party, somebody 'else must.' When this was repeated to Oxford, he replied, 'I have 'given them the strongest proof of my sincerity by prevailing on the 'Queen to make Bromley secretary of state; but this will be far from 'satisfying these gentlemen—they have other views.' He suspected them even then, and he was probably in the right, of an intention to supplant him in the Queen's favour, and turn him out of the ministry he had formed.—*MS. Memoirs of Lord Oxford, by his Brother. Welbeck Papers.*

* D'Iberville to Torcy, 26th February, 1714.

† D'Iberville to the King, 3d July, 1714.

‡ Gautier to Torcy, 14th December, 1713.

'Chevalier à cause des gens qui sont auprès de sa personne, m'a 'néanmoins dit qu'il ne consentiroit jamais, tant qu'il vivoit, 'que l'Angleterre fût gouvernée par un Allemand; que je pour- 'rois vous assurer que le prochain Parlement disposera tellement 'les choses qu'il faudra necessairement que le Chevalier revi- 'enne après la mort de la Reine, pourvu qu'il se comporte 'désormais comme il le doit par rapport à ses propres interêts, et 'qu'il imite la conduite de Charles II. son oncle.' He had promised to have no correspondence with England except through Torcy, and to trust entirely to the zeal and activity of his friends in the Ministry; but notwithstanding this engagement, he was seduced into frequent communications with Scotch and Irish partisans, who might be honest in his cause, but had not judgment, discretion, or means to serve him. He was urged to absent himself from Lorraine during the meeting of Parliament, or to announce at least an intention of travelling in Italy or Switzerland at that period. Oxford, in particular, had pressed him to go to Venice, where many English might have access to him, who had no pretext for going to Bar; but whether from the difficulty of passports and other necessary precautions for his safety, or from distrust of the English Ministers, whom he suspected of an intention to remove him to a distance from England at the time of his sister's death, he hesitated, made excuses, and did not comply. Through the whole of these negotiations, he fell into the same error with his grandfather, in supposing that there could be no settlement in England without him, and that he was as necessary to his party as his party was to him. But the insuperable bar to his success was his obstinacy on religion.

Torcy had received an early hint from Gautier, that the Pretender might easily be restored after his sister's death, provided he conformed to the English Church.* For some time the subject appears to have been dropped. In December, 1713, Oxford had assured Gautier, that while he lived England should never be governed by a German, and that the next Parliament would make such arrangements as to secure the succession to the Pretender;† but within a few weeks his tone was materially changed. Enough had transpired of the secret designs of the Ministers to fill the Protestants with alarm; and a large body of the Tories participated in the fears entertained by the Whigs.

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* Gautier to Torcy, 7th October, 1710.

† See above, Gautier to Torcy, 14th December, 1713.

In February, 1714,* Gautier writes to the Pretender, 'Si vous 'voulez succeder surement à la Reine votre sœur, il est absolument 'necessaire que vous dissimulez votre religion, ou que vous le 'changiez entièrement pour professer celle de votre pays etablie 'par les lois.' This letter, as Gautier informs Torcy confidentially, was dictated by Oxford, 'qui croit qu'il n'a pas d'autre parti à 'prendre que celui qu'il lui propose.' It contains much good advice besides, which shows the interest taken by Oxford in the Jacobite cause. He complains that himself and his friends are placed in a situation where they can be of no use to the Pretender, whilst he refuses to take the only measure that can ensure his success; and ends by assuring him, that while he continues a Roman Catholic, the Queen will do nothing for him, nor receive any letters from him.

The same language was held and reiterated on different occasions by Bolingbroke, both to Gautier and to D'Iberville. The example of Charles II., who pretended to be of the Church of England, while he was a Roman Catholic at heart—the case of Henry IV. of France, who sacrificed his religion to the peace and tranquillity of his people—the fate of his own father, who lost his kingdom by the opposite conduct—were cited and commented upon at length. These remonstrances were not confined to the Ministers. 'Selon ce qui me revient de toutes parts,' says D'Iberville to Torcy,† 'il n'y a pas un Tory assez témé-'raire pour lâcher un seul mot tendant à le reconnoitre après la 'mort de la Reine, ni peut être qui soit disposé à le favoriser à 'moins qu'il n'embrasse la religion Anglicane. Il me semble 'que depuis quelques jours les Jacobites Protestans parlent assez 'ouvertement dans ce sens. Je dis plus, monseigneur, la plu-'part ne pensent pas qu'il en puisse faire difficulté. Ils croyent 'que le retardement qu'ils désapprouvent à la veille de la mort 'de la Reine vient de ce qu'il faut lui donner des assurances 'qu'après cela il sera reconnu.' In a subsequent letter,‡ after relating an important conversation with Bolingbroke, he adds, that both Oxford and Bolingbroke agree in opinion that the Pretender can never mount the throne unless he changes his religion; and whether he does or not, that nothing can be done for him in the present session of Parliament, nor till time has been given to allay the heats and jealousies engendered during the

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* Gautier to Pretender, 6th February, 1714.
† D'Iberville to Torcy, 26th February, 1714.
‡ D'Iberville to Torcy, 1st March, 1714.

last session by suspicions of some underhand machinations on foot, to bring about his restoration. The opinion of Bolingbroke, that it was absolutely necessary for the Pretender to conform, at least in appearance, is repeated, on many subsequent occasions, to D'Iberville.* The same sentiments were expressed to him by other Tories, both Catholic and Protestant;† and on the 2d of July, when matters were drawing to a crisis, Bolingbroke said to him, that if the Elector of Hanover ever mounts the English throne, it will be through the fault of the Pretender, 'qui n'aura voulu faire ce qu'il faut absolu-'ment qu'il fasse pour gagner les cœurs de la nation et leur ôter 'toute crainte.'

Arguments and entreaties were in vain. Nothing could move the Pretender. On the subject of religion he was inflexible; and having written and circulated widely among his friends a letter,‡ declaring his fixed determination never to dissemble, nor to change his religious faith, his doom was irretrievably fixed. This imprudent and ill-timed circular, which, strange to say, he seems to have thought would recommend him to the confidence of his subjects—the refusal of the Duke of Lorraine to dismiss him from his territories, the pretexts for which had been privately suggested to him by the English Ministers, and particularly by Bolingbroke, while, as Secretary of State, he was demanding his expulsion ‖—the levies made by Irish adventurers in his name—forced the Queen and her ministers, before the close of the Session, to issue a proclamation, offering a reward of five thousand pounds for any person who should apprehend him within the British dominions. When Bolingbroke first informed D'Iberville of this proclamation, he desired him to inform Torcy,§ 'que dans 'le fond cela ne changera rien.' Afterwards he told Gautier, that it had been proposed in the council by Oxford, and that he had not dared to oppose it, because Oxford's friends had for the last two months, represented Bolingbroke's endeavours to bring back the Pretender as the cause of the quarrel between them.¶ The truth seems to have been, that Oxford proposed the proclamation to quiet the alarmists; and that Bolingbroke and Harcourt insisted on its publication, to expose to the Jacobites the insincerity

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* 18th March—19th May.
† 23d June—11th July.
‡ Macpherson, ii. 525.
‖ Gautier to Torcy, 13th and 14th December, 1713.
§ D'Iberville to Torcy, 2d July, 1714.
¶ Gautier to Torcy, 6th July, 1714.

and duplicity of Oxford.* Insignificant as it now appears, this proclamation had greater effects at the time than were expected from it. After the Queen's death, it had considerable influence in restraining the movements of the Pretender. It prevented him from landing in any part of the British dominions, without a sufficient force to protect his person.

On the dismissal of Oxford, Gautier, after lamenting his fall, comforts himself with the thoughts that Bolingbroke 'va être 'le maître, parcequ'il est de nos amis et de ceux du Chevalier, 'et je crois que rien ne pouvoit être plus avantageux au Che- 'valier et à sa mère que ce changement;' and next day he relates a private conversation he had had by appointment with Bolingbroke, who assured him 'qu'il etoit dans les mêmes sentimens à 'l'egard de Montgoulin, pourvu qu'il prit les mesures qui convien- 'droient aux honnêtes gens du pays.'†

Notwithstanding the repeated declarations of Bolingbroke, that the Pretender had no chance of success in England, unless he conformed to the Established Church, he seems, after the fall of Oxford, to have had some scheme in agitation, which the death of the Queen alone prevented him from attempting to carry into effect. The day after that decisive event, D'Iberville gives the following account of him to the King of France.‡ 'Milord Bolingbroke est penetré de douleur de la perte de la 'Reine, au point de sa fortune particulière, et de la consommation 'de toutes les affaires qui ont été faites depuis quatre ans. Il m'a 'assuré que les mesures etoient si bien prises, qu'en six semaines 'de tems on auroit mis les choses en tel état qu'il n'y auroit eu 'rien à craindre de ce qui vient d'arriver. Son cœur est vivement 'ulceré contre M. le Comte d'Oxford, auquel il impute tout le mal 'et même la mort de sa maitresse, que le chagrin a tuée.'

Bolingbroke may have boasted of more than he was able to perform. But what were the things he would have prevented, if the Queen had lived six weeks longer? Nothing had happened at that time, except the peaceable proclamation of King George. What desperate measures had he in contemplation? Did he mean to say, that in six weeks he would have remodelled the army, and proclaimed the Pretender in defiance of the Act of Settlement? This declaration, as we understand it, joined with his former conduct, justifies the language held to him by the Pretender, on his first arrival in France: 'It hath been a sensible satisfaction

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* Gautier to Torcy, 2d and 9th July, 1714.
† Gautier to Torcy, 6th and 7th August, 1714.
‡ D'Iberville to the King, 13th August, 1714.

'to me, to hear from good hands of your good inclinations to me, 'of which I am the more sensible, that I cannot ascribe them to the 'effect of your present circumstances, having solid reasons to be- 'lieve you have been long since in the same sentiments, and that 'your zeal for my sister, while she lived, and for the welfare of 'our country, joined with them, have raised that unjust envy 'which obliged you to quit England.'* The information, to which the Pretender alludes, was probably derived from the Duke of Berwick, with whom Bolingbroke had a secret interview at Paris, while he was giving assurances to Lord Stair that he would not entangle himself with Jacobite connexions. 'A son arrivée à Pa- 'ris,' says Berwick, 'je le vis en secret, et il me confirma la bonne 'disposition des affaires en Angleterre, mais ne croyant pas qu'il 'convint encore qu'il se melât publiquement des affaires du 'jeune Roi, et il se retira à Lyons.'† Such is the account given by Berwick. What says Bolingbroke of his conduct at that period? 'I saw the Earl of Stair; I promised him that I would 'enter into no Jacobite engagements, and I kept my word with 'him. I writ a letter to Mr Secretary Stanhope, and I retired 'into Dauphiné.' Which of the two are we to believe? The Duke of Berwick or Lord Bolingbroke? It is impossible that both can speak the truth.

After the proofs we have adduced of the machinations of Bolingbroke and his associates to bring back the Pretender, we may judge of the regard he had to truth from the following passage in his letter on the state of parties at the accession of George I., annexed to his 'Patriot King'—'Whatever anecdotes you have 'been told, and whatever prepossessions you have had, take these 'facts for undoubted truths; that there were no designs on foot, 'during the last four years of Queen Anne's reign, to set aside the 'succession of the House of Hanover, and to place the crown on 'the head of the Pretender, nor any party formed for this purpose, 'at the time of the death of that Princess.—I deny the fact abso- 'lutely, and I have the better title to expect credit, because it 'could not be true without my knowledge, or at least suspicion 'of it.'

In addition to the evidence furnished by the correspondence of Gautier and D'Iberville with Torcy, there are some curious and important papers in the French archives, from an Italian of the name of Azzurini Conti. The father was of a noble family at Faenza, and had been employed by the French Government in a

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* Stuart Papers, 1st May, 1715.

† Berwick, Mémoires, ii. 213.

secret mission to England. Arriving in London in April 1711, with letters of introduction to many persons of consequence, and among others, to Penn the Quaker, who was a Jacobite, a favourite at court, and an intimate of Oxford, he was admitted into the best society, and found means, according to his son's account, to worm himself into the confidence of the Jacobite party. The information he thus obtained was communicated by his son to Pensionary Heinsius, Bothmar the Hanoverian minister, and Zinzendorf imperial ambassador at the Hague. But his secret practices with these ministers having been betrayed to Lord Strafford, and by him communicated to Bolingbroke, the younger Azzurini was enticed to Paris on false pretences, arrested at Fontainebleau, and shut up in the Bastile.* He was there interrogated by D'Argenson, and his answers, which were evasive, are printed in Bolingbroke's Correspondence.† The father, who had in the mean while returned to Italy, was also arrested and placed in confinement, protesting against the illegality of the proceeding. What became of the father we are not told, but the son remained a prisoner in the Bastile till 1726. In August 1725, he addressed a letter to Bothmar, reminding him of his former services, and recapitulating the information he had given him in 1712. Some of the stories he tells are utterly incredible; but though mendacious in his details, he knew more of the secret transactions between the French and English Governments than they chose to have divulged. They could not obliterate the impression his communications had made on the allies, but they detained him fourteen years in prison, till every one, who could have been implicated by his evidence, was no more.

There are frequent allusions to the Azzurinis in the French diplomatic correspondence. Before their roguery was detected, the father is described by Netterville, a confidential agent of Lord Oxford, as one who had played his part well in England, and from whom much might be expected. After the discovery of their treachery, Torey writes to Bolingbroke:—'Le fripon d'Assu-'rini entre aujourd'hui à la Bastile.'‡

We have hitherto confined ourselves to Oxford and Bolingbroke. We shall add a few words on the other members of the Tory government.

The Duke of Ormond was a most decided Jacobite, and in correspondence with the Duke of Berwick on the Pretender's affairs. He seems to have been a weak man, of popular manners, and generally beloved; generous, and personally brave, but politically

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* 26th August, 1712. † Bol. Corresp. II. 243. ‡ Ibid. II. 23.

timid, and easily moved by those about him. His vanity and credulity led him, in the year following the Queen's death, to send over to France the most exaggerated accounts of the strength and dispositions of the Tory party. His rash advice contributed to produce, and his precipitate flight to ruin, the ill-concerted and ill-conducted rebellion in 1715. Some months before the Queen's death, he had offered to receive a letter from the Pretender, and to convey it directly into the hands of his sister.*

Bromley, who succeeded Lord Dartmouth as secretary of state, was also a decided Jacobite. He is described in D'Iberville's Instructions,—' Comme un homme attaché presqu' ouvertement au ' parti du Roi.'†

The letter of the Duke of Buckinghamshire, published by Macpherson, shows his devoted attachment to the Jacobite cause.

The Duke of Hamilton would not accept the embassy to Paris till he had asked and obtained permission from the Pretender.‡ Considering the post he was to have occupied, his death was a serious loss to the Jacobite party.

The fickleness and irresolution of the Duke of Shrewsbury prevented him from being steady to any side. He was classed by Lord Jersey among the Jacobites; but Gautier, though assured he was a person ' bien porté pour Montgoulin,' never ventured to speak to him on the subject, and advised Torcy to be on his guard in his conversations with him; and, in a subsequent letter, he states positively that Shrewsbury will not join with those who are working for the Pretender.§ Early in 1714, he was suspected of having renewed his connexions with the Whigs; and after the conduct he pursued at the time of the Queen's death, the Jacobites indignantly exclaimed, that they had always known him to be a Hanoverian in his heart.‖ Yet such was the unsteadiness of his character, that though he had mainly contributed to the peaceable succession of the House of Hanover, we find him, in little more than a twelvemonth, embarked again in Jacobite intrigues. In September, 1715, Bolingbroke writes to the Pretender, ' The Duke of Shrewsbury is frankly engaged.' ¶

Harcourt, the Lord Chancellor, and Benson, the predecessor

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* Gautier to Torcy, 25th April, 1714.

† Dated 26th September, 1713.

‡ Gautier to Torcy, 2d July, 1712.

§ Ibid. 25th December, 1712.—January, 1713.

‖ D'Iberville to Torcy, 10th January, 1714.—To the King, 13th August, 1714.

¶ Stuart Papers.

of Sir William Windham in the office of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had been friends and allies of Lord Oxford; but in the last months of his administration, they deserted him and went over to Bolingbroke. Harcourt appears to have been implicated in the Jacobite plot, but is said to have taken offence at the obstinacy of the Pretender on the subject of religion.*

When Sir Thomas Hanmer went to Paris, Gautier writes to Torcy to receive him well, but to recollect that he is not *in our secret.*†

Prior, on the contrary, was completely in the secret. In Torcy's correspondence his name frequently appears in connexion with the Pretender's affairs. He was initiated in the plot as early as 1711. Gautier cautions the French plenipotentiaries against talking openly to Mr Harley. Prior is *our man.*‡ Polignac, one of the French plenipotentiaries, was privy to the secret designs in favour of the Pretender.

D'Iberville was assured by Lord A. B. (Bolingbroke) that seven-eighths of the people of Great Britain were Tories, though in London it was confessed, the proportion in their favour was not so great. Their strength lay chiefly in the landed interest, and among the lower clergy and the populace. The Whigs boasted, that on their side were the heaviest purses, the best swords, the best heads, and the handsomest women; and by attempting to account for their pre-eminence in some of these particulars, D'Iberville's informant seems tacitly to admit its truth. Analyzing the Whigs as a party, he divides them into two sections, one tending to republicanism, and the other suspected of an intention to establish an aristocratic government in England, having a king nominally at its head, but with no more real power in the state than the Doge at Venice. In the former division he places the Presbyterians and other dissenters, the French refugees, who were a bold, active, and resolute body, and many of the principal citizens of London; among the latter he classes the greater part of the chief nobility. But, whatever might be their ultimate views, both sections were firmly united in support of the Protestant succession, and determined at all risks to maintain it entire; and having thorough confidence in their leaders, who were men of approved ability and experience, they acted with unity and vigour in the prosecution of their designs. Lord Somers, he added, who had the reputation of being the most able man in

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* Gautier to Torcy, 27th March, 1714.
† Ibid. 22d November, 1712.
‡ 16th February, 1712.

England, had been long the acknowledged leader of the Whig party; but from his premature decay both in body and mind, he was no longer capable of conducting their affairs. Their present leaders were Halifax, Cowper, Wharton, Sunderland, Oxford, Nottingham, Bradford, Chesterfield, and above all, Walpole. These men had meetings twice or thrice a-week to consult on the interests of their party and watch over the measures and conduct of their opponents.

The Tories, though a more numerous, were, he owned, a less united and less efficient body. Some of them were ready to take back the Pretender without any securities at all, either for their liberties or religion. To this class belonged the whole tribe of non-jurors, the rabble of Scotch and Irish adventurers, and some but not many of the Quakers, seduced by Penn into Jacobitism, though in religious matters the most opposed of any sect to churchmen. Another more important and more powerful division of the Tories, insisted on the Pretender abjuring the Roman Catholic religion, and professing the doctrines of the Church of England—some, because they thought the Church of Rome idolatrous—others, because they had been brought up in fear and horror of the Pope—and a third set, because they had abbey lands in their families. The persons belonging to this division of the Tories were hostile to the parliamentary settlement—some because it was repugnant to the notions of divine, indefeasible right, in which they had been nurtured—others, because they had no expectations of favour from the House of Hanover—and some for no better reason than the patriotic antipathy they had contracted against Germans and other foreigners. The individuals of this class were friendly to the Pretender, but many of them were timid—apprehensive of the consequences that might arise from the violence and determination of the Whigs, and more likely to acquiesce in the restoration of the exiled family, than to risk their lives and fortunes to bring it about; but all of them made it an indispensable condition of their support, that the Pretender should conform, in outward appearance at least, to the Church of England. There was still a third division of the Tories, separated by their high-church politics, and hatred of dissenters, from the Whigs, but in their principles of civil government, agreeing with the more moderate and least democratic members of that party, who were attached to a monarchy limited by law, and indisposed to the Pretender, because they were persuaded nothing could ever reconcile him to what they conceived to be the constitutional limitations of his prerogative. A fourth party consisted of those who called themselves Tories because

the Tories were in power; but had no objections to be Whigs if ever the Whigs acquired the ascendant.*

While the Queen was alive, Oxford and Bolingbroke mutually blamed each other for the neglect of efficient measures in favour of the Pretender.† After her death, Bolingbroke in bitterness exhaled to D'Iberville his indignation against Oxford, as the sole cause of the failure of their schemes; and when told that Oxford threatened to be his accuser, he replied, that Oxford had more to fear from him than he from Oxford.‡

Mr Cooke has studied the Memoirs of Torcy with great and laudable care. But he has overlooked several passages which seem to us clearly to indicate, that Torcy knew of secret designs entertained by the English Ministry which he did not choose to divulge. On the return of Gautier from London, with the answer of the English cabinet to the first propositions carried over by Ménager, the French government, says Torcy, was disappointed: 'On ne pouvait cependant douter de la sincerité des ministres de 'cette princesse (la Reine Anne) interessés personellement à la 'paix, s'ils vouloient conserver non seulement leur fortune, mais 'de plus leurs têtes.'§ If Mr Cooke had asked himself how could the heads of the English ministers be endangered by receiving propositions of peace from France without the knowledge of the allies, it must have occurred to him, that something more than a simple treaty of peace was in agitation. In another place,‖ where Torcy laments that the advice of Bolingbroke, who recommended to his mistress to sign a definitive treaty with France without waiting for her allies, had not been followed, he gives as his reason, that in that case 'la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, 'dont les infirmités augmentoient, auroit eu le loisir de pourvoir 'avant sa mort au repos de son royaume.' By the repose of her kingdom, Torcy meant the quiet re-establishment of her brother, which he and many others in those times thought essential to the permanent tranquillity of England. Such was the blind veneration then prevalent for royal personages and their rights, that it was thought impossible for Providence to continue its protection to any country where the course of lineal succession had been departed from. The Tories partook generally in this superstition, though many of them flattered themselves with the hope

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* D'Iberville to Torcy, 6th March, 1714.
† Gautier to Torcy, 16th July, 1714.
‡ D'Iberville to Torcy, 24th August, 1714—4th September, 1714.
§ Torcy, Mémoires, II., 52.
‖ Ib. II. 203.

of an exception in the case of a lineal heir who was not in communion with the Church of England.

Both Somerville and Cooke accuse the French government of coldness and indifference to the Stuarts. From the Correspondence we have seen, the contrary is most apparent. Next to peace, which had become essential to the very existence of France, the object nearest to the heart of Louis and of his ministers, seems to have been the restoration of the Pretender. But they had suffered too severely in the war, which had been provoked by their recognition of his title, to violate the peace they had made, by any public demonstration in his favour, without the certainty of a large, united, and well-organized party in England, ready to embark in his cause. What they could do without hazarding the renewal of hostilities they were prepared to have done. In November 1713, when the life of the Queen was supposed to be in danger, Torcy informed the Pretender, that two small armed vessels were ready at Havre to convey him, in the event of her death, to England or Scotland, whichever he pleased—adding, that it was the advice of the King he should set out from Lorraine without delay, on the first intelligence of that event, travel as secretly as possible, and not pass through Paris or Versailles.*

Affairs were in a different position at the time of the Queen's death. The Tory Ministry was dissolved, and had not been reconstructed. After the proclamation of King George, which no measures had been taken to prevent, the Whigs formed a majority in the council. The ports were guarded, the fleet placed under the command of a Whig, and all the fortresses in the kingdom secured. The Jacobites were in consternation, and the Tories fallen into despair, or indulging in vain hopes from Hanover. The Pretender had disappointed his friends by his obstinacy about religion, and offended many by his injudicious and ill-timed circular.† A price had been set on his head, in case he landed in any part of the British dominions. He nevertheless set off in post-haste from Bar on the news of his sister's death—wrote to Torcy that he was coming to Paris, the very step he had been desired not to take—stopped at an inn to despatch letters to Scotland—met on the road an express from Torcy, directing him not to come to Paris, and advising him to return to Lorraine, as he might be arrested on landing, by the first constable who met him in England. He took the advice, and went quietly back to his former quarters.

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* Torcy to the Pretender, 21st November, 1713.

† D'Iberville to Torcy, 30th July, 1714.

From the facts we have stated, there seems little reason to doubt, that in the four last years of Queen Anne, designs were entertained, and measures projected by her ministers, for the restoration of the Pretender. Of the moral guilt of the persons who took part in these proceedings there can be but one opinion. While conspiring for the Pretender, they were loud and vehement in their professions of attachment to the Protestant succession. Oxford and Buckinghamshire vied with each other in declarations of zeal and devotion for the Electoral family; and Oxford vouched for the Queen and Lady Masham being animated with the same sentiments as himself. Buckinghamshire complained of the persecution he had suffered from the Whigs, on account of his fidelity to their interests; and protested that nothing in the preliminaries of peace had given so much satisfaction to himself and his colleagues as the article which secured the succession in the Protestant line. Strafford attempted to wheedle the Electress, and persuade her that the Tories were her real friends, and the Whigs secretly her enemies. Bolingbroke, though not exempt from the same reproach, seems to have indulged to a less degree in this hypocrisy than his brother conspirators.

Had the designs of the ministers succeeded, we have little hesitation to say, that our religion and liberties must have been exposed to imminent danger. The Pretender was a bigot, and with the usual casuistry of bigots, he would soon have reconciled himself to the disregard of every engagement he had contracted, or might have been made to contract, in support of the Church. He had been educated in the same lofty notions of prerogative, and had imbibed the same doctrines of divine indefeasible right, which had proved so fatal to his family; and most probably he would have acted on these principles with the same dogged obstinacy and determination as his father had done. His success must have cost us another revolution to correct the evil of another restoration.

On the other hand, the most specious of the objections to the House of Brunswick have turned out eventually to be so many reasons in their favour. The German propensities of the two first Georges involved them in a labyrinth of continental engagements, which kept them in continual dependence on the House of Commons, and gradually consolidated the system of Parliamentary government introduced by the Revolution. Even Hanover was, in their days, of benefit, by absorbing that restless activity incident to royal personages, which might otherwise have been exerted for mischievous purposes at home. No sooner had Hanover ceased to be the chief object of attraction to its elector, than the King of England began to form schemes for recovering that

personal weight and influence in affairs, which had been enjoyed in ancient times by his predecessors. Discord and disgrace were the bitter fruits of his experiment. America was lost, and for the first time since the Spanish Armada, a hostile fleet was seen to ride triumphantly in the Channel.

The personal deficiencies of the first princes of the House of Hanover, have not been unattended with advantages. Their ignorance of the country they were called upon to govern, and even of the language spoken by its inhabitants, prevented them from taking that part in the conduct of its affairs which had been invariably assumed by their predecessors. They ceased to attend councils for the transaction of business; and were satisfied if the result of the deliberations of their ministers was submitted to their approbation. This happy innovation began at the accession of George I., and amidst the struggles and contentions of parties, it has continued to our times, and may now be considered as an established and essential part of our practical constitution. *They*, who are responsible, discuss among themselves; and, unawed by the presence of a superior, decide in freedom what is fittest to be done. *He*, who is irresponsible, has and should have no voice in public but what proceeds from them. Wherever a contrary system prevails, representative governments are shorn of half their efficacy, if their value consists, as we believe it to do, in substituting the wisdom of *many*, acting under the calm and wholesome influence of public opinion, in place of the caprices and prejudices of *one*, who has nothing to fear but from some of those sudden and transient bursts of popular violence, which shake society to its centre.

Wishing well, as we most cordially do, to the representative government established in France, we cannot but lament, that this last improvement on the ancient feudal monarchies of Europe, has not found its way into that kingdom. The French King, if we are not misinformed, assists and presides at the deliberations of his ministers; and, strange to say, there are persons of consideration in France, whose lives have been passed in the public service, so imperfectly acquainted with our institutions, as to maintain that such is the practice in this country. They may be assured, that the reverse is the fact; and that for many generations past no King of England has ever assisted at those consultations of his confidential servants, where measures are discussed and prepared for his approbation, and that of Parliament.

We cannot conclude this short and imperfect sketch of an important and hitherto obscure portion of our history, without again expressing our hopes that the Historical Collections of Sir James Mackintosh may be secured for general use, and deposited in some of our National Repositories, accessible to the public at large.

With the Stuart Papers, formerly at Carlton House, they would afford ample materials for a history of the decline and fall of Jacobitism,—a superstition more respectable for the feelings mixed up with it, than laudable for the objects of its adoration,—once extensively diffused over the island, though in various degrees of intensity, but now exhibiting no other signs of life than the political tendencies it has left behind and impressed on the minds of its former votaries. Something like it, we confess, still lingers on the continent, but with the progress of reason it must vanish, and give place to a higher, more reasonable, and more salutary faith,—more conducive at least to the progress and improvement of the human race.

Art. II.—*Faustus, a Dramatic Mystery; the Bride of Corinth; the First Walpurgis Night. Translated from the German of* Goethe; *and illustrated with Notes, by* John Anster, LL.D. 8vo. London: 1835.

Since the appearance of Mr Hayward's prose Translation of 'Faust,' which was reviewed in this Journal (April, 1833), no less than four poetical versions of the same drama have been ushered into the world. There is something so attractive in the very first aspect of this literary ignis-fatuus—so much ease and flexibility, both in flow of metre and turn of thought, in various parts, and especially in the earlier scenes—that a reader who has the slightest propensity towards verse-manufacturing, can scarcely refrain from trying his hand at translation, almost as soon as he has opened the book. Pleased with his own success in rendering, either literally or liberally, those portions which fall almost of their own accord into English rhyme, he plods gallantly on through the enormous difficulties which beset him in the farther prosecution of his task, and trusts to the spirit and fidelity of a few passages to redeem the great deficiencies which, he cannot but be conscious, disfigure the remainder of his attempt. We do not pretend to compare the relative merits of the versions of Messrs Syme and Blackie, which have preceded the present volume in the date of their appearance, although not of their composition; besides a third experiment by Mr Talbot, with which we have not yet been able to make ourselves acquainted. Both appear to us, in many respects, to reflect credit on their authors. Both, like that of Lord Francis Egerton, the earliest of these competitors, are occasionally excellent in the easier scenes, viz. the opening,

and some of the dialogues between Faust and Margaret—very tolerable, in the other poetical portions of the drama; but we are compelled to add, that in our judgment they wholly fail in those most difficult passages in which the author has given the rein to his own fantastic humour; where pathos, philosophy, satire, good and bad taste are mingled together in such strange variety, that it is, probably, in vain to expect that any translator will succeed in representing each piece of the intricate Mosaic by an exactly equivalent morsel in his own language. We have, however, been induced to notice more particularly the translation which is now before us, because, when we read some detached portions of it, several years ago, in a series of papers in one of the Magazines, we were at once impressed with the conviction that their unknown author was far better fitted to the task than any other adventurer with whose attempts we were then acquainted;—judging by the singularly free and spirited touches of his pen, and his evident sympathy, no less with the quaint and sarcastic than with the exalted or pathetic moods of the German Shakspeare. The fragments which then appeared have now been connected; and, in the work thus completed (to the publication of which the author has been induced, as he says in his preface, by the mention made of him in Mr Hayward's notes; and we are happy to find our judgment fortified by the concurrence of one so highly qualified to form an opinion), we have seen full reason to justify our original predilection. Not that the author has by any means executed the desideratum of a perfect translation; for, while some parts are admirable, others are disfigured by gross inequalities; nor are we sure that, in endeavouring to convert his bold sketches into a finished work, he has not occasionally refined away a little of their effectiveness, and rendered his copy a tamer, if more faithful, imitation of the original than the rough draught had been. But it is the genius, the fire, the characteristic mind and tone of Goethe which we find here, and here alone, transfused into our native tongue; and it is easy to trace how the possession of this fellow-feeling with his author has smoothed away for him many of the difficulties with which other translators have contended unsuccessfully; so that he is carried, with grace and dexterity, through portions of the work where the others labour in much perplexity, and do not think themselves safe unless they have fast hold of the words and idiom of Goethe, in default of his spirit. As the translator of *Don Quixote* must have something Cervantic in his composition, and the translator of *Rabelais* must of necessity be of the sect of the Pantagruelists, so must the translator of *Faust* have a certain touch of Goethe, or, if you will, of Mephistopheles, in order to do any justice to his original.

We say of Mephistopheles, because not only is he the presiding character who conducts all the action of the drama, but it represents, look at it in what light we will, a triumph of evil over good—a jubilee of the spirits of falsehood, scepticism, mischief; temporary, perchance, although we are nowhere expressly led to this conclusion; but, for the time, and in the whole purpose of the drama, complete. We quite agree with Herr Enk, the most recent commentator on Faust whose work we have met with, in rejecting the sentimental modifications which ingenious reasoners have superadded to the moral of the story. The spirit of good, and the subordinate power of evil, lay a wager concerning the virtue of a man; and the Devil wins—for, in the terms of the wager, the present life, and that alone, is mentioned. The Fiend undertakes to pervert the allowed object of his experiment, and he succeeds; his success is complete, and in the terrible concluding 'Hither, to me!' by which his victim is called away from the last associations that connected him with better humanity, no hint, no indication, of a reversal of the decree is at all discoverable. The Devil, in the old legend, ends the piece by dashing out the conjurer's brains against the wall: such a display is not needed in Goethe's drama, for, when they vanish together from the cell of Margaret, the reader feels that Faust is his, body and soul, as much as if the end of their compact on earth had been actually brought before the scene. It may be that the intention of the poet was to recall Faust as well as Margaret from the temporary dominion of their enemy; every one, in fact, may add a second part to the drama if he will; all that we contend is, that no such happy *dénouement* is necessarily involved in, or probably deducible from, that which is written. Nay, it would be as inconsistent with the dark and severe unity of the existing poem, as the theatrical catastrophes added to Shakspeare's tragedies, to spare the nerves of refined audiences; by virtue of which improvements, Romeo and Juliet used to come to life again together in the vault, as Cordelia still does in the arms of Lear. The victim has been hurried through the first and reclaimable stage of crime—that of the passions—he has fallen into the stage of commencing decay, that impotence of will which is an incurable disease, admitting of no reaction; he sins, not as in the first excitement of his recovered youth, but because his will has no power to resist the sway of its habitual tempter; and, to borrow once more the sentiments of the German writer whom we have mentioned, 'Hell always weaves 'its strongest web, not out of the conflict of the passions themselves, but out of the powerless exhaustion which follows upon it.'

These are not, we must admit, the opinions of Dr Anster, but our own; he appears to hold the optimist doctrine, thinks his hero

reclaimable, and believes it 'impossible to read Faustus with 'ordinary candour, and not acknowledge that Goethe's purpose 'was good.' So, in a higher sense, it may undoubtedly have been. But to suppose that the tree which has fallen, and must to all human judgment so lie, is to recover its natural uprightness by and by;—that because the allegorical Tempter has been permitted to essay the work of perversion, therefore, the sin and shame of yielding to it must be temporary;—is to attribute a sort of Kotzebue-like morality to Goethe, which seems to us wholly at variance with the principles of his clear and manly intellect.*

We must not, however, wander from our purpose, which was only to pay our tribute of admiration to the poetical merits of Dr Anster's work, not to enter into controversy respecting the object of the German writer. The first scene of the drama presents, as we have said, few of those peculiar difficulties to translators which occur in subsequent parts; it is, therefore, hardly to be taken as a specimen of the execution of the whole. But we cannot refrain from citing the following lines, which appear to us to want scarcely any thing either of the pathos or exquisite melody of the original:—

'Beautiful Moon! ah, would that now,
For the last time, thy lovely beams
Shone on my troubled brow!
Oft by this desk at middle night,
I have sate gazing for thy light:
Wearied with search through volumes endless,
I sate 'mid papers—crowded books—
Alone—when thou, *friend of the friendless,*
Camest smiling in, with placid looks.'—

[Not quite the sweet "Trübseliger Freund" of Goethe.—]

'Oh, that upon some headland height
I now were wandering in thy light!
Floating with spirits, like a shadow,
Round mountain cave, o'er twilight meadow.
And, from the toil of thought relieved,
No longer sickened and deceived,
In thy soft dew could bathe, and find
Tranquillity and health of mind!'

We are not quite as well pleased with the mighty apparition of the Spirit of the Earth. His rebuke of the mortal philosopher

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* We do not allude to the second part of Faust, added by Goethe himself so many years later, because critics seem generally agreed that it is a mere after-thought of the author, not to be considered in estimating the tendency and scope of the first fragment.

should be cold, solemn, concise: it is the calm serenity of a being, too far removed in nature and office from that which it addresses, to be offended at its presumptuous claim of equality; not contemptuous or voluble, like the anger of a mortal potentate, on being thus arrogantly defied by an inferior. Consequently, it loses somewhat of its dignity when the fifteen lines of the original are diluted into six-and-twenty; and we are quite sure that the Spirit, after the sublime apostrophe to the sage—

> 'Whose soul, into itself retreating,
> Vain worm! can scarce endure the fearful meeting,'

would scarcely have wound up his invective with so lame a conclusion as,

> 'Is this, indeed, the miserable sequel,'

simply with the kind purpose of enabling his exorcist to rejoin in rhyme—

> 'Twas I that called thee—Faustus—I, thine *equal!*'

But most spirited, most eloquent indeed, is the monologue which follows the Spirit's departure, and the unwelcome intrusion of Wagner. We scarcely venture to compare it closely with the wonderful original, because, by such a comparison, Dr Anster's besetting sin as a *translator*—diffuseness—would become too conspicuous. But, forgetting for a while the German of which it is in fact a paraphrase, what can be more finely descriptive than the following address of welcome by Faust, to the antique *patera* into which he is about to transfuse his extract of deadly essences?

> 'And thou, clear crystal goblet, welcome thou,
> Old friend and faithful, from thy antique case
> Come forth with gay smile now,
> As gently I displace
> The time-stained velvet; years unnumbered
> Forgotten hast thou slumbered;
> Once bright at many a festival,
> When, in the old man's hall,
> Old friends were gathered all,
> And thou with mirth didst light grave features up,
> On days of high festivity
> And family solemnity,
> When each to each pass'd on the happy cup;
> Its massy pride, the figures rich and old
> Of curious carving, and the merry task
> Of each (thus did our pleasant customs ask)
> Who drank, the quaint old symbols to unfold
> In rhymes made at the moment; then the mask
> Of serious seeming, as at one long draught
> Each guest the full deep goblet duly quaffed;

> The old cup, the old customs, the old rhymes
> Are now all with me: all, that of old times
> Can speak, are speaking to my heart; the nights
> Of boyhood and their manifold delights;
> Oh! never more to gay friend sitting next
> Shall my hand reach thee; never more from me
> Shall merry rhyme illustrate the old text,
> And into meaning read each mystery;
> This is a draught that, if the brain still think,
> Will set it thinking in another mood;
> Old cup, now fill thee with the dark-brown flood;
> It is my choice; I mixed it, and will drink:'—Pp. 49, 50.

Goethe was, probably, recalling to his own imagination some well-remembered family scenes and customs in the house of his own father, the old-fashioned Frankfort merchant, whose way of life is so picturesquely delineated in his Memoirs. But to us, the verses always call up a vision of personages like those represented in the early German block-books—in their furred robes and burgher chains—seated round antique tables, and drinking *supernaculum* out of grotesque goblets. We are not aware, by the way, of having seen, in any criticism on Faust, a notice of what appears to us the very peculiar and artificial beauty of this passage—its connexion, namely, with that which follows. The heart of the intended suicide, first softened and moved to a sort of enthusiasm by the visionary images of his past boyhood, which come floating around him at sight of the old forgotten utensil, is prepared, as it were, for the reception of those more soul-stirring remembrances of early devotion, which the song of the Easter choristers is about to awaken, and thus attach him to life again. Had that solemn chaunt reached his ears just before, when, in the first bitterness of recent humiliation under the majesty of his unearthly visitor, or in his later mood of wayward despondency, it would, probably, have fallen unheeded, or have served only to increase his anguish. But when the emotions suggested by the sacred melody came, as it were, in continuance of that train of thought, which other fortuitous circumstances had already called up in his mind, it is no wonder if his sullen resolution gave way before the mingled current of softening recollections. There is one exquisite passage in ancient poetry, which presents us with a very similar touch of nature. If Goethe had read it, he has rather produced an admirable counterpart than an imitation of it. It is in Apollonius Rhodius, where Medea, being in like manner bent on self-destruction, is overpowered and recalled from her purpose by a sudden rush of kindly remembrances, even while the chest of magic drugs is resting on her knees—

ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσαι
θυμήδεις βιότοιο μελήδονες ἰνδάλλοντο.
μνήσατο μὲν τερπνῶν, ὅσ' ἐνὶ ζώοισι πέλονται,
μνήσαθ' ὁμηλικίας περιγήθεος, οἷατέ κούρη·
καί τε οἱ ἠέλιος γλυκίων γένετ' εἰσοράασθαι ἢ πάρος.

The next, or 'gate-scene,' as German critics term it, affords also some fine specimens of translation. But why has Dr Anster assumed the bad license taken by former translators, who had not the same facility of versification with himself, and rendered so large a portion of this and subsequent scenes in blank verse? Our sense of fitness in this particular is, we suppose, not shared by others, since we find this liberty taken by one so deeply imbued with the spirit of his original as the author of the volume before us: but to us this form of metre appears utterly and miserably inadequate to render the quaint, capricious transitions, to represent the antique cast, the entirely Gothic form and spirit of the 'mystery' so singularly conceived by Goethe. A 'Divine Comedy' some have proposed to term it; and it certainly so far bears analogy to the Italian poem thus entitled, from some enigmatical fancy of its author, that it is purposely clad in the *lingua volgare*,—the popular old German form of minstrelsy. It is to the 'Schwänke,' the metrical dialogues and allegories of Hans Sachs, a contemporary of the printer Faust, and only older by one generation than the magician, that we are to look, if any where, for the original from whence Goethe derived the external shape and characteristics of this creature of his fancy. No two things can be more unlike than this Teutonic jingle and our blank verse, in either of its forms—the classical or Miltonic, and the dramatic or Shaksperian. Only one passage, amid the great rhythmical variety of the poem itself, is written in similar German blank verse; and, notwithstanding all the enthusiasm of the many critics who seem to view that passage (Faust's soliloquy in the forest) as one of the finest in the work, we cannot but think it stands out in harsh and unpleasant contrast, heterogeneous in character as well as form, from the rest of the drama. At all events, it is clear that the poet would not have restricted himself in the use of that which is, in his language as well as ours, the ordinary dramatic measure, to this solitary monologue, had it not been, in his opinion, unsuited to the general character of his work. We cannot take an instance more to our purpose, than from the very concluding scene of the translation, which, as all German readers well remember, is executed, in the original, in the wildest and boldest flow of lyrical harmony; but which, when rendered in cold rhymeless uniformity, seems to lose no small portion of its power;—especially when the effect of the

comparatively inanimate metre is increased by the diffuseness of style, which is, as we have said, an unfortunately prevalent characteristic of our translator. Take the abrupt address of Mephistopheles, when he appears to break up the last conference of Faust and Margaret, and put a stop to the seducer's agonized remonstrances with his unconscious victim—

> 'Away, or you are lost!
> This trembling, and delay, and idle chattering,
> Will be your ruin—hence, or you are lost—
> My horses shiver in the *chilling* breeze
> Of the *grey* morning.'——

How unlike the fierce conciseness of the Fiend's summons in the original, in which the jingle of words and rhymes seems like a devilish mockery of the misery which surrounds him.

> Auf! oder ihr seyd verloren!
> Unnützes Zagen! Zaudern und Plaudern!
> Meine Pferde schaudern,
> Der Morgen dämmert auf.'——

Mephistopheles's ingenious course of advice to the inquisitive Freshman, is one of the passages which gave us most pleasure among the first published fragments of Dr Anster's translation. We are not sure that, in endeavouring to improve it since their appearance, he has not sacrificed a little of that sharp and pregnant brevity which Goethe, in this as well as in other poems, carries occasionally even to the verge of obscurity—but it is admirably done. Where other translators have laboured to transfer, with dull verbal precision, in lame blank verse, this sally of Satanic wit, our author has closely approximated to the quaint satirical vein and quick measure of his original. We can only give the well-known enigmatical commentary on the Aristotelian syllogism :—

> 'For this I counsel my young friend
> A course of Logic to attend;
> Then shall your mind, well-trained and high,
> In Spanish boots stalk pompously.
> Nor here and there, through paths oblique,
> In devious wanderings idly strike;
> Then in long lessons are you taught
> That, in the processes of thought,
> Which hitherto unmarked had gone,
> Like eating and like drinking, on,
> One, two, and three, the guide must be,
> In things which were till now so free.
> But, as the weavers' work is wrought,
> Even so is formed the web of thought;

One movement leads a thousand threads,
Unseen they move, as now above
The shuttle darts, and now darts under;
And, with one blow, at once will go
A thousand binding ties asunder!
And thus with your philosopher,
Who teaches wisely to infer—
The first was so—the second so—
Then must the third and fourth be so—
And, *if the premises be hollow,*
Then the conclusion will not follow.
Such things charm students every where:
But none is a philosopher,
For he, who seeks to learn, or gives
Descriptions of a thing that lives,
Begins with "murdering, to dissect"
The lifeless parts he would inspect—
The limbs are there beneath his knife,
And all, but that which gave them life.
Alas! the spirit hath withdrawn—
That which informed the mass is gone.'

But here we must stop. The sixteen lines which follow are but a weak expansion of the odd couplet,

'Encheiresin Naturæ nennt's die chemie,
Spottet ihrer selbst und weiss nicht wie.'

It was better rendered, we think, in the first sketch—

'And yet your wise men shall call this
Experiment—analysis—
Names all of mockery—yet each fool
Sees not the self given ridicule.'

As to the more dramatic portion of the play, the loves of Margaret and her seducer, we can scarcely say that we have found equal pleasure in the translation before us. In fact, the innocent child-like *naïveté* of the maiden, who, if the principal epithet be not too harsh, is best described in one of Dame Afra Behn's expressive lines—

"The fair young bigot, full of love and prayer,"

is of all things the most difficult to imitate. The devilry of the 'Brocken' scene is, on the other hand, rendered in a fragment not unworthy of being placed in competition with the bold sketch of Shelley, and possessing the advantage of far greater accuracy. Had we more space to devote to the subject, it would be far better filled with extracts from this and other scenes, than with any

additional criticisms of our own on topics with which all readers of German are familiar, and which the outlines of Retsch—a poem in themselves—have brought home to the imagination of thousands more.

We are well aware of the tedious and apparently ungrateful nature of the labour which an author bestows in polishing or re-casting a poetical composition, after the first heat of conception has passed away; nor can we reasonably expect that Dr Anster, in the enjoyment of the merited success which his version, in its present form, will undoubtedly secure him, can feel much disposition to resume his task, with the hope of still happier results. Nevertheless, although with little expectation of seeing our wishes realized, we cannot but suggest, in conclusion, that if he will but take the same pains to condense, which he has taken since the date of his first essay, to amplify and paraphrase; and if he will abjure the heresy of blank verse, and throw the scenes at present disfigured by it into the bold irregular rhyme which seems to suit his, as it did Goethe's poetical bias, better than any other metrical form, he will, in our opinion, render his translation worthy of taking its place among those few which hold substantive rank in their own country, and are admired, cited, and imitated in lieu of their originals.

Art. III.—*Travels in Ethiopia, above the second Cataract of the Nile; exhibiting the State of that Country, and its various Inhabitants, under the dominion of Mohammed Ali; and illustrating the Antiquities, Arts, and History of the Ancient Kingdom of Meröe.* By G. A. Hoskins, Esq. With a Map and Illustrations. 4to. London: 1835.

It will be long before the curiosity of the enquiring portion of mankind is thoroughly satisfied respecting the monumental antiquities of Egypt and Nubia. That immense line of temples, most of them admirable in themselves, which borders the Nile through a distance of a thousand miles, has received a new and historical value from the modern discovery of the system of hieroglyphical writing made use of by the ancient Egyptians. It is true indeed that that discovery, though a wonderful triumph of human sagacity, throws as yet but a scanty and insufficient light across the gulf of time. The rays nevertheless which cannot penetrate the abyss enable us to discover many prominent and

widely separated points, and thus to arrive at a just idea of the vastness of the whole. All the hieroglyphical inscriptions hitherto interpreted tend to confirm the authenticity of the historical fragments extant relating to ancient Egypt; and, as they usually contain also the name of the Pharaoh who founded the edifice on which they are graven, these edifices become by means of their inscriptions monuments of Egyptian art of a given age; while by reason of their locality they also show the extensive sway of some of the Egyptian kings. So wondrous and peculiar are the relics of antiquity scattered along the banks of the Nile, from Thebes to Shendy, that the contemplation of them must rouse into speculation even the most inert and sluggish minds. How then must they affect one disposed to abandon himself to enthusiastic feelings? Of this latter kind is the author of the volume now before us—an elaborate and faithful describer of what he sees, he makes himself amends for his sober delineation of things present by indulging in the most splendid visions of the past. But even this blemish has its attractions; and, yielding to these, in the following pages we shall follow Mr Hoskins closely, and converse with him intimately, where he is most in earnest; and passing lightly over the narrative of his journey, in which there is little novelty, we shall discuss with him at some length those opinions respecting ancient Meröe, which he has so much at heart, and the confirmation of which appears to have been considered by him as the chief end of his pilgrimage.

On the 1st of February 1833, our author, after having spent twelve months in the valley of the Nile, at length resolutely turned his face to the south, and commenced ascending the river from Thebes. He had already begun to balance between Meröe and Europe, and was inclining to the latter, when the arrival of Signore Bandoni, a skilful artist, threw a vast preponderance into the scale of the former. Our author certainly errs when he says that, previous to him, only six or seven Europeans had penetrated beyond the second cataract. Our memory easily recalls the names of eighteen; but we readily subscribe to what he says respecting the insufficiency of their labours.

'The drawings which have hitherto been made in Upper Nubia are considered to be very inaccurate—much has been left undone, and the hieroglyphics have been but partially and imperfectly copied, while many of the inscriptions are totally unknown. Aware of these circumstances, and also that not a drawing or description of the antiquities of Meröe has yet been published in England, and hoping that my labours may be of some service to those interested in these subjects, I leave

Thebes to encounter again the fatigues and perils of the desert; but Meröe is before me, the probable birth-place of the arts and sciences.'

It is greatly to be lamented that Mr Hoskins set out to investigate the antiquities of the Upper Nile with his mind already fully preoccupied by theories respecting them. At Assuan, or Syene, he left his canja or boat, and applied to the Nazr or Turkish commandant for camels. Of the monotonous routine of Oriental ceremony he gives a lively sketch.

'On entering a Turkish divan, the traveller is merely required to make a grave bow, placing his right hand to his left breast, and to seat himself in the divan in the Turkish style, which, for the information of those readers who have not been in the country, I should say is exactly that easy position which it seems in Europe tailors only are privileged to assume. When seated he usually salutes the great man again in the same manner as before; but if the latter be of very high rank, it is better to show respect by placing the right hand first to the lips and then above the forehead. A few complimentary speeches are now exchanged, such as "How do you do?"—"What a tall man you are!"—"What a fine beard!"—"You are like one of us!"—Welcome and thanks. Coffee is then presented to the traveller. The pasha gives pipes to noblemen at his own divan only; but every Englishman has a right to expect one, or to smoke his own, at the divan of any of his subordinate officers. The Turk, if he is only a Katchef or Nazr, ought to make a kind of half rise from his seat when the traveller enters, but it is very seldom that his pride and desire of appearing a great man in his little court permits him to show this courtesy. All the Turks possess, or have the power of assuming, an apparently natural dignity of manner. The liberated slave, raised suddenly to rank and authority, seems always at his ease, as if born to the station that he fills. Education, that is the having learned with difficulty to read and write a letter of four or five lines, makes no distinction, being an attainment of which those of the highest rank are sometimes deficient. I presented to the Nazr, a common-looking fellow, the Pasha's firman, which as usual he kissed and placed to his forehead. As soon as his Coptic writer had read it to him, he ordered me a pipe, an attention previously omitted, and in the mean time offered me his own, but my servant at that moment entered with mine. I had ordered it, because my not assuming my right in this trifling etiquette would have made me less respected, not only by the Nazr and his court, but, what was of real consequence, by the Arabs who were to accompany me across the desert to Berber. Generally, I hate etiquette and ceremony as the north and north-east winds of society, but I have found from experience, that with the Turks it is absolutely necessary to insist on their observance. Travellers, in their ignorance of Eastern manners, are generally too humble to them.'

The truth is, that courtesy and civility are accepted by

Turkish underlings not as a free gift, but as a tribute; and he who gives them lavishly is sure of being placed on the list of dependents. But Mr Hoskins had duly estimated their pride; so that by smoking his own pipe, and scarcely deigning to bow at all, he contrived to keep their arrogance in check. Contrasted with the usurping haughtiness of the Turks, he had an opportunity of witnessing the simple sober dignity of Arab deportment in the person of the Sheakh of the Ababdes, the tribe who escort travellers from Egypt to the province of Berber above Nubia.

'I was agreeably struck,' says our author, 'with his appearance—he was a man of middle size—extremely regular features—a calm and dignified manner—a benevolent, and at the same time noble, expression of countenance. His dress was remarkably neat and clean. His turban and long linen gown were beautifully white, and of good materials. He promised us that we should have camels the next day; and we agreed that the price should be seventy piastres for the use of each, during the journey to Mekkarif, where, it is said, we shall arrive in twenty days.'

But Arabs are as dilatory as Turks. No camels arrived the next day nor the day after, so that it was not till after five days' delay (the 10th February) that Mr Hoskins entered the mountains with his little caravan, again to descend into the valley of the Nile at some distance from the boundary of Egypt. Of Lower Nubia he says but little, remarking only the general poverty of the soil and of the inhabitants. The cultivated land near the Nile is never above a furlong, but more generally only from twenty to fifty paces in width, while in many parts the barren rocks extend to the river. If our reader will picture to himself the Nile winding like a thread of silver through the desert of Lower Nubia, with a much narrower, often interrupted or scarcely perceptible line of green fringing it, chiefly on the eastern side; and then fix his attention on the numerous ruins of massive edifices, rock temples, and colossal antique grandeur, flanking, or more frequently standing opposite to the green spots near the river, he cannot fail to perceive that these edifices owe their miraculous appearance in a great measure to the great disproportion which exists between them and the natural resources of the country which they once adorned. They will cease, therefore, to be viewed as miracles when it is considered that they were of foreign origin, being for the most part erected by Egyptian kings. The consequences of this observation will be manifest when we come to consider the architectural remains of Meröe.

The poor Nubians, imagining our author to be a great man

sent by the pasha to take an account of their country, answered all his enquiries respecting their condition by the most lamentable representations of their poverty; declaring that if their taxes were increased in the slightest degree they must die of starvation. Nor is there any reason to believe that they much overcharged the picture. Their villages consisted of ten or a dozen huts of the most wretched description. The adult population were clothed in rags—the youth went naked—their food was of the coarsest kind, and their only luxury idleness. There seemed to be little or no intercourse between the several inhabited districts along the river; so that the prices of the commonest articles of subsistence varied considerably at places only a few miles apart. Yet bad as this state of things is, the Nubians are, in the opinion of Mr Hoskins, much better off than the peasants of Egypt; for the former, when every thing they can part with is wrung from them, are left to exist in peace, whereas the Egyptian cultivator is not only despoiled as they are, but is also tormented by the presence of his oppressors. In truth, both in Nubia and Egypt, the man who tills the ground is but a slave compelled to labour for the government—the Nubian, however, is not overlooked, while the poor Egyptian Fellah is always under the eye of his cruel task-master. From Korosko, which was reached in five days from Assuan, Mr Hoskins turned off into the desert, taking the short cut to Berber. But before we quit the Nile, we will give our author's brief but vivid account of the scenery of that river.

'The finest view we have had this morning was in descending from the mountains opposite Tafey. The basalt and red, but exteriorly dark-coloured granite, contrasted with the light-red sand of the desert; similar rocks and sands in the distance; in the midst, the serpentine river, with its verdant banks, adorned with groves of palm-trees; and the interesting remains of temples, all illumined with the clearest blue sky, and the most gorgeous sunset, formed a scene to which few painters could do justice. Though not romantic, nor strikingly picturesque, according to the original import of those terms, yet the extraordinary contrast and magical effect produced by this wonderful combination of brilliant colours, are magnificent, and present almost insuperable difficulties to the artist who attempts faithfully to delineate such a landscape.'

This brilliant scenery is soon lost sight of when the caravan enters the desert. Our readers are probably aware, that near Korosko the Nile takes a sudden turn to the west, and then running S.W. and S., in a tortuous course, to the southern extremity of Dongola, and afterwards N.E. to the island of Mograt, thus makes a circuit of at least 700 miles between two points; the dis-

tance between which, across the desert, is but 250 miles, or eight days' journey. It would be vain to attempt to impart interest to a description of this monotonous and dreary route. We might, to be sure, draw on our imagination for the awful fate of caravans scattered by the whirlwind, and buried in the sand; and we might significantly point to the bones of men and camels, which lie blanching near the tracks of the caravan. But, notwithstanding the appearance of those melancholy relics, we cannot resist the conviction that the dangers of the desert are usually very much exaggerated. They certainly bear no comparison with those of the sea, which yet fill the mind of a European with much fewer apprehensions. It will be sufficient, then, to say that our author, in crossing the desert, was amused with the Arab songs which quickened the pace of the camel; and was told of gold mines (respecting which we are incredulous) at two places at a little distance eastward of his route. He found on one of the rocks near El Murrah, or the well of bitter waters, some hieroglyphic inscriptions; whence it may be inferred that the route through the desert, from Korosko to Berber, was frequented in ancient times. At the same station (El Murrah), he also saw that flexile creature, man, conformed to the wretched nature of the soil in which he vegetates.—'There are six families of Bishareen stationed here, who attend to cleaning the wells from sand. The Pasha placed them in this valley, but gives them no allowance. They possess camels, with which they trade, and supply the merchants who need these animals. All the caravans give them a trifle. They live in tents made of mats; and their wild appearance, extraordinary head-dress, yet fine features, quite accord with our idea of dwellers in the desert. The nauseous salt water is their only beverage, but does not seem to disagree with them. I never beheld a more sad picture of savagery and desolation than their encampment.'

A journey of eight days, or of 86 hours of actual travelling on a camel, brought our author, and his little caravan, to the bank of the Nile, opposite to the island of Mograt, which he partially examined, without success, for remains of antiquity. His journey of five days southward to Mekkarif, the capital of Berber, offers nothing of interest. He does not appear to have seen, nor to have sought for, the island of Kandessy, near which, as Mr English was informed, is a pyramid remarkable for its perfect state of preservation. The once flourishing district of Berber, he found sadly impoverished and depopulated;—large villages deserted, and the people that remained either actually reduced to poverty, or affecting to be so. The cause of this misery is ex-

plained in the following discourse of Abbas Bey, the governor of the province:—'I have few or no friends here,' said he, 'and 'many enemies. It is difficult to satisfy the demands of the 'Pasha, and not oppress the people. The Government at 'Alexandria are never content with the amount of the revenue; 'and yet are enraged if any complaints reach them, although 'they are the consequences of their own exorbitant demands; *but* 'I hope God will give me *good luck*, and enable me to keep my 'place to the satisfaction of my master.'

Here it is clear that we are to understand by the 'good luck' of the governor, the resigned misery of the people. Yet Abbas Bey appeared to Mr Hoskins 'a fine fellow,' and 'decidedly the 'best Turk he had ever known.' He certainly was generous and obliging; not insatiable of gifts, as Turks generally are, but sensible of the pleasure of bestowing them. His desire to oblige carried him so far, that on hearing Mr Hoskins complaining of the difficulty of inducing any of the people to sit to have their portraits drawn, he immediately declared, 'that whoever dared 'to refuse, he would cut off his head!' In the service of this best of Turkish gentlemen, and in the capacity of a groom, was Mousa, the son of a Melik or King. This young prince, when his portrait was finished, for which he was compelled to sit, begged the Bey to treat him as a man, and not show him as a beast. At the Divan of Abbas Bey, a Turk whose singular virtue it is to be indifferent to presents, was Nazr ed Deen, forty years Melik, or King of Berber, who boasted the scarcely less extraordinary merit of being able to devour a whole sheep at his breakfast. The population of Mekkarif is estimated by Mr Hoskins at 3500; that of the whole province, extending from Abou Hammed to two days' journey beyond Shendy (a distance of 200 miles along the river), at 30,000. Near Mekkarif a good deal of indigo is manufactured. But this and the other branches of industry encouraged by the Pasha, constitute only a deceptious set-off against the calamities inflicted by his government. The policy of Mohamed Ali, so much lauded in Europe, is more active, but not less barbarous than that of other Pashas. He sucks the blood from every province which he seizes, and then, vexed to find its animation gone, he endeavours to replace the principles of life by attaching to the skeleton an apparatus of wire-work.

After resting a few days at Mekkarif, Mr Hoskins embarked once more, and proceeded with a favourable breeze on his voyage up the river. Here, on passing the mouth of the Atbara or Black river (Bahr el-aswad), the Astaboras of the ancients, he errs in the same manner as Bruce respecting the name of the

river, and calls it the Mugrum.* It is a still greater mistake to believe that the Nile, above this junction, was called by Strabo the Astapus. We must dissent also from the following derivation of the name Bishareen: 'The Bishareen pay their 'tribute to this (the Berber) Government. They occupy the 'territory, and are generally supposed to be the descendants of 'the ancient Troglodites; but there is a name sculptured on the 'walls of Thebes, of a captured people called Sharim, which with 'the Coptic article Pi, makes Pisharim, or Bisharim.' A similar opinion has been expressed by Champollion, in one of his hasty letters, with reference to the name Shari (not Sharim), which occurs in an inscription at Bet Wally, in lower Nubia; but it is easily refuted. The word Shari, in Coptic, means the Red Sea; so that the people alluded to in the inscriptions must have been the maritime tribes; whereas the proper country of the Bishareen is the north-western portion of the Beja country, or the part nearest to Egypt. In the next place, how can it be supposed that a Coptic plural noun should be formed by adding, not the plural, but the singular article (pi)? Thirdly, there is no trace whatever of the name Bishareen in any author prior to the establishment of the Arabs in the country south of Egypt; and that the name is altogether of Arabic origin, we think Mr Hoskins might have convinced himself, had he paid attention to its grammatical inflections. This dissertation has beguiled our voyage up a dull part of the river, and now behold our author arrived, at seven o'clock in the morning, 'at the site of the ancient capital 'of Ethiopia.'

The remains, which Mr Hoskins views, apparently with justice, as marking the site of the ancient capital, are the Pyramids of Assúr, or Oshúr, already described by Cailliaud and Rüppell, and situated about 16 miles N.E. of Shendy, nearly a league from the river. Both Bruce and Burckhardt had distant glimpses of these pyramids; the latter, travelling as an Arab, dared not betray any curiosity about them; the other, a shrewd observer, describes what he saw with his usual disregard of fidelity, taking an unbounded license in favour of his eccentric theories. He recognised near these ruins the site of ancient Meroe, and at the same time saw among them, as he pretends, numerous statues of the dog star. The reader who wishes to become minutely acquainted with the vestiges of ancient Meroe, must consult the plans and other drawings; as well as the descriptions given of

* *Mogran* simply means the *junction.*

them by Cailliaud, Rüppell, and particularly by our author, who is much more elaborate and exact than his predecessors. Architectural remains can be thoroughly appreciated only by the aid of the pencil; we shall therefore confine ourselves at present to a general survey of the ground: to the speculations respecting the age of these monuments, we shall return hereafter.

'Never were my feelings,' says our author, 'more ardently excited than in approaching, after so tedious a journey, to this magnificent Necropolis. The appearance of the pyramids in the distance announced their importance, but I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectations when I found myself in the midst of them. The pyramids of Geezah are magnificent,—wonderful from their stupendous magnitude; but, for picturesque effect and elegance of architectural design, I infinitely prefer those of Meroe. I expected to find few such remains here, and certainly nothing so imposing, so interesting, as these sepulchres, doubtless of the Kings and Queens of Ethiopia. I stood for some time lost in admiration. From every point of view I saw magnificent groups, pyramid rising behind pyramid, while the dilapidated state of many did not render them less interesting, though less beautiful as works of art. I easily restored them in my imagination; and these effects of the ravages of time, carried back my thoughts to more distant ages.'

'The porticoes on the east side of each pyramid soon attracted my attention, and I passed eagerly from one to the other, delighted to find in several of them monuments of sculpture and hieroglyphics, which, few as they are, have, I trust, given us the assurance of the locality, and will, I hope, throw some light upon the mythology and arts of the Ethiopians. There are the remains and traces of eighty of these pyramids; they consist chiefly in three groups. The principal and most imposing, at which I arrived first, is situated on a hill two and a-half miles from the river, commanding an extensive view of the plain.'

This group consists of thirty-one pyramids, eight of which are totally ruined. About a mile further west is another group of twenty-five pyramids, nearly buried in the sand. A third group of thirteen, in some degree preserved, stands about a furlong distant from that first described towards the south-east. The porticoes which attracted Mr Hoskins's particular attention, consist generally of one room, varying from twelve to six feet in length, and from eleven to six in width. They all face from southeast to northeast. On this our author observes—'The 'circumstance of the porticoes fronting generally toward the 'east, and not one to the north and south-west, proves a religous 'observance; but that there was no astronomical object in view, 'in their porticoes facing the rising sun, is certain from the varia-'tion in the directions, and from there being no attempt at mathe-'matical precision.'

We cannot help suspecting that the small degree of mathema-

tical precision possessed by ancient Ethiopia was as likely to be exerted in the service of religion as of astronomy; and that the end proposed by making the porticoes of the pyramids to front the east (or more frequently the south-east), was merely to shelter them from the prevalent winds, which would have filled them with sand. The largest of these pyramids is but sixty-three feet square at its base; but most of them are very small, the base of one being the square of only seventeen feet. They are built of soft sandstone, of small stones, and without cement; so that their preservation is remarkable, considering that they stand within the limits of the periodical rains. As to the sculptures and hieroglyphics which adorn the porticoes, those who feel a desire to study them must consult the drawings, for the publication of which the world is much indebted to Mr Hoskins. Ethiopian sculpture differs from the Egyptian chiefly in the greater corpulency or rotundity of the figures, and a general inferiority in the art of composition.

'This, then,' says our author, speaking of the ground occupied by the pyramids, 'is the Necropolis, or city of the dead. 'But where was Meroe, its temples and palaces? A large space, 'about 2000 feet in length, and the same distance from the river, 'strewed with burnt brick and with some fragments of walls, and 'stones similar to those used in the erection of the pyramids, 'formed, doubtless, part of that celebrated site.'

Leaving the site of Meroe, Mr Hoskins arrived in a few hours at Shendy, which he found to contain not more than 3000 or 3500 inhabitants. Burckhardt, he says, by his very detailed account of Shendy, conveys almost an impression that it is a considerable place. Does not Mr Hoskins know that the Shendy visited by Burckhardt was afterwards totally razed, its inhabitants carried into slavery, and the surrounding country depopulated by the Turks, to avenge the death of Ismael Pasha, who there perished in the flames kindled round his tent by Melik Nimr, whom he had threatened to impale unless an exorbitant contribution was paid the following day? Shendy was undoubtedly a flourishing town before the Egyptian invasion; indeed, we think, probably more flourishing than the ancient Meroe. The new town cannot be very important, since it has grown up but recently, under a galling despotism and among a withered population.

'Metammah,' says Mr Hoskins, 'situated one hour's walk 'from the river, is a much more desolate looking place than even 'Shendy. You see streets full of sand, scarcely an inhabitant, 'no *brio*, no bazaar; the houses are common hovels. Such are 'the present capitals of Ethiopia.'—And such, too, must have been the ancient capitals of Ethiopia, unless we hazard the sup-

position that nature was more benign, and the science of government better understood in that country in former ages than at present. The magnitude, and even the perfection of architectural monuments offer but an imperfect test of the condition of the people who erected them. Among the most beautiful edifices in Europe, and those most difficult of execution, are the Gothic churches erected during the dark ages.

But we must hasten onward. From Shendy our author proceeded to the ruins in Wady el Owataib, which are described by Calliaud, under the name of Meçaourât.* As they are acknowledged by Mr Hoskins to be comparatively modern (of the Ptolemaic age), and have no claims to admiration, we shall quit them without loss of time and return northwards with our author; who, finding the danger of lions daily increasing as he marched southward, while the zeal of his attendants diminished, began seriously to fix his thoughts on home. From Metammah he crossed the desert (a seven days' journey) to the Nile, nearly opposite to Jebel el Birkel, the monuments at which place deserved a careful survey. The desert of Bahiouda, being partially visited by the periodical rains, is much less forbidding than the deserts further north. 'Although the scenery is not sufficiently 'bold to be termed picturesque, it is impossible to conceive a 'more beautiful desert; valleys and rocks, with mountains whose 'forms are varied and broken, sometimes conical, but never mo-'notonous. The low grounds are covered with sweet smelling 'acacias. The herbage has certainly, at this season, a very 'sunburnt appearance; but had there been a green sward, instead 'of these yellow sands and this long discoloured grass, few spots 'would be more lovely than the desert of Bahiouda.'

Of the ruins scattered round Jebel el Birkel we shall say something when we come to consider our author's historical speculations. The reader is probably already acquainted with them through Mr Waddington's interesting volume. Our author, on his return down the river, had an opportunity of observing how uniformly and impartially the Turkish government afflicts its subjected provinces. Dongolah, once a garden, is fast relapsing into a desert. The old capital, Dongolah Ajusa, is ruined and forlorn. The new capital is but the Turkish camp (el ourde), situated in the worst part of the province. An insurrection of the peasants, in the district of Mahass, detained our author some

* This word is negligently printed, throughout Mr Hoskins's volume, Mecaurat. It is an Arabic word, and may be written, without the aid of foreign letters, *Mesourat.*

days. At length he got clear of all danger, and surveyed, amongst other ruins, those of the temple of Soleb; where he says he copied the (hieroglyphical) names of thirty-eight countries, of which the only one he could read was Mesopotamia. But, notwithstanding our deference for his skill in Egyptian lore, we question whether a Greek name be found written in hieroglyphics at Soleb.* With our author's arrival at the second cataract his narrative terminates. It is not the least merit of his volume that it is singularly free from the malpractices of book-making, and contains only that portion of his journey which he deemed most novel and interesting.

From Mr Hoskins's agreeable narrative we now turn to his agreeable speculations on the history of Ethiopia, not, however, with the intention of citing them with unqualified approbation; for, while we acknowledge in the amplest manner our obligations to the traveller, whose diligent researches promise to throw new light on the history of past ages, we regard with extreme jealousy the exercise of that authority with which the traveller too often fancies himself clothed, of arranging, according to his taste, the past history of the countries which he has visited. So far as the condition and fortunes of ancient kingdoms are mere matter of conjecture, we can not merely pardon, but even encourage, with respect to them the boldest flights of imagination; well knowing that the page of reality is quite as curiously varied as that of fiction itself, and that the surest sagacity is often not a little indebted to a lively fancy. The vivacity of the latter faculty gives the judgment an opportunity of seeing the same object from many points of view, and helps it to a wider experience than it could ever obtain in a plodding course of exercise. But, when positive evidence comes to supersede conjecture; when it is the business of the writer to explain ancient authors and ancient monuments, in connexion with one another, and thus to endeavour to restore the edifice of ancient history on its still traceable foundations, nothing can be any longer tolerated which is unfavourable to the observance of a rigorous fidelity. The credulity of mankind seizes so greedily on whatever appears calculated to gorge its appetite; and historical systems, affecting to discover miracles of human greatness in some distant age and clime, rise on that account so rapidly in vogue with the half-learned, that we feel imperatively called on to adopt the strictest measures in defence of historic truth and the philosophical principles by which it must be tested.

But we must be mindful to spare our readers' patience whilst

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* *Naharaïna Kah*, or the country of the two rivers (*i. e.* Mesopotamia), is written in an inscription on one of the obelisks at Luxor.

we hand over to justice Mr Hoskins's hypotheses. It is not every one who may relish the task of unrolling that dry and dusty mummy—Ethiopia. We shall, therefore, endeavour to abridge the operation as much as possible,—puzzling over no hieroglyphs, save those which illustrate its age, and following the method best adapted to bring the whole question in dispute, viz., the relative antiquity of Ethiopian and Egyptian art, with its essential evidences, within the view of our reader. The matter at issue, if fairly stated and stripped of sophistry, lies, in fact, within a narrow compass. Our opponent's reasonings, like the deceptious mirage, tempt us onward, but disappear as we approach them. 'The island of Meroe,' says Mr Hoskins, 'is a classic region, 'whose name is familiar to almost every reader as the cradle of 'arts and civilisation. The Nile was the source of her pros- 'perity, and an object of adoration to the ancient and even pre- 'sent inhabitants.'

Thus Mr Hoskins begins with assuming the very point in dispute, viz., that Meroe was the cradle of civilisation; and he exemplifies, at the same time, his habitual vagueness and inaccuracy in the use of proper names, by telling us that the Agows, who dwell near the sources of the Abawi (or Blue Nile) in Abyssinia, and worship the fountains of that river, were included in the island of Meroe. But the great wealth of Meroe he proves by an argument *a priori*. 'The first great source of the power of 'Meroe was probably the extreme fertility of her soil and the 'abundance of her harvests. Those banks, which are now in a 'great many instances covered by the sands of the desert, were 'doubtless then overspread with that rich soil which astonishes 'the traveller in Egypt, and her country was resorted to, per- 'haps, by the inhabitants of less favoured climes, as the richest 'under the sun.'—Again. 'The first cause, perhaps (of her 'decline), was the failure of her internal resources, in conse- 'quence of the Nile carrying down yearly to Egypt a portion 'of her richest soil; and the deserts encroaching on her plains. '..... Her inhabitants, finding the soil swept away by the 'Nile, would follow the course of the river and establish them- 'selves in Egypt.'

This is a bold theory, to say the least of it. But why does Mr Hoskins impute such capriciousness to the bounteous Nile? Surely he ought to have explained to us how it could come to pass, that the same river, by the same process, should impoverish one tract of country and enrich another. The plains of Sennâr are, we doubt not, as productive now as they were two thousand years ago; the Nile has not yet washed away their fertile soil;

nor have the fields of Egypt grown a whit more prolific within the same period. The people dwelling near the site of ancient Meroe could have told Mr Hoskins, had he asked their opinions, that the Nile brings fertility wherever it comes, but never carries it away. About five or six miles south-west from the pyramids of Ashur (the site of ancient Meroe, according to Mr Hoskins) the island of Kurgos divides the stream by a narrow tract of exuberant fertility. Mr Hoskins, we believe, never saw this island, which merits more attention than travellers have hitherto bestowed on it: it is not surprising, therefore, that he should have overlooked the character of the soil on the adjacent banks of the river, and failed to perceive, that the low tract extending from Kurgos northward on the right bank of the river, partially exposed to the inundation, and two miles or a league wide in some places, is an alluvial deposit of the richest description, bearing traces of numerous canals, running for the most part parallel to the river. This rich tract is now uncultivated, but man, and not nature or the Nile, is obviously the cause of its desolation. Moreover, the mounds of rubbish which mark the supposed site of Meroe, commence on the very edge of this alluvial plain; so that if Mr Hoskins had noted carefully the nature of the soil he trod on, and considered, at the same time, that every where throughout Nubia and Egypt, the towns stand on the borders of the desert at the farthest limit of the cultivated soil, he might have felt justified in inferring that, in the flourishing days of ancient Meroe, the limits of fertility in the adjacent valley were precisely where they are at the present moment. Our author exalts the commerce of Meroe as much as its fertility, and sets it on an equally unstable foundation. The following passage shows the tendency of hypothesis to run itself blind:—

'A slight examination of the map of this part of Africa will satisfy us that there could not have been a situation, on that immense continent, more admirably adapted for commercial intercourse than Meroe. Placed at a short distance only from the conflux of the Astaboras and the Nile, she was connected by the former with that part of Ethiopia now called Abyssinia; and by the latter, now called the Bahr el Azruk or Blue river, with the provinces of Sennâr, Fazoukl, and perhaps with regions still further to the south. It is also highly probable that, by the Bahr el Abiad or White river, the true Nile, she communicated extensively with vast districts in the interior of Africa. The distance from these rivers, particularly from the Astaboras to the present ports of Massoua (the ancient Adule) and Souakim, in the Red Sea, whence she received perhaps the productions of Arabia and the Indies, was by no means great. Nature seems to have facilitated the intercourse by providing her with the ship of the desert—the camel. By its means, probably, the com-

merce of Meroe may have been widely diffused into the centre of Africa; to the countries now called Kordofan and Darfour, which are only at a short distance from the Nile; nor is it improbable that a powerful and enterprising nation, such as the Ethiopians then appear to have been, may have extended their caravan trade to the kingdoms of Soudan, Bornou, &c., and possibly even to the now impervious Timbuctoo.'

The advantages of situation enjoyed by the ancient Meroe have confessedly descended unimpaired to the modern Shendy; and the trade of the place, depending on climate and immutable local circumstances, is, in its nature, precisely the same now as it always was. The monuments of Nubia and Egypt display before our eyes the Ethiopian produce carried off as spoil, or paid as tribute to the conquerors. We can perceive those tributes to have consisted in slaves, ivory, ebony, ostrich feathers, gold, the skins of wild-beasts, and other articles, which being for the most part the fortuitous produce of wild and barbarous countries, are the objects of a commerce confined within strict limits, and not capable of indefinite extension. Mr Hoskins's supposition that the inhabitants of Meroe pushed their trade up the White river, involves no less than the belief that the whole of that region of the earth has changed its nature, growing continually more savage and inhospitable; while his conjecture that they penetrated to Timbuctoo (which city, by the by, was not founded till the 13th century of our era), excludes from view the paramount influence of the Arabs in developing whatever commerce or civilisation is now found in central Africa, and boldly assigns to a remote age, what sober historical research will find to be of comparatively modern date. But Mr Hoskins is determined on giving a wide extent to the commerce of Meroe, and is at some pains to prove that the transport of merchandise by camels is as cheap as that by water. We wonder it has never struck him, that though nearly every other animal at present known in the valley of the Nile, is to be found represented in the painted temples of Egypt and Nubia, yet the camel is not seen among them. If he had observed this, he might have easily divined the well-authenticated fact, that the camel was little known in Africa before the time of Mahomet and the conquests of the Arabs.

But perhaps Mr Hoskins will exclaim, What! if you will not allow that the soil of Meroe was infinitely more productive in early ages than it is at present, and if, in like manner, you doubt the extensive commerce of that once flourishing state,—what is to become of its immense population? Do we not read in Scripture that Zerah, the Ethiopian, came out against the Israelites with an army of a thousand thousand men and three hundred chariots? Truly, the difficulty is not of our creation: Mr Hoskins himself is

the author of the redundant population of Meroe, and he alone is bound to provide for it. We see no reason to believe that Zerah and his army issued from Meroe, save the intrinsic vice of our author's hypothesis, which makes Meroe swallow all things,—even that vaguest of vague names, Ethiopia. Neither do we deem it a point of religious faith to receive implicitly statements of this kind made by the sacred historians. It is totally to mistake the character of their age, the idiom of their language, and the spirit of their rhetoric, to suppose that their expressions, descriptive of great numbers, are to be construed in a literal sense. It may be safely asserted that the whole population of the country lying between Egypt and Abyssinia, the Red Sea and the Nile (both banks of the river included), does not, at present, exceed a million, and we do not think it could have been greater in ancient times; for though some parts near the river may have been far more flourishing formerly than they are at present, yet the great improvement in the condition of the nomad population, owing to the multiplication of the camel, must at least compensate that partial decline.

We have already hinted how much sophistry lurks in the indefinite application of the name Ethiopia. Of this our author's pages furnish numerous examples. Under the cover of this wide spreading appellation he applies to Nubia, what Ludolf meant for Abyssinia, and thus antedates the spread of Christianity in the former country by two centuries. Whatever flowery epithets ancient writers drop on the wonders of Ethiopia, he twines into a garland to adorn the brow of his adored Meroe. But in gathering those flowers his zeal has sometimes carried him too far;—quite beyond the doubtful ground of controversy, and fairly over the precipice. Thus he alludes to the mention made of Ethiopians in the 'Periplus' of Scylax; and concludes that the people described by the Greek writer were the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, and that their city, to which the Phœnicians carried merchandise (from the shores of the Atlantic, be it observed) was Meroe. Now it is as evident as the noontide sun, that the Ethiopians described in that passage by Scylax, were no other than the Nigrogætulians of the Latin writers, the ancient inhabitants of southern Morocco, and perhaps the forefathers of the modern Shelluhs.

We see no reason why we should admit that Meroe must have been, some time or another, a great kingdom; and certainly there is little or no positive testimony to that effect. When Pliny states that Meroe was said to have once contained 250,000 soldiers, and 400,000 artisans, he only relates at second-hand the fanciful tradition of by-gone greatness. The field of memory is in all cases

exempted from the laws of perspective. Historical traditions in particular, are sure to falsify magnitudes; and the image of national grandeur increases in dimensions as it grows more remote. The value of such relative epithets as great, powerful, civilized, &c., under all the shifting circumstances of time and place, requires to be examined by the historian as narrowly as that of money; and the eastern rhetoric, which changes those epithets into numerical expressions, hides a double deception under the show of accuracy. If the Sultan of Darfúr, who believed that there were no independent sovereigns in the world besides the King of Bornú, the Emperor of the Turks, and himself;—if that prince, we say, had written a history of his country, would he not have swelled every particular to the measure of his vanity and ignorance? To what did Timbuctoo so long owe its supposed greatness, but the obscurity of the medium through which we saw it? Why had the Portuguese possessions in Africa, and the kingdoms adjoining them, ten times the extent, and a hundred-fold the population in the 16th century, which they have now? Or how comes it to pass that Abyssinia, represented in that age as one of the mightiest kingdoms of the earth, appears now in the poverty and nakedness of traditionary semi-barbarism? Is not the chief cause of such apparent revolutions the simple fact, that those countries are nowadays viewed with other eyes, and measured by another standard? An Arab writer (Abú Selah) relates that, in the 12th century, an army of the Caliphs invaded Nubia, and took by storm the town of Ibrim;—the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were led away captive, to the number of 700,000! Now it would be easy to show, that in this statement the truth is exaggerated probably a hundred-fold; yet this kind of exaggeration is usual in Oriental writers; and is it not likely that the ancient Egyptians were at least as imperfectly informed respecting the countries on the Upper Nile, as the more active and enterprising followers of Mohammed, and quite as prone to magnify the greatness of a distant region?

Whatever vague opinions may have existed in ancient times respecting the greatness of Meroe, they certainly do not appear to have been generally shared either by the keen-sighted Greeks, or by the sensible and experienced Romans. Eratosthenes and Agatharchides have left us lively descriptions of the tribes dwelling near the Nile from Egypt to Meroe, and from the latter place to the Red Sea; and yet these writers, whose fidelity is unquestionable, seem quite ignorant of the greatness of Meroe. The Romans, in possession of a part of lower Nubia, never suspected the existence of a powerful nation dwelling higher up, on the river. It is ridiculous to insist on the constrained hypothesis, that the pros-

perity of Meroe had passed away long previous to the age of Eratosthenes; which is, in fact, admitting that the splendour of that state was always in the inverse ratio of the light of history. We believe that Meroe was no greater in the age of Pliny, nor in any age, than Shendy was in the days of Burckhardt; and are disposed to lay it down as a principle, that the social condition of a people, whose industry goes little further than to supply them with subsistence, is liable to much less change, in a long course of ages, than the test employed by historians to appreciate it.

The experience of 2000 years since the days of Eratosthenes, shows us how variously the same country (for whether we call it Meroe with the Greeks, or Alwah with the Arabs, it is still the same) may be represented by writers of different habits and civilisation; and why should not our experience of the last 2000 years guide us in our judgments respecting an anterior period, and convince us, that mutable as the fortunes of nations may be, it is yet more stable than the value of phrases?

We are aware that Mr Hoskins will reply to these observations by two arguments, the first of which may be stated in his own words:—'The Ethiopians, says Diodorus, describe the Egyptians 'as one of their colonies led into Egypt by Osiris. They pretend 'also, that Egypt, at the commencement of the world, was nothing 'but a morass; and that the inundations of the Nile carrying down 'a great quantity of the alluvial soil of Ethiopia, had at length 'filled it up, and made it a part of the continent.'

We fear that our author has omitted to examine the original text of Diodorus, else why should he not have perceived that the Greek historian relates, in the passage referred to above, not a tradition of the Ethiopians, but a Greek speculation.* The Egyptians think themselves, says Diodorus, the most ancient of mankind; and, he adds, that considering the matchless fertility of their country, it is reasonable to conclude that it was the first inhabited. Again, the same historian goes on to relate, in another place, that some persons maintain that the Ethiopians are the most ancient of mankind, for they are evidently aboriginal (that is, the blacks cannot be descended from whites); Egypt, emerging from the sea, is a place of yesterday; and, above all, because it is reasonable to conclude that Ethiopia lying nearest

* We hope that when our author's volume reaches a second edition, he will correct such unclassical expressions as *cloacum maximum, crux ansatus*, &c. &c.

to the sun, the source of life, was first peopled. This fanciful hypothesis easily took a suitable colouring from the poets. The verses of Homer which relate that Jupiter and the other gods left Olympus, and the interesting combats of the plains of Troy, to feast with the Ethiopians, were thought to prove the ancient piety of the latter people. To the favour of the gods it was also ascribed that neither Bacchus nor Hercules ever attempted, and that Semiramis and Cambyses failed in the attempt to subdue the Ethiopians. Thus, taking together the proximity of the sun, and the partiality of Jupiter to Ethiopia, as related by the authentic historian Homer, the antiquity of the pious Ethiopians is fully established—so, at least, thinks Mr Hoskins, who easily converts Ethiopia into Meroe, and piety into civilisation.

The same theorists who deduced the antiquity of Ethiopia from the proximity of the sun, ventured also to assume, in opposition to positive historical tradition, that the Egyptians were an Ethiopian colony conducted down the Nile by Osiris; and 'hence it 'comes to pass,' says Diodorus, following up the consequences of that assumption, 'that the laws, customs, and mode of writing of 'Egypt are the same as those of Ethiopia.' This is the text which our author and others have so grievously misinterpreted. Yet it is by no means evident that Diodorus entirely adopts the theory which he relates; and it is certain that he nowhere intimates the existence of a tradition that the Egyptians derived all, or even any of their knowledge from the Ethiopians. We recommend to the attention of Mr Hoskins the contemptuous language in which the learned editors of Diodorus, Wesseling and Heyne, treat these Greek speculations regarding Ethiopia. The latter, especially, analyses his author with much acuteness, and justly remarks, that though the population of Egypt may have originally descended the river, it is plain, from history, that civilisation moved in the opposite direction.

But a little farther on, Diodorus quits hypothesis; and, speaking of the Egyptian writing, states something of a positive nature. The Egyptians, he says, have a kind of writing called demotic, which is understood and made use of by the people at large; while the knowledge of hieroglyphic writing is confined to the priests. In Ethiopia, on the other hand, there is but the one kind of writing, the hieroglyphic, which is employed by all classes of the community. Now the fundamental portion of this statement, viz. that the Ethiopians were acquainted with hieroglyphic writing alone, while the Egyptians used the demotic writing in the ordinary business of life, is probably in the main correct; but it certainly savours of rhetorical exaggeration to assert that hieroglyphics were, in Ethiopia, understood by all, and in Egypt, by the priests

alone. The latter part of this assertion is fully disproved (as Champollion has already remarked) by numberless Egyptian papyri; and the former by the unskilful drawing of the hieroglyphic characters on the Ethiopian monuments. But let us reason a little on that portion of the historian's statement which is least liable to doubt. The demotic, or cursive character of Egypt, was derived by successive abridgments from the hieratic, which had also been derived by a similar process from the hieroglyphical symbols. This is an important and an incontrovertible remark. The approach which was thus made to alphabetical writing had the great advantage of facilitating the popular means of preserving and communicating information. Hieroglyphics are admirably adapted for monumental writing, but they are too unwieldy to be the instruments of literature; and a nation having no other means of recording thought than such as hieroglyphics could afford, must have been sadly impeded and restricted in its progress towards civilisation. The demotic or cursive writing of the Egyptians was evidently the slow invention of many ages; offering a proof, as it offered the means, of the constant progress of those who possessed it. But the Ethiopians, in the age of Diodorus, were either altogether unacquainted or little familiar with cursive writing. Now, any one who considers how much the developement of the human intellect depends on the completeness and tractability of its instrument, language; and how the progressive cultivation of mind from age to age is connected with the art of writing a language so as not to impair its resources; and who will consider furthermore, how naturally a symbolic or hieroglyphic character gives rise, in the course of time, to a demotic, that is, popular or cursive writing, will readily admit, that on the authority of Diodorus, the civilisation of Egypt must have been far more ancient and more mature than that of Ethiopia. Diodorus concludes his account of the civilisation of Ethiopia with these remarkable words: 'What is stated above regarding 'the Ethiopians applies only to the capital of Ethiopia, to the 'inhabitants of the island of Meroe, and to the district near Egypt. 'The people who occupy the rest of the country about the Nile, 'on the eastern or Arabian side, and on the western or Lybian, 'but especially those near the river, are negroes, &c.' Thus the opinions which we have already expressed (see No. 122), respecting the two races who anciently occupied the banks of the Nile, are justified; and the fancied union of all the Ethiopian sovereignties mentioned in history, of the kingdoms of Ergamenes and Atarramon (the country of the Blemyes), of Silco (higher up), of Candace (south of Dongolah, probably including Napata, the capital above alluded to), and of Meroe, is entirely dissolved;

and the last named state is obliged to lay down its surreptitiously obtained title of Ethiopia.

There is not, in fact, a single sentence in Diodorus, which an accurate and discriminating critic can regard as good evidence, that Egypt derived its arts, civilisation, or even its population from Ethiopia; and we doubt not that Mr Hoskins relies chiefly for the proof of his hypothesis—the prior civilisation of Meroe—on the supposed greater antiquity of its monuments. He appears to rest his argument wholly on the age of the pyramids of Assur, or, as he calls them, of Meroe; and this pretence to great antiquity we shall proceed to examine, having first cited our author's words.

'To any one, who, like me, has made a long study of Egyptian monuments, the style of the sculpture, even in the absence of any known name, is generally sufficient to determine its epoch. This fact, of which those travellers who have spent any length of time in Egypt will be fully aware, may give additional weight to my opinion. It is all executed in basso relievo, with the exception of the hieroglyphics, which are in intaglio. The style is certainly by no means equal to the best at Thebes. It is unlike the style of the age of Osortasen, the Thothmes, Rameses II. (Augustan age), Rameses III. (first decline), the florid style during the reign of Psammeticus, or the clumsy inelegant productions of the Persians (I refer to the sculpture in the temple of Darius in the Oasis Magna), Ptolemaic, or Roman dynasties. There is no resemblance to any of these styles, or appearance of its being a corruption from them. The ornaments on the fragments which still exist are all evidently peculiar to the country. Of the few that still remain, many are not found in Egypt, and appear to represent the rites of a religion much more simple and pure than the corrupted Egyptian mythology. They bear the stamp of originality, and I should say, therefore, that the Ethiopian style is antecedent to the others; that it is the earliest, though not the best.'—P. 74.

It is thus that Mr Hoskins endeavours to maintain, by a reference to the perceptions of taste, the proposition, elsewhere more openly expressed, that 'these pyramids (at Assur) belong, without doubt, to the remotest age.' He sets out with stating very justly that either the Ethiopians must have derived their knowledge of the arts from the Egyptians, or these from the former; since the similarity of the styles of the two nations evidently denotes a common origin. Yet he soon after inadvertently affirms, that the sculptures in the pyramids of Assur bear so little resemblance in style to any Egyptian sculptures, that they cannot be regarded as corrupt imitations of them. So great is the superio-

rity of Egyptian sculpture in design and execution, that Mr Hoskins feared to make it the disciple and follower of Ethiopian art; and is obliged to rest the claims of the latter to great antiquity on its perfect originality; thus closing his eyes for a time on the above-mentioned 'similarity of style, which evidently denotes 'a common origin.'

But let us withdraw the question as far as possible from the jurisdiction of taste, or endeavour to correct the faults of so fanciful and ill-defined a tribunal, by increasing the number of its assessors, and study the age of the pyramids of Assur by a wider view of facts. On ascending the Nile above Egypt, the traveller is struck with amazement at the number and majesty of the mouldering temples which line both sides of the river from Philæ to Wady Halfa, or between the first and second cataracts. At the beginning of his journey, or while within the limits of the Roman province, he sees, among rock temples of great antiquity, some noble structures, as the temple of Kelabshy, for example, of comparatively modern architecture. If he advances beyond those limits, then every ruin bears the marks of remote antiquity, and the temples of Ebsambal rise from the sands of the desert in the primeval sublimity of colossal conception. From the number of the edifices adorning the narrow valley of the Nile, between the first and second cataracts, and the antique grandeur of those in the upper portion of it, it was natural enough that the early travellers in this part of Nubia should venture the general conclusion, that the higher the Nile was ascended, the more thickly was it strewn with monuments of great antiquity; and admiration stimulating credulity, there followed, of course, the commonplace paradox, that civilisation descended the Nile. This opinion, plausible enough, so long as hieroglyphic writing remained wholly unintelligible, was driven off into the higher regions of elaborate hypothesis when the interpretation of those mysterious characters revealed the age of the monuments on which they were graven. It was then found that the monuments of lower Nubia (a few Roman edifices excepted) were all of Egyptian origin. The paradox, however, which made Ethiopia a cradle of civilisation, contained too much of those palatable ingredients, mystery and indefinite antiquity, to be dissipated all at once; and, like the vapours of night, it still hovers in the atmosphere, long after the sun is risen.

All the more ancient monuments above Egypt, as far as the second cataract, are, we repeat, of Egyptian origin, and some of them are inscribed with the names of kings of the 18th dynasty, and are consequently as old at least as the 15th century before the Christian era. Now, above the second cataract, the Egyptian edifices

still predominate for a long way up, by number, as well as by their superior style and dimensions. At Amarah, in Sukkot, occurs the first Ethiopian temple, a mean structure, on a foundation of sun-dried bricks, without any marks of extreme antiquity, designed in bad taste, and feebly sculptured. The fragments at Argo are also Ethiopian, and appear to have belonged to a temple reared by Sabaco, the conqueror of Egypt, of the 25th dynasty. But the Egyptian temples at Semneh, Soleb, Tumbos, &c., date from the 18th dynasty, and are, consequently, from seven to ten centuries older. Let us, however, pass at once to Jeb el Birkel, where the rival claimants to superior antiquity stand face to face, and where the merits of their respective pretensions are so fully exposed, as to leave no room for doubt or difficulty in deciding between them.

Among the ruins at Jebel el Birkel may be traced the remains of six temples of Ethiopian architecture; of these six temples, four appear to have been built on the ruins and with the fragments of ancient temples founded by Egyptian Pharaohs. The great temple (marked F in Mr Hoskins's plate, No. 17), erected by the Ethiopian King Pionchei, embraces within its extent some of the walls of a temple of Amenoph III. of Egypt (1660, B. C.); and these walls being encased for the purpose of concealment, a fragment of them has, by this means, been preserved to the present day. Another temple of Amenoph (marked C in the plate) was restored by the Ethiopian, Amon Asro. The two lions, beautifully sculptured, of red granite, which, through the liberality of Lord Prudhoe, who brought them from Nubia, now ornament the gallery of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum, formerly stood at a little distance in front of the portico of this temple. These lions are, no doubt, of Egyptian workmanship, as well as materials. On one of them the name of Amenoph was cut in hieroglyphics by an Egyptian artist; the other was subsequently inscribed in ruder characters, bearing Asro's names with Amenoph's dedication. Among the ruins of Amon Sekon's temple (marked B), there is a stone (belonging probably to the foundation), inscribed with the name of the Egyptian Pharaoh, Tothmos IV. (1740, B. C.); and, in like manner, in the temple of Tihraka may be read the name of Ramses (probably the II.) (1520, B. C.) Of the other two temples, one (A) was built by Tihraka, and the other (D), of very inferior design and workmanship, has no claim whatever to high antiquity.

Thus it is evident that, so far up the Nile as Jebel el Birkel (no inconsiderable distance), no doubt can be entertained of the superior antiquity of the Egyptian architecture. At Tumbos is an Egyptian temple of the age of Tothmos I. (1780, B.C.),

while the Ethiopian remains, of greatest apparent antiquity, are yet subsequent to the reign of Amenoph III., and those, the date of which can be ascertained within moderate limits (that is, the fragments at Argo, bearing the name of Sabaco, (707, B.C.), and the temples of Tihraka, (675, B.C.), at Jebel el Birkel), belong to a comparatively recent period, when the splendour of Egyptian art had already passed its zenith. Yet even then Tihraka appears to have acknowledged the superiority of Egyptian artists, for the architecture and sculpture of his temples are all Egyptian; so that, however it may have been in the mythic age, to which our author so frequently refers, it is manifest that within the historic age, or seven centuries before the Christian era, the Ethiopians regarded the Egyptians as their instructors in the arts.

The advocates of Ethiopian antiquity will not find their case improve as they ascend the river still higher. At Assur, near which is supposed to be the site of the ancient city of Meroe, there are no remains of palaces or temples. Further on, indeed, at Abu Naga, Mr Hoskins found a clumsy fragment of a portico, which, as it bore no specific marks of age, save such as are at the arbitrament of taste, he deemed to be original, and, therefore, of great antiquity. But the extensive edifice in Wady el Owataib, he yields up despondingly to the age of the Ptolemies. As to the temples further south, at Beit Naga and Jebel Calefaat, the concurrent testimonies of Lord Prudhoe and M. Cailliaud will not permit us to doubt that they belong to the last age of Egyptian architecture. 'Yes, yes,' (we think we hear Mr Hoskins reply) 'the temples of Meroe and of Ethiopia in general are, 'it must be confessed, but imitations of corrupt Egyptian archi-'tecture, with such slight modifications as usually characterise a 'new school. When the Egyptians taught the Ethiopians the 'art of building a temple, they only paid a just debt of gratitude, 'since the Ethiopians taught them how to erect a pyramid; for 'surely the pyramids of Meroe, of Jebel el Birkel, and of Nourri, 'must be allowed to be the most ancient edifices near the Nile.' Thus argues our author, but we could as easily believe that the city arose, after the population had all perished, as that the dynasties of Ethiopia were all sepulchred in pyramids ages before the erection of those edifices which dignified the religion of the state. Why should there be such a chasm, such a distance of time, between the royal tombs of Ethiopia and every other edifice of that country, indicating the existence of a civilized community? In truth, we must confess our belief that the only ground on which the pretended antiquity of the pyramids of Meroe rests, is this, that they bear on them no positive indication whatever of their age. Whatever buildings in Ethiopia have graven on them,

the names of their founders, or any other clues to their date, all evidently belong to a time subsequent to the Augustan age of Egypt; but, on the other hand, every structure which has not its age stamped on it in characters hieroglyphical or architectural, is referred by Mr Hoskins to a remote age, not merely antecedent 'to the arts of Egypt,' but when even 'Egypt itself had not yet 'emerged from the Nile.' Yet these two classes of edifices, with and without dates, are not the scattered fragments of separate social systems. On the contrary, they are respectively the temples and the tombs, both compatible with, or rather indispensably belonging to, the same system, between which Mr Hoskins thus arbitrarily interposes a period of some thousands of years.

It is ridiculous to assert that the sunburnt and mouldering condition of the pyramids of Jebel el Birkel or of Meroe bespeak an unrivalled antiquity; or that the elegance and originality of their design prove that they could not be copies, and must, therefore, have been the models of the pyramids of Egypt. Two thousand years beneath the scorching rays of a tropical sun are quite sufficient to discolour an unsheltered pile of sandstone; and that buildings constructed with small stones, and within the limits of the periodical rains, should remain at all, after the lapse of 2000 years, is much more surprising, than that they should remain in a mouldering state. It is certainly very strange that Mr Hoskins should discover for the first time, at the southern termination of his journey and within the limits of the rains, that the decayed state of a building is a sure proof of its great antiquity. With respect to the elegance and originality of the design of those pyramids, the former of these merits appears to us so prominent as to throw a shadow over the latter. The Ethiopian pyramid is more elongated than that of Egypt, or more like an obelisk—a mode of the pyramidal form which cannot for a moment be regarded as the germ or first conception of the true pyramid; on the contrary, it naturally results from the reduction of the pyramid. The porticoes attached to the Ethiopian pyramids also detract from the character of original simplicity; and on these accounts, we cannot help adopting the remark of Cailliaud.—'It must be confessed that these pyramids and their porticoes 'are but the miniature copies of the pyramids of Memphis and of 'the fine porticoes of Edfu.'

Finally, as Mr Hoskins lays much stress on his intimate acquaintance with the styles of different ages, and his practised discernment, we will proceed to examine to what extent his judgment is borne out by the opinion of others. In his preface we find him, to our surprise, averring that, 'according to Heeren, 'Champollion, Rosellini, and other eminent enquirers, this

'(Ethiopia) was the land whence the arts and learning of Egypt, 'and ultimately of Greece and Rome, derived their origin.' Such an opinion is certainly entertained by Heeren, from whom, however, it comes with very little weight; but we can scarcely credit that it is to be found any where in the writings of Champollion or Rosellini. These two gentlemen never ascended the Nile higher than Amarah, and never, as far as we know, relinquished the path of acute research for that of gratuitous hypothesis. But Mr Hoskins omits to state, that those travellers, who have actually visited, and closely examined the ruins of Meroe, Cailliaud, Rüppell, and Lord Prudhoe, who is an authority of great value, all agree in declaring them to be comparatively modern; that is to say, to be corrupt imitations of Egyptian art in the latter periods of its decline. This weight of authority is alone sufficient to decide the question against the Ethiopians. Heeren, often ingenious and always plausible, shows very little sagacity or soundness of judgment; but on approaching Meroe he gets involved in a labyrinth of error. When Rüppell describes the pyramids of Assur or Meroe, he supposes him to speak of pyramids on the islands of Kurgos; and when that traveller refers to Jebel el Birkel (which he calls Meroe), Heeren understands him to mean Assur. But, overlooking these mistakes, what support can Mr Hoskins derive from the authority of Heeren, who, with very confused notions of Ethiopian greatness and antiquity, asks, 'was not Assur built by Egyptian artists in the 'splendid age of Tihraka and Sabaco?'* That is to say, did not art begin to flourish in Ethiopia under the 25th dynasty of Egypt, when Egyptian art was already falling into decline? Thus Mr Hoskins is deserted at the very point where he most needs support by the only authority from whom he could have reasonably expected it; and he stands alone in maintaining that Ethiopia was a rich, populous, and civilized country 'before 'Egypt emerged from the Nile.'

We will now, for our readers' sake, recapitulate the chief of the preceding arguments, and endeavour to exhibit within a small compass the true state of the question at issue. Edifices of Egyptian construction, or their remains, are found along the Nile as far up as Jebel el Birkel, their ages being generally from 1700 to 1400 B.C. The Ethiopian structures, intermingled with, or covering them, are of much more recent date (where date is assignable); and the best of them, erected by the Ethiopian kings

* Tom. v. p. 134, of the French translation of Heeren's work. Vol. iv. p. 413 of the original.

who ruled Egypt from 719 to 675 B.C. appear to owe their architectural merits to Egyptian skill. Higher up the river, the palaces or temples of Beit Naga, Jebel Calefaat, &c. appear to of still more recent origin—exhibiting corruptions of the Græco-Egyptian style. The pyramids of Ethiopia are quite modern in comparison with those of Egypt, as their form and mode of construction at once evince. The sculptures with which they as well as the temples are adorned, are always inferior to those of Egypt, and in general execrably bad. Yet in their style, which differs from that of Egyptian sculpture, they bear to one another that degree of resemblance which characterises one school of art; so that it cannot be admitted that the art of sculpture, as preserved on some of the monuments of Ethiopia, descended the Nile, and, reaching its perfection in Egypt, returned, after some thousands of years, to reassume its old character in Meroe. The hieroglyphics of the Ethiopian monuments are still worse than their sculpture: they are ill cut, ill grouped, and some times, through ignorance, inverted or otherwise misplaced. A mistake of this kind may be observed in the signet of Osortasen 1st of Egypt, borrowed by an Ethiopian king in an inscription at Jebel Calefaat. Of the origin and rise of hieroglyphic writing in Egypt, no traces can be found; the oldest discovered monuments exhibiting the art already in perfection. The pyramids of Meroe or Assur, on the antiquity of which Mr Hoskins chiefly relies, are considered by Rüppell to be more recent than those of Jebel el Birkel, and these, according to Lord Prudhoe, were probably erected between 400 B.C. and 400 A.D.

Of the political and commercial pre-eminence of Meroe, there is not, in ancient writers, any evidence whatever. There is no trace of a frequent, much less of a regular and periodical intercourse between that state and Egypt or the Red Sea. The trade and caravan routes of Ethiopia, respecting which Heeren writes so profusely, had hardly any existence before the age of the Ptolemies. Then, as to the power and greatness of Meroe, let us see how they are magnified. Texts are collected relating to Western Africa or Modern Morocco, to Eastern Africa, perhaps as far as Sofala, to Abyssinia, and to Bejat or the Bishárye country; and all these texts involving the vague term, Ethiopia, are applied at once to Meroe. Again, all the kings or queens of Ethiopia ever heard of, from Memnon the son of Aurora, who is said (not by the author of the Iliad) to have been present at the siege of Troy, to Silco, a petty chief of Nubia, who inscribed his own praises, in barbarous Greek, on the temple of Kelabshy in the sixth century of our era, are unhesitatingly exalted into sovereigns of Meroe; and thus the crown of Meroe is made to resemble the fantastical

tiara of Lord Peter in the Tale of a Tub, when in a fit of pride he placed his brother's hats on top of his own.

We now dismiss the Ethiopians, with an admonition not again to appear before us with pretensions at once so lofty and so ill-founded, if they do not choose to be treated as impostors. To Mr Hoskins we readily confess that he has made the best of his cause. He has done for it all that could be expected from ingenuity and fervid conviction. The praiseworthy enthusiasm which urged him onward from the gaiety of European cities to the Nubian deserts, powerfully stimulated his imagination; and amidst the imposing ruins now fast sinking into the sands of Ethiopia, he could not help reflecting on the time when Meroe (if she flourished at all) flourished unrivalled, because Egypt had not yet risen from the flood: he forgot at the same time that the apocryphal age on which his attention was riveted, belongs exclusively to the domain of imagination; and is forbidden ground to discreet historical speculation. But while we dissent from the doctrines of Mr Hoskins respecting the pre-eminent antiquity of Meroe, we gratefully acknowledge the pleasure and instruction which we have derived from the perusal of his work.

Art. IV.—*The Hind and Panther. Part IV.* By Philip Williams, Esq. Vinerian Professor of Law in the University of Oxford. 8vo. London: 1835.

The 'Hind and Panther' of Dryden is a vivid sketch of the positions, offensive and defensive, political and polemical, which the Church of Rome and the Church of England had respectively taken up; and whence they were regarding each other, in a spirit half hostile and half negotiating, at the extraordinary crisis of 1687. It has probably been less read than any poem of equal merit that ever existed. None of the caprices of poetical fashion have turned up to its advantage. From first to last, the public appear, in this respect, to have been quite consistent. The producers and consumers of poetry are alike concerned in enquiring, to what circumstances it is owing that an author of the experience and ability of Dryden should have been exposed to this unlooked-for mortification in one of the principal works which he addressed to the passions of his contemporaries, as well as to the taste and judgment of his countrymen of all succeeding ages.

At the moment when it appeared, the 'Hind and Panther' was

a formal justification by one of the most distinguished men in England of his conversion to the Church of Rome. It was a kind of poetical state-paper—an authoritative appeal by the poet-laureate—in defence of the justice and policy of the measures of the Court, upon an occasion and on a subject of unparalleled interest. At the same time, its substantial merits were quite as remarkable. It is the most mature and elaborate of all the original productions of its great author. As such, it is comparatively raised above the imputation by which his genius has been characterised as one which, living on the circumstances and necessities of the day, was never called into exercise but by the occasion, and for bread. There had been no attempt at reasoning in verse, on so imposing a scale, and with such an attention to premises and conclusions, as can be entitled to the name of reasoning, by any versifier of the slightest pretensions to imagination, since the time of Lucretius. Our own language contains nothing approaching it, except his own *Religio Laici*—the short poem in which, at no more remote period than five ambiguous years, 'unhappy Dryden' (as Pope so pathetically calls him) had delivered in his philosophical adhesion to the Church of England. The workmanship is fully worthy of the excellence of the materials. Johnson, after observing that what he calls the new versification owed its establishment to Dryden, says that Pope used to mention the 'Hind and Panther' as the most correct specimen of it. There are no grounds for suspecting that this judgment was in the least the result of Roman Catholic prepossessions. The coming over, at the eleventh hour, of a roving partisan who had passed his life in singing, that 'priests of all religions are 'the same,' was, like Sunderland's, a matter of shame rather than congratulation, as soon as the court-fever had subsided. The truth is, that Dryden's varied powers are put forth and combined in this single work; and his grateful disciple might, by extracts from it alone, have substantiated, as far as it is capable of being substantiated, the assertion, that better examples of every mode of poetry can be selected from his compositions, than from those of any other English writer.

Under these circumstances, the obstinate and traditional neglect to which the 'Hind and Panther' has been consigned is very singular. Contrasted with the brilliant and lasting success of the kindred poem of 'Absalom and Achitophel,' it shows upon what minute differences poetical popularity may depend. They are both controversial allegories; only the subject of the first is more temporary in its nature, and much more individual in its satire. It, however, was read with enthusiasm, and is still read with pleasure; whilst the failure of the second adventure was so

immediate and complete, that Burnet (the buzzard of the piece) summoned assurance to pronounce these conversations between the Hinds and Panthers to be the worst poem that the age had produced. Tom Brown acquainted Mr Bayes that he met it every where lining bandboxes, wrapping parcels, and pasting trunks. Swift, a very little later, places it amongst the commonest performances of Grub Street. Against the judgment thus early and thus contemptuously pronounced, there may have been raised here and there a few indignant dissentient voices; but it is a judgment which the public favour never has reversed, and from which it cannot be said that the critical directors of the public taste have ever ventured an appeal.

Is the fault with the poet or with the public? The maxim, 'happy the arts if artists only were to judge of them,' is not one which we are inclined to look upon with great respect in the way in which it is generally applied. It is no compliment to the fine arts, and to their claim of universal empire, to suppose that artists are to be tried only by their peers. This can be true to any extent only of the lowest part—the technical part of their business—of the means by which the end is to be accomplished. In the perfectly distinct, and much more important questions—what ought to be the end? and whether the end has been accomplished? they do not properly understand the true dignity of their vocation who appeal from the people to some exclusive jurisdiction. It is true, that of the different kinds of pleasure derived from poetry and the arts, some are much more partial and fluctuating than others; and the faculty of the judging few consists only in this—in their power of discriminating summarily between them; thus, on occasions, anticipating a little the verdict of mankind in the case in question, from their judicious observation of what that verdict has been in other cases, and from their knowledge of what is sure and lasting among the principles of human nature. That is all the difference between good and bad taste; but the sense of pleasure in those things is above and independent of all instruction. In the same way, an apprenticeship to landscape gardening is not a necessary preliminary as an introduction or an authority to a love of nature; and although tourist guidebooks may not have existed, we never can believe that the beauties of English scenery were looked upon by joyless eyes until they had been discovered and pointed out by Gray. 'Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapi-'entia dixit,' is as true in the arts as in morals. In any case of apparent misunderstanding between them, there can be no doubt whose business it is to obey. The public which is understood to be spoken of in these matters as at all representing nature,

of course, is constituted of that portion of the people who take an interest in them, and have a certain measure of appropriate cultivation. The standard may be easily put too low. For instance, every author is not so fortunate in his housekeeper as the French poet, who found an infallible critic in the kitchen; and the value of most people's opinion is indeed infinitely lessened and discredited by their own cowardice about it. What (to mention but one example) can be more unnatural than the sight of grown up gentlefolks going round a picture gallery and asking what they are to admire? Were they to stop long enough to hear a lecture on the art, it would be a different affair. But coming, as they do, for pleasure, it would be just as sensible, on the conclusion of an argument, to ask a third person by which of the reasons they had heard their understandings ought to be convinced. There are only two exceptions. The difficulty is in applying them. An inventive genius may strike on combinations which lead to the conception of a higher standard than what the public can rise to on the instant; or it may bring together analogies of thought and feeling which the accidents of society have debased, and where some interval must elapse before they can be recalled to their native harmony, and reconciled by the pure and affectionate interposition of the poet's mind. Novelty, to which alone littleness trusts for its impression, may thus stand in the way of greatness—and does so, as often as it is called upon to 'bide its time,' in the confident hope of creating the intelligence and the taste by which, sooner or later, it will come to be understood. The first may be readily imagined to have been the relation which Dante, Milton, and Michael Angelo bore to spectators, who, standing aloof, wondered rather than admired. The second has, to a considerable extent, been the bold and slowly-succeeding experiment of Wordsworth. But these are rare instances. Dryden had no such views. He wrote for his own generation—almost for the current year. In the event of failure, he had no vision of an enlightened or trained posterity in reserve. The conclusion, therefore, must be, that, since there is nothing in the 'Hind and Panther' which the author intended to be at all in advance of the mind of his readers, or to which any future generation is to be expected to grow up, the fault of his failure is with himself. The further question is, what has been the precise nature of his error?

It can scarcely be (as has been again and again repeated, on the authority of Dr Johnson) the absurdity of the machinery employed. A taste for parables and apologues appears to be universal. They are among the few literary productions in which, on throwing open the literature of the East and of the

West, it is certain that a successful interchange could be carried on. They are a class of fictions, which poets of every description may, on some occasion or other, turn to their account. And the disguise is worn so loose as never to be seriously in the way. The principal difficulty is in the first setting off: after the improbability of the original supposition has been once mastered, and the parties are got together fairly on the stage and in discussion, the incongruity of the masquerade is soon forgotten. In allegorical composition, the departure from the laws of natural history is, in every case, far too flagrant to be afterwards made a question of degree in any. Supposing, however, that critics may be permitted to marshal degrees of inconsistency, and to compare one allegory with another, according to the violence done by them to a conventional code of fabulous improbability, yet surely, when the trees of the forest assemble to choose themselves a king, the beasts of the forest may meet and talk divinity.

But the subject, it is objected (and on the same authority), is essentially unpopular and intractable. We should be very glad to believe that religious controversy was unpopular. The reverse is unfortunately and notoriously the case. Nor is it at all more true that the subject is necessarily prosaic. Mysteries, ceremonies, the rise and fall of opinions, and with them that of powerful parties in church and state, who were identified with their fortune, necessarily offer splendid materials for poetical illustration. If the objection had been directed against controversies on the metaphysics of morals, it would have been far more plausible. Yet, so much more does success in the arts depend on the skill of the artist, than on the nature of the work upon which it is employed, that the systems of Cranmer, Calvin, and Bellarmine are constantly reappearing in some shape or other, and attract attention every where, except in the rhymes of Dryden; while the only poetical system of moral metaphysics that any body reads is the Bolingbroke series of truisms and sophisms, as immortalized by Pope. It is not, most assuredly, because Pope had more genius. Most of those who think that he has written better poems are willing to allow that Dryden was the greater poet. Nor does the difference in skill, which has led to the discomfiture of the one and the triumph of the other on this occasion, consist in their respective power over the instruments of their art. It is difficult to conjecture the meaning of Dr Johnson, when he speaks of its having remained for Dryden to create the poetical diction of a language in which Shakspeare, Spenser, and Milton had already written. Not but that his contributions in this line were most important; especially if we consider the intermediate position which he occupied on the general desertion

of English writers from the older schools of poetical invention, whether native or Italian, to the stricter disciplinarianism of France. There never was a greater instance of the sacrifice of superior to inferior objects. The example of Racine prevents our saying that the French language does not admit of the highest order of poetry. But the fact, that there is one exception, and only one, justifies us in saying that it is all but impossible. At all events, it is proved that the graft will not flourish and bear fruit on foreign stems. Europe made the experiment; and the literature of England, Italy, and Germany lost quite as much in all the higher qualities of imagination, while they were subjected to the influence of France, as they could have lost if, instead of France, they had been subjected, for the same period, to the literary influence of Holland. There was the fashion and the *tournure*, it is true; but that was all. The merit of Dryden at that crisis, with regard to poetical diction, does not in our opinion, consist so much in what he reformed as in what he preserved. He belonged to neither party; or rather, perhaps, in consequence of his riper years, as well as from the comprehensiveness and versatility of his mind, he belonged to both. Accordingly he had the good fortune to carry with him to the new system a greater elevation of thought and of expression, and a nobler poetical diction, than following writers who were more exclusively brought up under it, ever reached to. The specific reformation, which may be said to be almost entirely his own, is of a different kind. He broke into the full power of its paces, our principal heroic measure, the couplet of ten syllables. This couplet is 'the coursers of ethereal race,' which Gray has appropriated to Dryden; and, towards the perfect control and mastery of them, he left little indeed for a successor to add. Pope gained something afterwards in correctness and regularity; but he lost as much and more by the comparative uniformity of his cadences. Monotony of voice, however beautiful the voice, becomes a sensible and serious defect in a long speech. Monotony of measure is equally so in a long poem. In this, however, Pope perhaps prudently adjusted his efforts to his strength. In describing his predecessors, he must have seen that he himself had rather fallen back to the smoothness of Waller than maintained the characteristic and pre-eminent excellency by which he generously distinguished Dryden:

> 'Waller was smooth; but Dryden taught to join
> The varying pause, the full resounding line,
> The long majestic march, and energy divine.'

For the exercise of superior skill, for which we are giving Pope the credit over Dryden, in our comparison of the construction of

these two celebrated poems, it is, however, true that he may have been indebted, in the first instance, to an inferiority of another kind. Mr Stewart has, in his 'Philosophy of the Human 'Mind,' given, as we think, the true solution of the problem. According to the distinctions there pointed out, the advantage of the author of the 'Essay on Man' over the author of the 'Hind 'and Panther' lay principally in this, That, in the disposition of his piece, he has acted upon the intellectual truth, that it is the rhetorical and not the logical association of ideas in which the paramount attraction of all that is most delightful in poetry consists. Hume's threefold division of the principle of association into resemblance, contiguity of time and place, and cause and effect, is sufficiently correct for the purpose of explaining the difference in question. Pope, who was apparently no great reasoner, took up his philosophical theory on trust. Instead of labouring it into a chain of regular deductions, he was content to delight the imagination by the grace of his transitions, the richness of his digressions, the beauty of his analogies and allusions. Johnson says that paucity of knowledge, and vulgarity of sentiment, were never so happily disguised as in the 'Essay on Man.' If 'the 'reader overpowered does not know again the talk of his mother 'and his nurse,' it may be taken for granted that the poet had first succeeded in a similar mystification of himself. On the contrary, ratiocination, as Dr Johnson calls it, was the favourite amusement of the more manly Dryden. Accordingly, his unrivalled facility of reasoning in verse tempted him to forget the poet in the logician. Not satisfied with uniting the clearness of prose to the sprightliness of verse, he proceeded, in the pride of his dialectics, to wedge himself in the oak. The sequence of thought in the *Religio Laici* and in the 'Hind and Panther,' is as close as if the poems were versified expositions of opposite arguments he had been maintaining in the schools. The consequence is, that in the mood in which almost all persons go to poetry, to find there 'the wings of the morning' to flee away and be at rest, they are disappointed. They do not meet with the species of excitement and recreation which they expect. At all events, they meet it in company that interferes with and disturbs its peculiar impressions. A union of endowments is comparatively rare. Persons of sensibility and fancy are not always very conclusive reasoners, and *vice versa*. In most cases, therefore, a logical-minded reader will be deterred from the book by the poetry; a poetical one by the logic; while those who can enjoy both often wish to enjoy them separately; and are ill prepared and ill disposed to keep the check-string for ever in their hands, and to be sent on a sudden backwards and forwards, from the

pleasures of the imagination to the severer pleasures of the understanding. In the case of Miss Martineau's remarkable experiment—a scientific novel—the objection met us at every turn. 'We like stories; we like political economy; but we do not like 'them mixed up together.' A moral even must be cleverly concealed, or it is a heavier burden than a fable can afford to carry. It is very well to kill two birds with one stone; but it is wiser to make sure, in the first instance, that the consequence of attempting it will not be the missing both. Philosophical poetry, really such, seems a proved case. There can be no greater proof of its ordinary repulsiveness, than the degree to which the dread of coming in contact with it has kept so many beautiful passages in the philosophical poems of Lucretius and of Dryden, comparatively out of the public sight. The difficulty is one which Johnson, who loved argument better than poetry, and knew a great deal more about it, did not perceive. The misfortune is, that an author who, like Dryden, could have written poetry delightful to all mankind, should have devoted so much time and genius to the composition of a poem which, from the very principle of its construction, can be delightful only to a few.

To apply these observations to the verses before us: They are a continuation of the original poem. The story of the domestic questions at issue between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, was unfortunately 'left half-told' in 1687. Mr Williams has taken it up again, and brought it down to our own times. The idea is a very ingenious one. And, supposing Sir Walter Scott's notion to be correct, that the original poem is 'a disregarded wreck' at present, only because the tide of controversy has subsided, and left it 'stranded upon the shores 'which the surges once occupied,'—the bitter waters, alas! are now out again, quite enough to float the continuation into at least temporary popularity. The milk-white Hind from among the benches of the Convocation might try conclusions with the White Doe of the ruins of Bolton Abbey. But supposing, on the contrary, that the original poem was received with cold indifference from the first, and that the cause of this indifference is to be found among the grounds assigned by Dr Johnson, or by ourselves, the servant must be prepared, we fear, for no better fortune than his lord. If the 'Hind and Panther' of Dryden was allowed to come into the world still-born, all that the 'Hind 'and Panther' of Mr Williams can, from the nature of the case, possibly expect, is, that it should be heard to cry for a few minutes;—especially, when in an amiable forgetfulness of the impatience of modern readers, Mr Williams has ventured to

recommend to them the perusal of Dryden's poem, together with the literary and historical commentary upon it by Sir Walter Scott, as a necessary qualification for understanding him.

There would have been one way (and it appears to us but one), of evading these objections;—that is, by deviating so far from the scheme and style of the original, that they should not have applied. Mr Williams has worked a little in this direction; having principally confined his imitation to the free and familiar tone of domestic conversation, by which Dryden intended to distinguish the third part of his poem from the two former. To have carried the departure farther, would have been to introduce a new and perhaps a worse evil. For in adding to the building of another, the poet is bound as much as the architect, to consult its character and proportions. In an instance like the present, an approach to similarity can be attained in no other manner; since, after doing every thing that is possible to make the resemblance perfect, a writer who shall attempt to complete a work begun by Dryden, will almost appear, on a comparison of the language and versification of the copy with that of the pattern, to have been working with a different material. Pope is undoubtedly a great poet, with a perfection of art which is every thing but inimitable; yet he has had a hundred imitators, more or less successful; Dryden never one. It is the same in the case of personal grace. What rules have taught one, it is possible they may teach another. But nature gives her favourites a charm beyond what the dancing master can ensure his most accomplished pupils. The supposition, that such partial resemblances as Churchill, Cowper, and Gifford occasionally present to one or other of Dryden's manners, are the nearest approach which has been made by succeeding English writers, is the greatest compliment that can be paid to his unexampled range, and power, and fulness. In the 'Hind 'and Panther,' there are no less than three several styles deliberately adapted to its several parts—styles not more distinct, one from the other, than each (if we compare in each a couplet of Dryden with a couplet from other poets) is equally characteristic of the author. The elevated, figurative, and heroic is appropriated to the general characters and narration. The argument is conducted in what he elsewhere calls the legislative style—plain, perspicuous, and majestic. The ordinary dialogue is light and flowing—raised by little more than by a happy disposition of the words, and by its own buoyancy and spirit. The subject, as Mr Williams has treated it, would have admitted of a greater variety of style than he has attempted. He is too discerning

an admirer of his master to thank us, were we to say that he had shown himself a formidable rival, even within the single circle to which he has limited his ambition.

A few lines from the beginning, the object of which is to recall to the recollection of the reader the 'Hind and Panther' of Dryden, and to connect the two poems, will show what is the temper and the talent with which its author has composed what he only offers as a *jeu d'esprit*, springing out of a happy thought and a little leisure :--

'Year after year rolled on, day after day,
And hope deferr'd had well nigh died away;
Whilst the meek Hind, tho' still in peace she strayed
O'er the wild forest, and the tangled glade,
In silence mourned—permitted but to view
The royal meads, and at a distance too.

'Tis true the Lion had of late repealed
Those furious laws his ancestors had held;
And, in a generous spirit, cleared the road
From the worst horrors of the forest code:
And sense of shame, and slow returning right
Had driven oppression's deadliest brood to flight.

'Yet still a dread of antiquated ill,
A pampered habit that controls the will—
A dark resolve, that, obstinate and strong,
Clings to its loved consistency of wrong,
Withheld those sacred rights, which *laws divine*
Dispense to all her sons at freedom's shrine.

'It chanced of late as in a livelier mood
The milk-white dame came bounding o'er the wood;
As, light of heart, along the walks she flew,
And brushed the spangles of the morning dew;
She passed that covert in the mountain glen
Where the gaunt Panther slumbered in her den—
"Good morrow, dame" (she nodded as she passed),
"Much change of weather since I saw you last."—

We do not pretend to know what meaning our author's friends at Oxford may put upon the word *gaunt:* or whether they will accept the circumstance of mountain scenery as sufficiently decisive that, by the den in which the good lady is slumbering, it is not intended to designate a locality nearer home.

The Roman Catholics have no reason to complain of Mr Williams. He has given the Hind the principal part of the talk, and by far the best of the argument. The last it would

have been indeed difficult to have avoided doing; for he has wisely kept off all ground which had been pre-occupied by Dryden; and has argued the case as a question of politics, not polemics. The Panther objects to the Hind her persecutions, the mischievousness of some of her doctrines, and the suspiciousness of her temporary union with dissenters and demagogues. The Hind replies that her persecutions were the crimes, not of Roman Catholics as Roman Catholics, but as Roman Catholics who had the misfortune to live and to be uppermost in intolerant times; that the imputed doctrines are such as are either harmless, or as she disavows; that she and the Panther agree, or nearly so, in all important points; and that she seeks only political equality, not ecclesiastical endowment.

> 'Are we not brethren still, in a degree?
> Do not you drink from the same fount as we?
> Are we not both by one great Master fed?
> And both partakers of celestial bread?
> If yours the purest white, why need you make
> Objection to our *medicated* cake?
> We do not want your slice of wheaten bread,
> Content to keep our wafer in its stead.'

Unfortunately this supposed approximation is brought about too much at the expense of the Dissenters. The language attributed to the Hind in this respect, it will have been very foolish in her to have ever used. Both Dissenters and Roman Catholics should know by this time, that to exaggerate their differences, and inflame their animosities, is to play the game by which alone exclusions and disabilities were so long maintained. The lengthened ridicule of Protestant fanatics is equally misplaced.

> 'How rich the raptures! how divinely sweet
> When saints elect and whimpering sinners meet!
> Oh! for some second Hogarth now to paint
> The youthful profligate commencing saint.'

It would have been much more to the purpose, if the space had been employed in introducing Ireland upon the stage, in the importance to which she has risen since the time of Dryden, and with the entirely new character that she has given to the discussions in which the Hind and Panther are engaged at present. It is impossible to conceive a finer contrast for the exercise of the powers of Dryden. On one side, the poetical picture of that ill-starred country, the silent growth of the Romish faith among an oppressed people, the missionary zeal and privations of their pauper priests. On the other, a political phenomenon—the like of which, we believe, never before existed in the history of man-

kind, and assuredly never will exist again—the whole of the national funds for religious education exclusively set apart for the church of a small fractional minority! and expressly defended on the ground that, with a congregation or without one, does not matter—the funds are equally to be expended upon the church! Well might Mr Galley Knight call it a 'monster 'church.' It stands alone among all human institutions. Mr Williams follows the example of Dryden in concluding with a prophecy: a few months ground Dryden's predictions into dust. It requires no foresight but that of common sense to see that there are years of hard and honest work to be yet gone through, before we can dream of peace on earth, or gratitude in Ireland.

The ingenuity of Mr Williams's experiment excited our curiosity. The liberal spirit in which he has executed it entitles him to great indulgence. Besides, a poem by a 'Vinerian Pro-'fessor' could not but find favour in our sight. It ought to do something towards the removal of the stupid prejudice which 'the 'farewell to the muses' of his celebrated predecessor (Blackstone) did something towards countenancing. The prejudice supposes that a disclaimer of all cultivation of polite literature is one of the many negative qualifications necessary for a lawyer. It is a singular fancy in men of business and of the world, to take a sort of pleasure in representing taste and imagination to be inconsistent with their pursuits.

Art. V.—*A History of Greece.* By the Rev. Connop Thirlwall, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. I. London: 1835. (Published in Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia.*)

We have no right to expect, and certainly we very seldom find, in the separate histories contained in those cabinet miscellanies of which so many are now in the course of publication, any thing more than popular and superficial narratives of the chief occurrences in national annals. It was, therefore, with some surprise that we discovered, under the unpretending exterior of this volume, a series of acute and learned enquiries into the early history and antiquities of Greece. A neat steel-plate title-page, with a cut representing 'Lycurgus proclaiming the infant 'Charilaus King of Sparta,' seemed a singular frontispiece to a mass of disquisitions on the cloudy legends of the Pelasgi and Hellenes, on the Homeric controversy, and the wanderings of the Dorians. Whether Mr Thirlwall's innovation will be approved

of in the class of readers for whom these miscellanies are, in the first instance, intended, we cannot presume to anticipate. But his work is certain to attract attention among those who are anxious to acquire something more than elementary knowledge on a subject of such unwearying interest as that which he has chosen to illustrate. His own reasons for the course he has adopted, in giving to his book a more learned character than is usual with works of a similar description, are candidly stated in his preface. He might have cited, in addition, the example of his fellow-Encyclopédiste, the poet and historian of Ireland, who has plunged quite as venturously into the depths of Hibernian as he into those of Hellenic darkness. And it is our duty to urge in his farther justification, that subjects of so recondite a nature cannot possibly be placed in a clearer light, or better stripped of all superfluous mystery, than we have found them in these pages. A spirit of good sense and temperate criticism pervades them throughout. And, although the author's fancy is every where subordinate to his correct historical taste, the student will not fail to detect traces of that scholar-like delight in the graceful and lovely fictions of antiquity, which is so peculiarly attractive to minds of congenial temper. It animates the reader through the toilsome intricacy of some parts of his progress, like a brook by the way-side, which, though it only sparkles occasionally in the traveller's eye, yet enlivens him by the sense of its constant companionship. Some portions of the narrative of early migrations and the intermixture of tribes, may perhaps appear detailed with unnecessary minuteness; although it is very difficult to assign accurate limits to the length of such investigations. And it may be thought, that the author has in other parts too sedulously avoided pronouncing an opinion, when discussing questions of historical interest. There are few subjects on which it is safer to doubt, and more preposterous to dogmatize, than those connected with the primitive history of the Greeks. But in a work evincing no common ability and research, we naturally look for something more, when we reach points on which there exists a '*lis mota*' between learned combatants, than a mere exposition of conflicting hypotheses, and of the difficulties which beset each.

Confused as the early history of Greece undoubtedly is, and presenting, at first sight, a series of migrations and conquests without adequate purpose, and apparently irreconcilable with each other, the patient investigations of recent critics have, we think, done much towards unravelling the complicated web. We cannot, it is true, boast of having arrived at any new certainties; but we have by their aid acquired clearer notions as to what we

may admit and what we must reject among those traditions in which we are compelled to search for authority. The most obscure, as students in foreign history are well aware, among these legends, are such as relate to the Pelasgi; a very enigmatical people, who meet us under every possible shape in the first stage of our enquiries. Sometimes they appear to enter Greece from the unknown north and west, sometimes from eastern regions beyond the sea; sometimes indigenous; by some authors represented as civilized men overcoming barbarians; by others as barbarian tribes retiring before the influence of civilisation; sometimes spread over the whole of Greece; sometimes confined to a few obscure corners. So long as we adhere to the opinion, that these people were of different origin and language from the Greek or Hellenic race—which undoubtedly derives countenance from some eminent authorities—we are involved in difficulties without end by these contradictory statements. But when we hold, as Mr Thirlwall conjectures in accordance with many recent writers, that they were themselves the original Greeks, many of these difficulties are removed or lessened.

First, the different phases under which this people appears in different traditions, and the numerous migrations attributed to it, are thus in a great measure reconciled without calling in the arbitrary assistance of foreign settlers and conflicting races. If we suppose the Pelasgians to have been the first clan who took the direction of Greece, when the Caucasian tribes advanced westward from the early seats of the human family; we may imagine several detachments of this clan to have advanced in succession, like waves following each other, from the north and north-west, to which ancient tradition chiefly points as the quarters from whence they issued. All these may have been of the same origin, and, substantially, of the same language also. But as the tide of immigration was thus directed, as it were, from the broad base towards the apex of the triangle formed by Greece, jutting out as a promontory into the Mediterranean, the first comers must soon have been straitened for room. There must have been constant jostling and conflicting between the kindred hordes which thus arrived one after the other, and the strongest, no doubt, continually dispossessed their weaker neighbours of the most eligible districts. This state of things must have continued, at least, until that tide of immigration had ceased to flow—checked by some cause hidden in the abyss of far antiquity. Then, after an interval of comparative repose, tribes and dialects would begin to arise from among the Pelasgians themselves; Hellenes, and out of them Achaians, Dorians, &c., warring against each other, and by compulsory emigration spreading the Greek name and language far beyond the limits of Hellas.

Secondly, this supposition appears to answer the questions which have arisen respecting the language of the Pelasgians, better than any which gives them a foreign origin. The Athenians and the Arcadians, we know, both claimed the title of Autochthones, or Indigenous: nor does antiquity record any older inhabitants of their respective territories than themselves. They had never been subjugated, as far as history or tradition went; still less had any of those revolutions which expel or exterminate races befallen them. Now both these nations, and the Arcadian more especially, are signalized by the ancients as of Pelasgian stock. Yet we have no mention and no trace of any language, other than Greek, having been ever spoken even in the most remote part of their territories. It is ingeniously urged by Mr Fynes Clinton (in his *Fasti Hellenici*), that in the civilized age of Greece there existed no clan, however savage itself or its place of abode, in any district of Peloponnesus or Eastern Hellas, which spoke a dialect not of Hellenic origin. This is surely a weighty, if it cannot be advanced as a decisive, argument, that a population of different origin never existed there.

Nevertheless, there is a well-known passage in Herodotus about the language of the Pelasgians, on which, we suspect, the opinions which have prevailed, and still extensively prevail, respecting their foreign origin (Kruse, according to Mr Thirlwall, still labours to prove them Etruscan—Kreuser Phœnicians), are in great measure founded. The historian, in that passage, mentions having heard the tongue which he terms Pelasgian, spoken in three places; and that it was 'barbarous.' But before we deduce any conclusion from this passage, it behoves us to enquire, what Herodotus meant by that appellation. And when we find, as Mr Thirlwall observes, that he elsewhere calls the dialect used in certain Ionian cities 'barbarous,' although in this case it must have been only a variety of his mother tongue, we are forced to conclude that he employed this epithet to designate any *patois* which he could not understand; and he, an Asiatic Greek, may probably have been no more familiar with the speech of a Pelasgian inhabitant of the coast of Thrace, than a Kentuckian with that of a West-country Lowlander.

Thirdly, the supposition that the Pelasgians were true ancestors of the Greek family, serves very essentially in explaining the connexion between the Greek and Latin languages. Swarms of Pelasgians, who appear to have come from various quarters, but chiefly from that central region of Epirus, among the oak-clad hills of Pelasgian Jove, where lay the birth-place of so many nations, are reported to have settled in Italy at a very early period.

If we suppose the tribes out of whose colluvion the Roman people was formed, to have been in great measure Pelasgian, we have a satisfactory reason to give for the peculiar relation of these languages to each other.

'If this is the right point of view,' says Mr Thirlwall, 'it would be capricious to doubt that the portion, or element—for it includes both substance and form—which the Latin language has in common with the Greek, was immediately derived from the Pelasgians; it will then follow that their language was at least the basis of the Greek itself, and that it may be far more correctly considered either as a dialect, or an early stage of it, than as totally foreign to it. This general result seems to be well established; but all attempts to define more exactly the relation between the two languages, and to describe their characteristic marks, can only rest on analogies arbitrarily chosen and applied. We must be content with knowing, both as to the language and the race, that no notion of them, which either confounds, or rigidly separates them, will bear the test of historical criticism.'—P. 56.

A curious result may be deduced from this speculation. The Pelasgians, spreading over the southern parts of Italy, never appear to have risen in that quarter into great or civilized communities. When the Hellenic colonies arrived in Magna Græcia, it is said that they treated these Pelasgians as humble dependents, or reduced them to slavery. Here we have an instance of two branches of the same family parting in different directions; the one, advancing in vigour and intelligence beyond the other, alights in its wanderings on the ground which the latter has occupied, and proceeds to subjugate its own kindred, now regarded as an inferior and barbarous race. Thus the Normans, after passing through a variety of changes, were brought in the process of time, as a new nation, to conquer and reduce to vassalage the descendants of those Danes, Jutes, and Angles who had set out originally from the same point with themselves. How often may the same result have occurred in the history of mankind—especially when we enlarge our sphere of observation to contemplate, on a larger scale, the various fortunes of that great variety of the human race to which we belong! When the Saracen and the Goth, coming from opposite quarters of the earth, encountered in Spain twelve hundred years ago, they bore with them, not only the ineradicable traces of the same type of form and feature, but some fragments of the same original tongue. They were brothers, who parted at the foot of Caucasus, to meet again after uncounted centuries, each having described in his march a wide curve over the earth's surface, on the coast of the Atlantic ocean.

What, then, is meant by the Pelasgians 'becoming a Hellenic people?' What was this great transformation, which so essentially changed the condition of Greece and her people, that

her own historians constantly treat their countrymen as a different nation from those Pelasgians whom, nevertheless, we must believe to have been their direct ancestors? Was it merely produced by the change insensibly wrought in a language, as was the case among ourselves, when the Saxon name gradually ripened into the English? Was it in any way connected with the arrivals of foreign colonists, Phœnicians, Egyptians, &c., some of which, although Greek imagination may have multiplied their number, we cannot wholly discredit? Or was it caused by the rise of one sept or family among the tribes of Pelasgian race, overpowering the rest, and essentially altering their character? These are curious questions, of which we cannot think that any satisfactory solution has yet been offered. In the mean time, we quote Mr Thirlwall's opinions, though propounded by him, as usual, rather in the form of conjectures than of assertions:—

'It is scarcely possible to comprehend the rise and growth of the Hellenic nation, without considering it in two points of view; both of which are confirmed as well by high authority as by intrinsic probability. On the one hand, it cannot be denied, that the Hellenic population of Greece included some new elements, not, indeed, absolutely foreign to the old Pelasgian race, but yet very slightly connected with it. . . . . We have seen that the distance between the Pelasgian and the Hellenic race cannot reasonably be considered so great as to exclude all national affinity; they must be conceived allied to one another by some community of language and character. Still it is no less manifest, that the peculiar stamp which distinguished the Greeks from every other nation on the earth, was impressed on them by the little tribe which first introduced amongst them the name of Hellenes. We are, therefore, led to regard this people not so much in the light of strangers, such as the supposed Egyptian, Lybian, or Phœnician settlers, as in that of a branch of the Pelasgian family, which contained its best and purest blood, and was destined to unfold the noblest faculties implanted in its constitution, and to raise the life of the nation to the highest stage which it was capable of reaching. On the other hand, it seems clear that the transition from the Pelasgian to the Hellenic period was not effected simply by the conquests or migrations of this new people. Thucydides himself, who recognises its diffusion as the main cause of a great revolution in the state of Greece, indicates another kind of change which prepared the way for its entrance, and promoted its progress, when he says that Hellen and his sons, having become powerful in Phthia, were called in as auxiliaries to other states. For this must be taken in connexion with the historian's preceding remark, that civil feuds and foreign wars arose every where, in proportion to the growth of opulence and power; for which reason the richest lands oftenest changed their owners. This would, perhaps, be sufficient, even if there were no other evidence, to render it probable that the transition was not universally produced by the invasion, or the peaceful admission of the new people, but that it was, in some instances, the result of a natural developement in the social state of the Pelasgian

tribes, favoured, in a degree which we cannot precisely ascertain, by causes, some of which have been already noticed.'

From this pedigree of Hellen and his sons, and other similar genealogies, Mr Thirlwall partly derives some important conclusions; in which, however, we almost fear to accompany him to the same extent. It is well known, that the Greek genealogists deduced the name of every Hellenic people—nay, in later times, every little sept, and almost every city—from that of some hero, descended from Jove, whom they designated as its ancestor. Thus, in the instance in question: from Hellen came Dorus and Æolus, in the first degree; and, in the second (through his other son Xuthus), Ion and Achaeus; by which means the descent of the four great Grecian tribes was compendiously accounted for. Very few, if any, of these Gentile heroes can be supposed to have existed in reality. In addition to the arguments used by Mr Thirlwall on this subject, we may observe, that although names of this description are frequently introduced into descents of heroes concerning whom many fabulous legends are recounted, yet they are themselves rarely the subjects of any tradition, or the authors of any achievement, except that of founding the race which bore their name. In later genealogies there is no appearance of verisimilitude; and names are forged in the most obvious and even puerile manner. Thus the Eleans invented a king Aethlius, by way of making out a title to their lucrative property, the Olympian games. And a hero Amphictyon was not only invented, but perched on the highest branch of the national family tree (as son of Hellen), in order to find a patron for the Amphictyonic council; although the name of that body must have suggested at once its own derivation (Amphictiones, neighbours dwelling within the same circuit). In fact, the effrontery of the more recent Greeks in forging names and monuments is only equalled by the credulity with which their antiquarian writers (especially Pausanias), receive these figments as undoubted truths. Nevertheless, Mr Thirlwall appears to think that, in the deficiency of other records, valuable hints as to the early history of the Grecian tribes may be deduced from these pedigrees of heroes and demigods. Thus, because Dorus and Æolus, in the common legend, are sons, Ion and Achaeus grandsons, of Hellen, he considers this legend (p. 106) to 'indicate more than it expresses, 'and to imply that the Ionians and Achaeans were far more closely 'connected with each other than with the other two branches of 'the nation.' He imagines, in short, that the descents which are merely mythical, with respect to individuals, may be true with respect to tribes. It seems to us rather hazardous to attribute so great a degree of historical or traditionary knowledge to

the framers of these genealogies. It supposes them in possession of accurate information respecting the antiquities of their country, which never reached its historians, and which we cannot derive from any other legitimate source. We do not, certainly, like to abandon the slenderest thread which might serve as a clue in so great a maze as this part of ancient history presents. But when we consider how differently these same pedigrees are arranged by different legendary writers, and how little semblance of authority seems to attach to any, we can scarcely, even to this extent, consent to follow their guidance.

From the primitive history of Grecian tribes and their migrations, Mr Thirlwall proceeds to discuss, at some length, the legends of what is termed the Heroic Age of Greece, with the first rudiments of her religion, arts, and literature. The first of these three subjects is treated with much ability, and we regret that we can do no more than direct the attention of our readers to it. If, however, we might hazard an observation on so very obscure a topic, we are disposed to think his reasonings somewhat too favourable to the indigenous, and too adverse to the Oriental, origin of various parts of the Greek religion. In executing this part of his task, Mr Thirlwall speedily finds himself involved in all the difficulties which beset the question of the antiquity and character of Homer. That poet we are forced to take, almost exclusively, as our guide, in discussing the truths and fictions of that romantic era; while we are obliged at the same time to confess, amidst clouds of controversy, that we know not who he was, when he lived, or what he actually sung.

Mr Thirlwall, while he cautiously abstains from taking a decided part, notices the considerable change which has taken place of late years in the tone and opinions of continental critics respecting these attractive but most uncertain speculations. Wolf's bold enquiries were suited to the temper of the period at which he wrote; he effected in Homeric criticism what so many of his contemporaries were effecting in other branches of human learning, and on almost every topic of general interest. Like them, he investigated the foundations of prevalent doctrines; and he succeeded in showing how little authenticity or even credibility belonged to those persuasions respecting the age and person of Homer, which had been implicitly adopted from the scholiasts and sophists of less sceptical antiquity. The doubts which he started were not for the most part new; but they were then first enforced with the learning and dexterity of a critical age. But although his famous *Prolegomena* still form, we believe, the text book from which German students generally derive their first impressions respecting the poet and his times, they cannot be now

cited as an authority; since the subject has been so sedulously pursued by later writers. Heyné followed in the same course, with great philological and some historical sagacity; but, his sincerest admirers must admit, with little of that sense of poetical fitness and beauty which, if it sometimes leads an ardent enquirer to entertain prejudices in favour of one side of the question, is nevertheless an indispensable quality for its investigation. The general turn of opinion among the countrymen of these critics soon took the same direction, and their zeal speedily outran that of their directors. The antiquity of Homer's poems in their present shape, and his personal existence, were both nearly abandoned as superstitions of an unenlightened age. If there still rose up defenders of the ancient fame of the Prince of Poets, they were rather to be found among the literati of France and England, attached to a set of opinions which saved the trouble of investigation; and prejudiced, moreover (especially among ourselves), by the nature of their education, which led them to place less reliance on minute grammatical or antiquarian research, and more on internal persuasions, derived from taste and sentiment, than the more industrious but more novelty-seeking students of Germany. But it happened with the Wolfian theory, precisely as it has happened with so many other theories of the eighteenth century, which consisted merely of a series of clever objections to old axioms. After finding that the early opinion was untenable, people began to examine into those affirmative propositions which had (by implication) been established in lieu of it; and it then appeared that even the first assumptions were in some respects less improbable than the new systems, thus called into existence by their overthrow. Whether or no it be true, as affirmed by a veteran of the school of Wolf and Voltaire, that the tendency of the present age is to go back—*nostri sæculi proprium est, et placet, retrò cedere*—it is certain that the latest writers (as far as we have become acquainted with them) seem rather to be led by their enquiries, and not reluctantly, to results strongly resembling the exploded doctrines of former times; and Homer, after having passed most rigorously through the ordeal of sceptical examination, seems to run a chance of being replaced on the same pedestal from which (with all expressions of respect) his critics of the last century had dragged him.

Not that this change of sentiment is by any means universal among the learned of the present day. In fact, there never was a period at which the Homeric controversy was carried on more warmly than it now is between the literary combatants of Germany; and, while some new and sound criticism is engendered by every fresh discussion, it cannot be denied that much fanciful

and far-fetched theory is pressed into the service on both sides. Among the ablest writers of the anti-Wolfian party, we may mention Nitzsch (*De Historia Homeri Meletemata*) and (we believe) Kreuser (*Vorfragen über Homeros*), whose aim appears to be to vindicate the antiquity of the Iliad and Odyssey in their present shape. But many, and especially those of the old school, are little disposed to abandon the sceptical conclusions; for that which was once the new and innovating sect has now, by the rise of another generation, become the old one. The erudite Hermannus declares in one of his prefaces, 'non esse totam Iliadem 'aut Odysseam unius poetæ opus, ita extra dubitationem posi-'tum puto, ut qui secus contendat, eum non satis lectitasse ea 'carmina contendam.'* And Muller, who, since the death of Niebuhr, stands highest in European estimation among writers on classical history, in reviewing the work of Nitzsch, professes his intention 'to contend every foot of ground with that author, 'and to draw back the troops which F. A. Wolf had pushed for-'ward so far, only where compelled by the adversary.'

The ordinary supposition of those who contended for a plurality of authors in the composition of these poems, formerly was, that the rhapsodies of independent bards had been collected, formed into a whole, and adapted to an epic plot, by the ingenuity of some compiler, or compilers; and the time assigned by Wolf for their appearance in their present shape was that of the Pisistratidæ. But against this theory there are many weighty objections, some of which are forcibly urged by Mr Thirlwall.

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* To the erudition and sagacity of this distinguished scholar Mr Thirlwall pays due respect. But he has pointed out one or two instances, in which the historian of Orchomenos and the Dorians has indeed suffered his zeal for system-making greatly to outrun his discretion. Athenæus tells a facetious story of one Æthiops, who being on board a vessel bound from Corinth for Sicily on a colonizing adventure, sold to Archias his messmate (sussitos) his share of the land they were to occupy for a honey-cake. At this price Archias acquired part of the land on which he founded Syracuse. M. Muller builds on this tale the supposition, that the Syssitia of Sparta were known also in Corinth, which goes in aid of his theory, that the so-called institutions of Lycurgus were old Doric usages. Again, Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, is said to have abolished the old names of three Dorian tribes in that city, and to have rebaptized them Hyatai, Oneatai, Choireatai—Sow-men, Ass-men, and Pig-men. This, says Herodotus, he did in order to insult them. But so simple a reason does not suit M. Muller. He supposes, that Cleisthenes had in this strange proceeding the same end in view for which Virgil is said to have written the Georgics—to call the attention of his countrymen to agricultural pursuits!

'The supposition,' he says, 'that such separate legends could 'have been so pieced together as to assume their present appear-'ance, is involved in almost insurmountable difficulties. For how, 'it may be asked, did the different poets in each instance happen 'to confine themselves to the same circle of subjects;—as, to the 'battles before Troy, and the return of Ulysses?' We are forced, in fact, if we adopt this theory under any modification, to introduce two hazardous assumptions. First, we have to suppose the existence of some rare and admirable compiler, by whom the disjointed fragments were amalgamated, and all the matter foreign to his chosen subject which was contained in each discarded. Next, we must presume the total disappearance of these discarded portions, insomuch that antiquity never even suspected their existence. Now the labours of recent critics have brought to light some formidable historical objections to the introduction of this Diaskeuastes, or compiler, to whom it was once the fashion to attribute such great achievements. His labours had generally been assigned to the era of Pisistratus. But Heyné proved, in the first place, how slight was the evidence on which either that tyrant or his sons are alleged to have effected or superintended any new edition of Homer at all. And it has since been powerfully urged, that if, at so late a period, extensive alterations were made, as must necessarily have been the case in the process of arrangement, we should have possessed, or at least ancient writers would have mentioned, some variations from the Attic edition *cum privilegio*—some fragments of an Achæan, Ionian, Dorian Homer—of which not the slightest hint remains. It is therefore most probable, that if any liberties were taken by the ruling house of Athens with the text of the poet, they amounted to nothing more than a few interpolations, introduced perhaps with a political object, when Homer's verses were appealed to in controversies between Hellenic cities.

But the argument goes yet farther than the mere suggestion of these improbabilities. The Cyclic poets of Asiatic Greece, concerning whom so much has been written and so little is accurately known, flourished at a period anterior to the age of Pisistratus by many generations. Mr Fynes Clinton fixes the date of the earliest of these (Arctinus) at 770, B. C.; that of the latest (Eugammon), at 560. Two centuries in literary history are thus occupied by the compositions of these Cyclic poets;—so called, because their epics, together with those of Homer, formed a complete poetical narrative, embracing a large portion of the traditions of the heroic age. We may find a strong resemblance to them in the Italian Romanzieri, from Boiardo to Tasso, who completed a similar cycle of adventurous story, founded on the

deeds of Charlemagne and his paladins. Now, without going as far as Mr Clinton, who maintains that it is 'a fact sufficiently 'manifest, that the cyclic poets had the use of writing,' we may at least acquiesce in the conclusion to which all ancient authority and all probability leads, that their works were not compilations out of old legends passed off under their name, but were produced in a complete shape. We may safely reject the extravagant conclusion to which Wolf was driven by the needs of his theory, that their epics, like the Homeric, were arranged by critics in the time of the Pisistratidæ. It is evident how greatly their recognised antiquity supports the probable antiquity of the Iliad and Odyssey, of which they were merely imitations. They could not have been produced at all unless at a considerable distance of time after the Homeric rhapsodies had, as the hypothesis requires, been artificially moulded into a regular shape. And thus the age of the Iliad and Odyssey, as substantive poems, is inevitably thrown back so far, that the same difficulty which is urged against the vulgar belief—the improbability, namely, of the completion of such perfect works in an age of no literature and rudimental civilisation—begins to apply, and with double force, against the supposition that a poem could then have been framed with such exquisite skill out of pre-existing fragments.

But there is another theory respecting the construction of these poems, which has been dressed up by critics in a much more plausible guise. It has been conceived (to state this theory in the words of Mr Thirlwall, who is, we half suspect, inclined to view it with some partiality) 'that these poems, after the main 'event in each had been made the subject of a shorter poem, grew 'under the hands of successive poets, who, guided in part by 'popular tradition, supplied what had been left wanting by their 'predecessors, until in each case the curiosity of their hearers had 'been gratified by a finished whole.' It must be admitted that this scheme removes many of the difficulties which beset the former. It is also more pleasing, and less obnoxious to our sense of classical beauty. We may suppose that many of those verses to which we still listen with unwearied delight formed the original song of the first Aoidos, and were recited to assemblies in which might have sate some who remembered the survivors of the war of Troy. The poem may have been transmitted in this primitive form to another generation of bards, and may thus have passed through the hands of successive Phemii and Demodoci,—members, perhaps, of poetical corporations like those of the middle ages, in which the mystery of verse was acquired by apprenticeship. It may have grown in ornament, and increased in bulk by the multitude of collateral traditions gradually inter-

woven with its texture. Thus it may have acquired, in each generation, additional beauty and consequence, while the change was nevertheless so gradual, that those who heard it held the song to which they listened for the same with that which had charmed their fathers. For as the use of writing among the Greeks, whether we suppose it to have been learnt about the period when these poems were commenced, or at any later period during their developement, must probably have been confined to a very few; they might be wholly known (as even in Plato's time they were principally known) by the means of recitation. And in this manner we may suppose them to have passed through an hundred hands, from the first dweller on the Ægean coast who framed the heroic measure, down to the latest interpolators, whose dexterity availed itself of that national veneration which appealed to the verses of Homer as authorities in public controversy.

Yet to this theory, however plausible, other and perhaps scarcely less potent objections soon present themselves. We do not allude to that alone which is most commonly urged—the difficulty of supposing a work so uniform and peculiar in style and sentiment to have proceeded from many successive inventors. There are subjects connected with this enquiry, in which the taste and sense of harmony of every intelligent scholar will guide him perhaps as safely—certainly as satisfactorily—as the disquisitions of the subtlest German critic who ever exercised his wits; like children with their wooden bricks, in constructing the largest and most massive edifice on the narrowest foundation. Among these the judgment to be formed by appreciation of poetical style is one. For ourselves we readily admit, that the supposed unity of the Homeric style does not weigh much with us in the scale of probabilities. Without mentioning what Mr Thirlwall urges, that 'the supposed unity is far from perfect, and that both 'ancient and modern critics have perceived an appearance of 'great inequality in this respect,' we cannot but think that even were it more complete than it is, successive poets might have produced it by throwing their compositions into a mould of studied uniformity. We must remember that these poets were Greeks, children of the most imitative as well as the most imaginative race that ever peopled the earth; each, too, forming his taste and manner on the model of a predecessor who was probably also his master and instructor. 'Many examples in our 'own literature,' says our author, 'prove how difficult it may 'often be to distinguish a difference of style, where several 'poets have combined to produce one work.' Here we can scarcely agree with him: we know of no poem in our language

the work of several authors, in which considerable difference is not distinguishable;—not so that every part can be assigned to its separate author, but so that plurality of authorship is clearly evident somewhere;—and this is all with which we are at present concerned. But he has selected a case which presses unfairly against himself; for in a work composed by several contemporary poets, we should deem inequality of style almost inevitable; while we can imagine that successive bards, each closely imitating his predecessor, might preserve the same form and colouring, so as to defy detection.

But when we have abandoned the argument in favour of the personality of Homer, deduced from this supposed uniformity of style; and have likewise dismissed (in spite of Aristotle) that arising from the unity of plan and action so highly extolled by the ancients; there remains another species of unity, of far greater importance in a historical view, which more strongly and obviously characterises his poems. We mean that consistency in minor details of various kinds, which constitutes what may be termed *unity of costume;* which seems every where to pervade and characterise this rich repository of the materials of human life, —of thoughts, deeds, religion, arts, and arms,—and powerfully attests the old opinion, that all was drawn from the stores of one imagination. It is in vain to take refuge from the difficulty of this subject in the supposition, so liberally resorted to by some critics of the Wolfian school, that these compositions describe the manners not of their own but of a past or imaginary age. The impress of reality is far too strongly engraven on their very surface, to admit of such an interpretation. On this point we cannot express our own convictions more clearly than in the words of Mr Thirlwall.

'But though, when we are enquiring into the reality of persons and events, we can allow very little weight to the authority of Homer, there is another more important kind of truth, which we attribute to his poetry, with a conviction which would not be at all shaken, even if it could be shown that he was separated from the scenes which he describes by a longer interval than has yet been assumed in any hypothesis. The kind of truth we mean is that which relates to the general condition of society, to institutions, manners, and opinions. Of this kind of truth the poet's contemporaries were competent and unbiassed judges. A picture which did not correspond to a state of things familiar to them, they would have found unintelligible and uninteresting. We cannot ascribe either to them the power of comprehending, or to the poet the ambition of affecting, a learned propriety in his descriptions; and still less can it be supposed that he drew from any ideal model. It seems clear, that the generation which he saw was not parted from that of which he sung by any wide

break in thoughts, feelings, or social relations. Such a supposition would be not only groundless, but would be at variance with all that we know of the gradual progress of change in the earliest period of Greek history. There may perhaps be room for suspecting, that he has unwittingly passed over some gradations in the advance of society; that he has sometimes transferred to the age of his heroes what belonged properly to his own; and still oftener that he has heightened and embellished the objects which he touches; but there is no ground for the opposite suspicion, that he has any where endeavoured to revive an image of obsolete simplicity, or, for the sake of dramatic correctness, has suppressed any advantage in knowledge or refinement which his contemporaries possessed. What he represents most truly is the state of Grecian society near to his own day; but if we make due allowances for the effects of imperceptible changes, and for poetical colouring, we are in no danger of falling into any material error in extending his descriptions to the whole period which we term the Heroic.'

Some such latitude we undoubtedly may assume. But for our present purpose it is important to observe, that the age described in the Homeric poems is an era of itself; and that it seems to stand out, definite and strongly marked, in the progress not of Grecian society only, but (we might almost say) of the human race. All before it is fabulous uncertainty; all, for ages after it, is historical uncertainty, equally perplexing and less attractive. The veil of antiquity, spread over the generations before Agamemnon, is suddenly withdrawn, to disclose a splendid scene adorned with living figures, cities and fleets, kings and heroes—

> 'All the plain
> Cover'd with thick embattled squadrons bright,
> Chariots and flaming arms and fiery steeds'—

a mighty world, of which, though arrayed in poetical garb, the prototype must have existed in reality; but soon to disappear, and its rich legends to be exchanged for the confused annals of semi-barbarous conquests and migrations. There are, indeed, ages and countries in which the mind and even the external circumstances of society are stationary. Centuries might be devoted in China to the composition of a single work, and yet it would need no antiquarian skill to preserve similarity of costume in every successive portion. But the Homeric period was one of transition; the Grecian world was in continual progress, or at least in the flux and reflux of frequent revolutions; and yet Homer is one and the same. This is an argument which scarcely admits of exposition without entering into details far exceeding our limits.

The religion of Homer, for example, seems to belong to one precise epoch in social history. The several deities of Greece, whether of Oriental or indigenous origin, had already, for the most part, assumed their attributes and station in popular belief. But idolatry was as yet unknown; hero-worship, which, in the age of Herodotus, appears as a superstition invested with every mark of antiquity, is no where mentioned;* the demons or genii of Hesiod are equally undiscoverable. Yet we know at how early a period common belief and poetical fiction admitted all these forms of superstition. With respect to this point, it is important to compare the simplicity of Homer with what we know of those traditions which formed the basis of the Cyclic poems. Homer's Helen is nothing more than a lovely and too susceptible princess; in those later epics, she becomes a mysterious, half-demon personage, whose history is a riddle. Achilles, in Homer's Hades, is but like the other departed, a querulous, unsubstantial shade. In them, he is transferred after death, through the intercession of his mother, to the isle Leuce, there to enjoy heroic immortality. Must not some trace, at least, of these or similar novelties, have found its way into the Homeric poems, had the period of their supposed manufacture lasted even nearly to the times of those ancient Cyclic compositions? Government, again, is every where simple and uniform; there is no trace of local diversities; the king, the elders, and the people, subsist every where in the same mutual relations. Rights are consecrated by immemorial usage; but of law, strictly so called, neither the notion nor the name is any where introduced. Commerce is very general; the Phœnicians appear as the chief agents of maritime traffic; but although they supply the author's countrymen with the products of their industry, there is no mention of exports, which we must probably conclude to have been confined to the raw materials of the country. And at the same time, while much of what is most valuable,

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* It may rather be said, that there is no distinctly expressed notion of any class of beings intermediate between gods and men. The passages respecting Orion and Hercules, in the episode of Ulysses's descent to the shades, will occur as exceptions. But great part of that episode, including both these passages, is, on other grounds, to be condemned as spurious. In an ingenious but somewhat fanciful work (Thiersch, Urgestalt der Odyssee), it is conjectured, that the interpolation was the work of one Onomacritus, an expert hand at this kind of forgery. According to Herodotus, he was banished from Athens by Hipparchus, on being caught in the fact (ἐπ' αυτοφώρῳ ἁλοὺς) of interpolating the prophecies of Musæus.

and requires the greatest portion of skill, appears to come from the East (which is always portrayed as the seat of wealth and power, and a certain mysterious knowledge, while the West is full of giants, monsters, and barbarians only); yet, on the other hand, works of considerable ingenuity are mentioned as performed by native artificers, in a manner which seems more founded on reality than borrowed from imagination. Yet again, manual dexterity in such occupations is still valued as one of the highest among acquired talents, and a good carpenter is of little less account than a hero. By these indications, it appears as if a peculiar, intermediate condition between simplicity and civilisation was denoted; for a very little more acquaintance with the manufactures and with the customs of a more advanced people (such as the Greeks must soon have acquired by their intercourse, already commenced, with Phœnicia and Egypt), would necessarily soon sweep away the traditionary reverence attached to the skilful craftsman. Let us suppose, for example, a tribe of American Indians, in which, while as yet unvisited by European commerce, the expert maker of weapons or of canoes is of necessity a person of some consideration. As soon as they begin to purchase and examine the superior implements possessed in such abundance by the whites, the value and personal importance of their own rude workmen must diminish by no very gradual process. Yet it is precisely the intermediate stage (allowing, of course, for the far less disproportion of civilisation which subsisted between a Greek and a Tyrian than between an Iroquois and an Englishman) in which the Homeric age is placed. The wants of society have begun to be supplied by foreign commerce, while so much of habitual respect towards skill in handicraft still remains, that it does not shock the poetical sense of propriety to represent it as an attribute of the most distinguished characters.

Even in the minutest peculiarities, we find every where similar traces of one and the same point having been reached in the course of invention and improvement. The representation of external objects without relief, by painting or drawing, is nowhere noticed; yet, as Mr Thirlwall observes, garments are embroidered with figures; which, according to our notions, involves the necessity of a previous design. Must not the process from the invention of drawing in outline to its exercise as an art have been a rapid one? Writing, again, or something analogous to it, is doubtfully hinted at, and no more.* Heyné and others,

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* We have not touched on the controversy respecting the antiquity

and after them Mr Thirlwall, have shown how little evidence as to the actual age of the Iliad can be deduced from this circumstance; but it is surely of importance in our present argument. Is it probable, that no indication whatever of such ordinary matters as reading and writing should have crept into such long and varied poems—nay, not even a metaphor derived from their use—if those poems had grown by the addition of successive supplements during a considerable period?

Another and a very similar train of reasoning has been drawn from the political circumstances (so far as we are acquainted with them) under which these poems are supposed to have been produced. The great revolutions which occurred in Greece, according to our chronology, within one hundred years after the Trojan war, are nowhere (unless in one random prophecy, which has been somewhat rashly applied to the conquests of the Heraclidæ, Il. Δ. 40) made the subjects of allusion in the whole of them. Yet those changes (the invasion of Southern Greece by the Dorians, the migration of the Achæans and Ionians) were no ordinary events. They were, to use Mr Thirlwall's words (p. 260), 'a long train of wars, migrations, and invasions, 'which finally introduced a new order of things both in Greece 'itself, and in most of the surrounding countries.' Whole tribes, which had been famous before Troy, were then rooted up from their ancient seats, and transplanted to distant isles. And in those very districts whose people took the most active part in the events commemorated in Homer, a new race of warriors reduced the households of the former chieftains to dependence or slavery. What is the inference to be deduced from this singular omission? Herder, Mitford, and others, argued against the possibility of even a single poet's having omitted such momentous events, and maintained that he must have lived before their occurrence. But if this conclusion must be abandoned, important inferences may still be drawn from its surmises. That an Ionian of the Asiatic coast, even though he composed long after the re-

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of the use of writing, which has been brought into connexion with that on the age of Homer, because it would have led us into details far exceeding our present limits. Those who wish to see the question fairly argued may consult the work of Nitzsch on one side (whose thesis is, that the use of writing by an author, for the purpose of committing his composition to safer keeping than that of his memory, long preceded its *general* employment as a means of communication, and that the art was so applied by Homer); and, on the other side, Müller's very elaborate and ingenious refutation of this hypothesis, in a review contained in the *Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeigen* (1831).

volution which unseated his ancient tribe, might have confined himself to the heroic acts of past ages, and omitted all allusion to more recent politics, is conceivable. That a band of contemporary poets, under similar circumstances, might have all done the like, may still be considered possible. But that in the course of a gradual compilation, while successive rhapsodists were increasing the bulk of this great encyclopædia of local traditions, no praise of the sons of Hercules, no allusion whatever to the mountain heroes who subverted the thrones of Menelaus and Agamemnon should have escaped from any of them, seems almost beyond the bounds of reasonable belief.

In supposing, therefore, that these ancient epics were the work of several hands at different times, we must assume that each successive poet consented to lay aside his individuality;—to forget all that his own time had learnt, and to transport himself back to that identical stage of knowledge, superstition, and manners which his first venerable predecessor described. And we need scarcely add, that the same difficulty is to be surmounted by those who contend that they were produced fragment-wise, and skilfully pieced together by a more recent compiler. But it would require very little argument to show how completely such an assumption is at variance with all we know of the habits and genius of Greek antiquity; perhaps we may say, with those of any period except our own. The habit of abstracting modern ideas and sentiments in contemplating an ancient work; still more, that of framing an imitative diction in accordance with that of the time in which such a work was composed, seem to have been unknown to the Greek poets and critics, however ingenious in other respects. With the single exception of Thucydides, it is hardly too much to say that not one Hellenic writer of the classical era seems ever to contemplate past times with the eye of an observer conscious of the difference between those times and his own. How striking is the contrast, for example, between the acuteness in aesthetic criticism, which characterises Aristotle, and his utter deficiency in historical tact and discernment? The antiquarian taste is, perhaps, of all literary accomplishments, the latest in growth, the most appropriate to a period of extensive information: it cannot be attained, moreover, unless the materials afforded by past ages have been industriously collected, and widely diffused for the purpose of study. And yet even when attained, how insufficient it is towards reproducing the image of that former world which it explores! In many instances, the careful imitator of ancient language and usage may seize its external peculiarities, while its spirit will be more happily expressed by

some bolder genius, who neglects accuracy of costume, and dwells less upon the variations introduced by time than on those general features of resemblance in which all periods of human history coincide. Some such difference we may suppose to exist between Scott and Shakspeare. Does the reader of King John—notwithstanding the cannon levelled against the gates of Angers—feel as often oppressed with a sense of anachronism, as the reader of Ivanhoe? Now, in order to complete the hypothesis of many successive Homeridæ, or that of a posterior Diaskeuastes arranging the works of his predecessors, we must endow these imaginary personages with a rare combination of talents—with the universal spirit of Shakspeare, together with more than the picturesque fidelity of Scott.

But if the problem is difficult of solution in this way, when we regard the Iliad and Odyssey separately, it becomes infinitely more perplexing when they are considered in their relation to each other. Antiquity, careless of historical accuracy, but exquisitely endowed with critical tact, had long ago perceived that these two works bore the marks of a different hand. Xeno and Hellanicus the grammarian, openly ascribed them to different authors; but, in general, the difficulty was rather evaded than met by the beautiful but unfounded theory, that they were composed by the same author at distinct periods in his life; the one impressed with the energy of manhood, the other with the temperate wisdom of old age. Internal evidence in matters of costume also (after making large allowances for the interpolated parts of the Odyssey) has been thought to prove a difference in date between the two; yet this cannot at the most be considerable. They are parallel and yet distinct; never exactly similar, yet never far asunder. Much diversity has been found, or imagined, by acute critics, between one part of the Iliad and another in style and manner (not to mention those contradictions in the order of time, &c. which prove interpolation or misarrangement); yet it may fairly be said, that no part of the Iliad differs so much from another, as every part of the Iliad differs from every part of the Odyssey; and yet, again, no other imitation ever approached so near to an original as the latter to the former. In plainer language, the author of the Odyssey is never Homer, yet he is always incomparably more Homeric than any one else. How, upon any of the fashionable hypotheses of modern sceptics, is this state of things accounted for? Were the works of many successive bards completed and rounded into an Iliad, before the Odyssey was begun? Were there two sets or schools of poets, employed simultaneously on the one and the other? or, finally,

did the compilers make the distinction,—forming the Iliad out of the rhapsodies relating to the war of Troy, and the Odyssey out of those respecting the return of Ulysses? and, if so, why do all the portions of the first collection, agreeing so well in style together, differ so widely from all those of the latter?

It must be admitted that this difficulty is partly removed by a supposition, from which Wolf himself appears not to have been altogether averse, that the latter, namely, of the two poems, which seems to have more decided uniformity both of style and matter, is a single work;—the former compounded of several rhapsodies.* And in the work of Nitzsch, before referred to (*De Vitâ Homeri Meletemata*), it is suggested, as the only mode in which the same Homer can possibly have been the author of both, that he may have framed the Iliad partly by adapting to his purpose relics of earlier poets, while the Odyssey may have been the pure creation of his genius;—a theory which rests, no doubt, on the fancy of its inventor only, but which serves to account for the more archaic air, both of diction and costume, which invests the Iliad. But it is time to return from these amusing speculations to the work before us.

In the last chapter of his present volume, Mr Thirlwall traces the progress of national institutions, and the changes of government which occurred in the mother-states of Greece, from the heroic era down to the period when continuous history may be said to begin, a little before the Persian war. That such a sketch, drawn impartially and philosophically, is a valuable acquisition to English readers, will be allowed by all who remember how strangely our modern political prejudices have been permitted to colour our historical literature, even in discussing the events and characters of those early times; and how the schoolboy veneration, which at one time was paid to Grecian democracy, has been sagely counterbalanced by the efforts of authors who have appeared before the public as counsel in favour of ancient tyrants and oligarchies. Great as was the diversity of constitutions under which these states were governed (Aristotle's lost work contained the outlines of more than one hundred and fifty), yet a general analogy pervades the history of all such as are known to us. In most of them similar causes appear to have operated in producing first the rise and then the decay of principles and modes of political society.

The heroic monarchies were limited governments, in which the

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* The reader will find the argument in favour of the single authorship of the Odyssey very eloquently urged in Mr H. N. Coleridge's 'Introduction to the Classics' (p. 142, &c.)

reciprocal duties and powers of kings, nobles, and commonalty were tempered by established superstition, rather than by legal sanctions. Violent changes followed, if our chronology be accurate, at no long distance of time after the Trojan wars. The lines of ancient princes were dislodged from their seats both within and without the Peloponnesus; and left their vanquished subjects, with their massive walled cities and Cyclopean treasuries, to be ruled by invaders of foreign descent.

'Most parts of Greece were occupied by a new race of conquerors. Every where their first object was to secure a large portion of the conquered land, but the footing on which they placed themselves, with regard to the ancient inhabitants, was not every where the same; it varied according to the temper of the invaders, or of their chiefs; to their relative strength, means, and opportunities. In Sparta, and in most of the Dorian states, the invaders shunned all intermixture with the conquered, and deprived them, if not of personal freedom, of all political rights. But elsewhere, as in Elis, and probably in Bœotia, no such distinction appears to have been made; the old and the new people gradually melted into one. Where this was the case, the conquest scarcely produced any other effect on the internal relations of the state, than an extensive transfer of property, and the introduction of a new body of nobles, and perhaps a new royal dynasty; the nature of the government might continue the same, and might be liable to no other changes than it would otherwise have passed through. But where a rigid separation was made between the new and the old inhabitants, so that the former only were citizens, or, in the highest sense, freemen, the latter subjects or slaves, there the constitution assumed an ambiguous aspect; it might appear from one point of view an oligarchy, while from another, it might be considered as a monarchy, an aristocracy, or a democracy. The freemen were equally raised above their inferiors, but they might, or might not, be all on a level with one another. They might form an aristocracy, or an oligarchy within an oligarchy; and indeed this was the natural tendency of things in a state where one class was in continual apprehension and jealousy of the other.'—Pp. 397, 398.

Thus the general results of these migrations presented every where certain features of similarity—every where new hereditary aristocracies were created, or ancient ones strengthened: the royal and the popular power fell in their turn in importance. In the more exclusive Dorian states, as Sparta and Corinth, a state of things must have been produced much resembling that which followed the overthrow of the western empire—a small band of warriors was established on the soil, which was tilled by numerous vassals, partly free and partly servile. If Greek institutions were developed afterwards in so very different a shape, this may be attributed, perhaps, less to a diversity of circumstances than to a diversity of character between the conquerors of Hellas and our Teutonic forefathers. The ties of clanship and commonwealth,

consecrated by superstition, bound the former together within the walls of the cities; while among the latter there prevailed a strong tendency to insulate themselves as independent potentates. Thus the analogy between the two systems cannot be traced to any distance from their respective commencements. A large inferior body, excluded from political rights, having under it a second and still lower class, to which personal rights also were denied (although we are not perhaps to suppose that slaves were numerous in any early Grecian state), could not long submit in patience to the government of a little band of ruling families within the same city. After a few generations, also, the original difference of race between the conquerors and the conquered was, except in one or two commonwealths, almost worn away; those who had been subdued by Dorians had learnt to assume the name of Dorian as a title of honour. And thus the governing body continued to subsist independent of the causes of its first institution—an insecure and tottering position —while from the gradual operation of these causes which always diminish the number of a strictly hereditary body, it was grown every where smaller and more exclusive. Thus it passed, in the language of ancient statists, from an aristocracy into an oligarchy.

From that period its annals generally presented the spectacle of a constant resistance to pressure from without. When an institution is thus based on the right of conquest (and probably hereditary nobility all over the world had never any other origin) its durability may be regarded as small in itself, but extendible to a very great and almost indefinite degree under certain combinations of circumstances. When oligarchies are established by similar causes in many states connected by manners, religion, and alliances, all may be, to a certain extent, '*solidaires*' for each other: and the existence of a strong and wise noblesse in one state, may prolong the factitious power of a weak and intemperate one in its neighbour. An aristocracy, also, into which fresh members are constantly introduced from the popular body, possesses thus the most efficacious and reasonable means of maintaining its authority; deriving more vigour from occasionally touching the earth from which it sprang, although it carry away with it some tincture of the soil. But allowing for all incidental aids and appliances, the life of an aristocracy is but for a certain period. It is founded on fortuitous circumstances; not, like royalty, arising out of the immediate wants of the society in which it is engendered. It stands therefore on convention only; and in duration, perhaps, cannot naturally long outlive the feelings of popular reverence which attach, not to the nobles them-

selves, but to the class—the ancient conquering class—out of which they arose. If it survives this period, it is supported artificially by the love of order and the habit of obedience; and, when it falls, its ruin is not like that of a dynasty, to be speedily succeeded by another dynasty: it perishes to be replaced by no similar institution, until in the cycle of events time brings round another period of conquest, and victors are again set to divide among themselves the lands of the vanquished.

In the vast variety of Greek legislation and history, precedents are to be found for almost every mode by which the decay of hereditary institutions may be deferred. In some cases the nobles defended their patrimonial wealth by a species of political entail, so as to keep their property unimpaired. Sometimes they sought after military protection and the security of strongholds. Sometimes they made concessions to the commonalty, and allowed them a share in the election of magistrates. Sometimes the oligarchy itself was widened by the admission of new families, even to the extent, in a few rare instances, of establishing wealth instead of birth as the qualification of its members—a system which ancient writers on government termed a Timocracy. Temporary means were adopted on other occasions, to restore an equilibrium between conflicting powers: such was the choice of an Æsymnete, an officer similar to the *podesta* of the Italian republics in the middle ages, invested for a time with absolute authority. But all these precautions seem only to have delayed, never to have averted, the eventual fall of the patrician power by causes operating from within.

Thus, in most of the chief Grecian states, and, speaking with some latitude, at nearly the same period, the hereditary oligarchy was broken up. 'The fall of an oligarchy was sometimes accelerated by incidental and inevitable disasters, as by a protracted war, which at once exhausted its wealth and reduced its members, or by the loss of a battle, in which the flower of its youth might sometimes be cut off at one blow, and leave it to the mercy of its subjects; a case of which we find a signal instance in the history of Argos.' Sometimes internal feuds between factions in the governing bodies themselves; sometimes licentious excesses on the part of powerful families, as at Mitylene and at Corinth, were the immediate occasion of its overthrow; and often, no doubt, as in Aristotle's narrative respecting Erythrae, a government which was acknowledged to have served its country, might perish merely from the violence of popular prejudice. Nor is it to be forgotten, that if oligarchies, which exist at the same time in states politically related to each other, serve, in some respects, for the purpose of mutual security, their downfall, when once begun,

will proceed from state to state with accelerated rapidity by the force of example. Of this truth the Greek history affords abundant proofs. The first, perhaps, to effect a change will be, not the state in which the patricians are most tyrannical or licentious, but that in which the people are most impatient, and by circumstances or temper most desirous of change; the slowest to try the new revolutionary fashion will be that in which public habits are most formed, the power of the aristocracy tempered by most judicious laws, the people most secure from outward violence and least given to rash experiment. But the pattern of the first will be followed in the last as surely as if the course of imitation had proceeded as it ought—the wisest leading the way, and the less skilful following after.

From revolution against their nobles, the Greek cities proceeded almost simultaneously—for in so general a review as the present exceptions and differences may be disregarded—to prostration under tyrants. 'A *tyranny*' (says Mr Thirlwall), 'in the 'Greek sense of the word, was the irresponsible dominion of a 'single person, not founded on hereditary right, like the monar-'chies of the heroic ages and of many barbarian nations; nor on 'a free election, like that of a dictator or æsymnete; but on 'force.' The first tyrant was generally a demagogue—often of noble birth—who had risen to power after a struggle more or less protracted between the people and the privileged class. The course of these tyrannies was generally so similar, as to evince, not only that human nature is much the same every where under the same political circumstances, but that the Greek disposition also was so singularly imitative, that the transactions of one city had always an immediate influence on those of its neighbours. The tyrants of this particular period often, perhaps generally, transmitted their power to their sons; but 'not one instance was 'known of a tyrannical power which lasted beyond the third ge-'neration.' The citizens, at first pleased with the equality which they enjoyed, after the overthrow of their aristocratic institutions, became impatient and mutinous under the exactions which the new government gradually laid upon them. The tyrants resorted to mercenary aid, the people to revolt: bands of *Fuorusciti*, exiles generally of the noble faction, found an asylum in the next district, and harassed the frontier of that from which they had been expelled; finally, the tyrannies were dissolved; and in general, throughout continental Greece, Sparta contributed at this period her assistance towards their overthrow. We possess only casual allusions (except in the case of Athens) to the manner in which Sparta took so remarkable a share at that epoch in the political destinies of Greece; nor is it very clear on what motives of per-

sonal interest her conduct was grounded. But she was then the only commonwealth in the possession of fixed institutions. Not because, as modern theoretical writers, entirely mistaking the genius and meaning of antiquity, have repeated after Cicero (who had in his eye a supposed analogy between Lacedæmon and Rome), her government was balanced between three powers; but because it was conducted by the bravest, most numerous, and most exclusive oligarchy of the ancient world; which subsisted, therefore, long after other similar bodies had perished, and declined at last by gradual decay. Hence her foreign policy was direct and uniform. The ties of affinity—of superstition—of friendship, or Xenia, were far stronger before the Persian war (as Herodotus shows in almost every page of his earlier books), between commonwealths and rulers, than any community of political principles. Thus tyrants in one state might assist the banished oligarchs of another; democracy might lend its aid to reinstate a foreign tyrant. Sparta had no such external relations; her kings and citizens remained apart, unconnected with the rest of the Grecian world. Had it not been the property of the same constitution, which directed all her energies towards external aggrandizement to arrest them invariably at a certain point in her progress, she might at this epoch have united the continent under her sovereignty.

The developement of the free institutions, which rose on the ruin of the tyrannies, in those states which were destined to play the most important part of Grecian history, will afford a wider and more attractive field of enquiry when Mr Thirlwall has arrived at that point of his labours. Before proceeding thus far, he has, we presume, one more very interesting chapter in those annals to illustrate; the colonization, namely, of Asia Minor, Italy, and Sicily by the Greeks, on which he has as yet touched only incidentally. The notice which we have taken of the first and introductory portion of a work intended to reach five volumes may, perhaps, be thought somewhat premature. But knowing, by every day's disappointing experience, the length of time which we have to wait for the continuation of a valuable book when published in the modern encyclopædic form, we thought it best to hazard a few remarks, while it is yet fresh in the minds of its readers, on this able and philosophical performance.

Art. VI.—*A Steam Voyage down the Danube; with Sketches of Hungary, Wallachia, Servia, and Turkey.* By Michael J. Quin, Author of a 'Visit to Spain.' 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1835.

The patriotic exertions of Count Szechenyi have conferred upon Hungary the great benefit of steam navigation. Nothing was so much wanted by that fertile and extensive country, as an opening for her commerce into the Black Sea, and among the provinces themselves; and although the difficulties of the navigation in the lower part of the Danube present formidable obstacles to the completion of the design, these are yet in the course of being overcome, while the advantages of an easy and expeditious internal communication have been already secured. It is natural for us, therefore, to feel great obligations to Mr Quin, who has given, in the volumes before us, an account of the first tour that has been made in those parts since this important change took place; and although the rapidity with which he performed his voyage—a rapidity necessarily incident to the mode of conveyance—prevented him from collecting all, or nearly all, the information which it would be desirable to possess regarding the countries he passed through, we can yet venture to assure our readers that his book contains a variety of particulars both interesting and amusing; that it presents the picture of an able, well-instructed, and amiable mind; and that even those who may be the most sensible of its deficiencies (none, we believe, are more likely to feel them than the modest author), will bestow their time not unprofitably or unpleasingly in the perusal of it. Mr Quin is already advantageously known as the author of an able work respecting his visit to Spain in 1823. Of this we spoke favourably at the time of its publication; and although he seemed then to labour under some bias of prejudice as to the constitutional cause, we did justice to the fairness which he showed in treating controverted matters, and marked the love of liberty which seemed natural to him. It is very satisfactory to find that ten years' longer acquaintance with mankind has not deadened but animated the same noble sentiments: and we find throughout the present work an ardent sympathy with his fellow-creatures, and zeal for the best interests of mankind, accompanied by the correlative of such dispositions,—a steady hatred of oppression, and a determination fearlessly to speak the truth of the highest that practice it.

Mr Quin embarked at Pesth, the chief city of Hungary, though

not its seat of government, on the 24th September, 1834. A plan is mentioned by him as now in agitation, for erecting a stone bridge over the Danube, to connect this city with the opposite one of Buda; and it is part of the proposal that the toll or pontage shall be levied indiscriminately on all. This is justly represented as an important step towards improving the Hungarian constitution—for the nobles there, as in most countries where the feudal aristocracy continues unreformed, are exempt from all direct taxation, and even from customs and passage dues in the military districts. The government is indeed, in one respect, eminently a free one. The power of the crown is in theory limited more than in any country in Europe, we cannot except England itself; for the viceroy is chosen by the Diet or parliament, jointly with the king; the right of taking arms against him used to be, till the middle of the last century, solemnly acknowledged by the sovereign in his coronation oath, and he is not by law counted as king *until* he is crowned;—although Joseph II. contrived to evade this crowning, as he also illegally removed the regalia to Vienna, and thereby threw the Hungarians into rebellion. But all the restrictions are in favour of the nobility; the inferior classes having little more consideration than they had in our own Magna Charta. It is indeed a singular circumstance, that the two subjects forbidden to be discussed at the Diet, are the hereditary right of the house of Austria, and the exemption of the nobility from all taxation. Against which aristocratic form of government, we must, in fairness, set one important fact, —the vast numbers of the nobles. In fact, every person above the rank of a day-labourer in the country, is noble—and many are of this class who labour for their daily bread. The inhabitants of the towns are those whom the distinctions most oppress, and against whom they cannot but exist. The government, therefore, though in one sense aristocratic, seems practically to be so only in the sense in which our own comes under this description. No man who ever sits in our House of Commons—in fact no man who could aspire to a seat there—would in Hungary be other than noble; for the nobility there would comprehend a vast number more, and go a great way lower, than all persons with us who are in respectable circumstances. Indeed, in another respect, our constitution is far more aristocratic than theirs; if by aristocracy be meant the preponderance of a limited number of the higher orders in any country. Aristocratic power with us is confined to four or five hundred families, who really do form an oligarchy, while in Hungary it belongs perhaps to forty or fifty thousand. We are now, moreover, speaking of our government as it is since the change in 1831 and 1832, which put an end to the absolute

supremacy before enjoyed by our nobles. The remarks which we have now made are intended to supply what our author has omitted respecting the Hungarian government. He gives little or no information about it, which is the more to be regretted, as his intimacy with the most distinguished leader of the patriotic party. Count Szechenyi, placed every thing of this description easily within his reach.

Our author has a variable success in his descriptions—for sometimes nothing can be more picturesque, because lively and natural, but occasionally this is far from being their character—as when he recounts how the 'Stars were shining in the blue 'ocean of the sky like so many *islands* of fire, the moon had just 'risen above the margin of the horizon, between two of those 'beauteous *worlds*, and though divested of half her light, flung 'a long pathway of silver on the surface of the Danube.'—I. 34.

In the steam-boat he found as his fellow-passengers about a hundred Tyrolese emigrants, under the care of an intelligent physician, proceeding to settle in one of the mining districts of Lower Hungary. He also met a gentleman of figure and talents returning from the Diet, and of him we have the following particulars :—

'Finding my companions at supper, I was very glad to join them. They were in the midst of Hungarian politics, two of them being deputies on their way home from the Diet. I have seldom met a more engaging person than the Count P———, who appeared to have taken an active part in the business of the legislature. He was inexhaustible in anecdotes about his fellow-deputies, and the mode in which the national affairs were carried on. Eloquent, cheerful, offhand, and thoroughly conversant with human nature, he often placed the most serious things in a ridiculous point of view, which kept the table in roars of laughter. His features beamed with benevolence, and I was not surprised afterwards to learn that, in his own country of Presburg, where he has ample possessions, he is universally beloved. He had frequently the goodness to explain to me in Latin the political parts of his conversation. He said that the Diet was the mere image of what it ought to be according to the ancient constitution of the country. Many of the deputies were determined on eventually effecting a reform, but from motives of personal respect for the then reigning emperor, they would take no steps during his lifetime. Under a new sovereign, however, they would certainly insist upon the restoration of the Hungarian constitution. I had more than once occasion to remark, that politics were by no means forbidden topics in this country: they are in fact as freely spoken of as in France or England. No notice is ever taken by the authorities of this liberty of speech; I have heard even the authorities themselves discuss public questions without the slightest reserve. The freedom thus generally enjoyed must be founded not only on custom, which cannot be

changed, but upon a sense of inherent strength with which it might be dangerous to tamper.'—Pp. 35, 36, 37.

The account of the Hungarian nobles, which he gives on the authority of an English groom, settled as servant to one of them, we shall not extract, because we are quite confident our author has been grossly deceived by his informant. It is enough to state that this description answers to a country wholly without police, and in which rapine and violence, to property as to person, prevails universally, with as little check from the laws as in the heart of the American woods, or the African deserts. Now, whatever may be said of the Austrian yoke in so many other respects, this, at least, has always been confessed, that in return for its oppressions, and indeed its extinction of all political rights, it does confer upon its subjects the inestimable blessings of a strict though mild, quiet and regular police. Not to mention that we in vain search the narratives of other travellers, for any thing like the account here given by Mr Quin. The most singular, and indeed mysterious personage whom he fell in with in his whole tour is thus described :—

'He was from Moldavia. He had been in the Russian service during the late war with Turkey, but in what capacity I could never satisfactorily discover. I suspect he was a spy. He spoke German, French, and Italian fluently. He wore a blue frock-coat, which probably had served him during the said war, as it could boast of only a part of one button, and two very unequal skirts, remaining in any thing like decent condition. The rest of the garment was covered with grease. A pair of old black stuff trowsers patched at the knees, in a most unworkmanlike manner, rent and not patched in other parts indescribable, and vilely tattered at the extremities, together with a ghost of a black waistcoat, a cast-off military cap, and wretched boots, offered an apology for a better suit, which he said he had at home. His shirt was also in the list of absentees! He had lost the half of one of his thumbs, the other was wrapped in a bandage. He had not shaved for three weeks—he certainly could not have washed either his hands or his face for three months, and a comb had probably not passed through his hair for three years. To crown his personal peculiarities, he had a very red nose, on the top of which was perched a pair of spectacles.

'Nevertheless, with all these strong objections against him—so strong, that I wonder my friend Captain Cozier had not thrown him overboard—there was something about this man which seemed to have actually fascinated a rather genteel youth, who was constantly at his side, and to have already secured him the devotion of a miscellaneous group of Austrian soldiers and their wives, pedlars, and artisans, who occupied mats and sheepskins on deck. With the sailors he was quite a favourite. He whistled well, he sung well, and passed off every thing in a "devil-may-care" kind of way, which gained him admirers. A charlatan at a French fair—a romance reader at the mole of Naples—could not possess more

power over his audience than was exercised over these simpletons by this Moldavian adventurer. He had a commonplace-book in his bosom—for his pockets had all vanished—from which he occasionally read to his followers scraps of poetry of his own composition, or selected from the works of celebrated German writers. These readings he interspersed with comments often so droll, that he set the whole deck in a roar. Then he would relate some of his accidents by flood and field, or describe his travels, in the course of which he mentioned the most extraordinary scenes in the world, which had occurred to him at Constantinople, Bucharest, Prague, Vienna, Petersburg, Paris, Berlin, Madrid, Gibraltar, Venice, every where but London, where he had the modesty to confess he had never yet been. His eye, when lighted up by the excitement of the moment, was singularly brilliant, the flush of fine intelligence was on his swarthy weather-beaten cheek, his voice was melody itself, and his diction eloquence.'—Pp. 17, 18, 19.

Some days elapsed of the voyage, and the party had arrived at Dwinich, where the Moldavian routed a priest in the following fashion :

'The poet now joined the circle, and having ordered his bottle of wine, made himself as much at home amongst his new acquaintances as if he had known them a hundred years. He treated the company to a history of his travels, which he extended on this occasion to Grand Cairo. His audience seemed at a loss to know where Grand Cairo was, until the priest enlightened them by declaring that it was in Asia. "In Asia!" exclaimed the Moldavian, with indescribable disdain,—"no such thing; Grand Cairo is in Africa." The governor was in raptures at this decided triumph over the clergyman, who, in order to restore his character, inveigled the poet into a theological controversy. But to my surprise, and to the great chagrin of the priest, and the boundless joy of the governor, the Moldavian proved himself quite as well read in theology as he was in geography: he repeatedly convicted the priest of entire ignorance of the works with which he had pretended to be most familiar, and so merciless was he in following up his conquest, by challenging the divine on the more abstruse points of doctrine, that the latter literally felt obliged to decamp from the field. The governor shouted with excessive mirth, and ordered another bottle, which he compelled the poet to drink in addition to his own.'—P. 98, 99.

But his performances did not end here—for a guitar had been produced, on which a lady was going to play—the mysterious stranger asked permission to look at it, 'and swept his mutilated 'fingers over the strings with the skill of a professor.'

'The priest looked amazed. After preluding in a singularly graceful manner which captivated the Swinicheans, the tatterdemalion, clearing his voice with a fresh bottle of wine, which was voted to him by common accord, treated us to "Di tanti palpiti," not only with great taste, but in one of the best tenor voices I ever heard. The priest exclaimed that he knew not what to think of this fellow, unless he was the devil, for that not only were his talents and knowledge universal, but of a degree of excellence in every thing that left him without a rival.

'The lady was quite ashamed to touch the guitar after the poet; nevertheless she was induced to favour the company with two or three Wallachian songs, which, after the splendid performances we had just heard, lost all the effect they might otherwise have produced. One of the young men, jealous of the musical character of Swinich, next took up the guitar, but after vexing the chords with a long series of humdrum tinklings, which he would fain persuade us were Servian melodies, he was reluctantly compelled, by the unanimous voice of the company, to resign the instrument to our Mephistopheles, who showed himself, still more even than before, a perfect master of the art, and that too of the very best school. Italian, German, Hungarian, and Moldavian airs followed each other in rapid succession, and in the most admirable style. The fair owner of the guitar remarked, with a charming simplicity, that she really did not know her own instrument in the hands of this enchanter.

'By this time our apartment was crowded. The door had been thrown open, and was besieged by a numerous group of savage-looking figures, wrapped in their cloaks and large hats, who stood staring in upon our musician, as if they fully participated in the priest's opinion of his unearthly character. And in truth, when I looked at this Moldavian—remembered how he had amused his companions on the deck of the steamer by his anecdotes, his poetry, and his dramatic declamations; the variety of information which he afforded to myself during the course of the day; his undoubted acquaintance with many countries, though he sometimes indulged in exaggeration on that subject; the wandering life he had led; the offices, sometimes of trust, and responsibility, and peril, which he had fulfilled; his various acquirements in science, history, and the fine arts; and, to crown all, his musical powers, which were of the very first order; and his ragged, unshaven, filthy appearance—I could not help feeling that there was a mystery about him, such as perhaps in a former age might have procured for him the dangerous honours of a magician.'—Pp. 100, 103.

The reader will probably share in the disappointment which we have experienced at losing sight of this strange personage, without any further account of him, or any unravelment of the mystery that surrounded his fortunes.

At Orsova our author made acquaintance with the noble and excellent person whom we have more than once mentioned, Count Szechenyi. He is one of the most considerable magnats of Hungary, and devotes himself with unspeakable ardour, but also with a judicious zeal, to the improvement of his country. He is connected in some degree with a very different personage, Prince Metternich; his brother being married to a sister of the Princess, and this accident has proved favourable to his enlightened projects. Many years ago, and he is now only forty-four, he resolved to open the navigation of the Danube by means of steam-boats, then recently brought into use. He made him-

self master of the whole subject of steam navigation, coming over to England repeatedly in prosecution of his plans. He then obtained the names of many distinguished individuals as subscribers to a joint stock company, and he ordered three engines from Mr Watt of Soho, with whom he is in constant correspondence. For these, boats were built at Trieste, and the undertakers presented a petition to the Diet for its sanction to their scheme. Now, as soon as it was considered that the Diet would in all likelihood accede to this prayer, the far-sighted Metternich began to reflect that this was a new kind of process; that the Diet had not before been appealed to on such purely Hungarian questions; that the popularity which would attend its favourable reception, and the successful accomplishment of the project, would redound not only to the honour of the Count and his patriotic friends, but to the glory, and therefore to the influence of the Diet; and that of course this would not be the last popular and useful act of the same party and the same body;—his legitimate and conservative Highness was pleased to send for the Count and ask an explanation of these unheard-of proceedings—proceedings which did not come from any of the known officers of the state, nor in any way originate with the Imperial Government, and yet had for their object the improvement of the Imperial dominions. The Count's answer was admirable, and it was decisive. 'If you desire that 'the Diet should not adopt the petition, do it yourselves; for 'the Danube at all events cannot be long without steam-boats.' This was quite enough. The Prince, whatever faults he may have, is no dunce. He took up the plan, nay improved upon it, extending its scale greatly, and intrusting the execution of it to the Count; by which means the petition never was further prosecuted, and the assent of the Diet was not asked to its prayer. We mention this anecdote as highly creditable to the skill of Metternich, and as placing him in a most advantageous contrast with those rulers who never show the least disposition to anticipate improvements, and to ward off the consequences of grievances by redressing them in time.

Let us pause for a moment to consider how near a parallel we have at home to one part of this proceeding, though not to the result. When the friends of Education began their labours thirty years ago,—suppose the high church party had possessed in England the same sway which they so anxiously desire to have, and which the Metternichs have at Vienna, and even at Presburg, they would have summoned before them the chief educators of the people, and forbidden them to proceed. When told, as they would probably have been, in Count

Szechenyi's words—'Then educate yourselves, for the people 'cannot at all events be any longer without instruction,'—we doubt much if they would have adopted the project. We rather think they would have endeavoured to stifle it. We are pretty sure they never would have given it all the aid in their power if they had undertaken it. We are almost sure they would have starved it in the nursing, if not changed it. We are quite sure they would not have intrusted it to the hands of those who had put them in motion, and compelled them to rouse their sluggish energies, in the fear of worse happening. But so far 'their conduct 'has resembled the crafty Austrians'. When they were well assured that nothing could stop the current, they fell in with its movement, in hopes of being able to guide its course. When they saw that, 'at all events, the Danube could not be long without 'steamboats,' they fitted out one of their own;—hoping gently to jostle the Count's out of the way, and ended, when they found that not so easy, by very civilly following in his wake.

It is not, however, in regard to steam alone that the alarms of the Prince were excited. A club was established at Pesth upon the London plan, and to it belonged the magnats and the deputies in general; in short, all the upper classes of society. The name was unpleasant to genuine Austrian ears; it was called the '*Na-* '*tional Cassino.*' All periodical works, as well as all foreign newspapers, were received there; political conversation on every topic was held; and lectures on subjects of science and the arts were delivered. The Count was again summoned to attend the Prince; and the latter, after full explanations had been given, decided that this club required some control. 'Come among 'us,' said the Count, 'and give us a liberal subscription. Your 'personal influence may have its effect.' The Prince followed this sound advice, and is now a member.

Another improvement, however, seems to be beyond the reach of remedial measures—or even of such palliatives as we have been contemplating. A newspaper was established at Pesth, and in the Hungarian language—that language which the tyrannical though reforming Joseph II. had put down by proclamation. An Academy of sciences and letters has also been founded, and the Transactions, published quarterly, contain papers by judicious reformers upon the policy fit to be adopted with a view to the general improvement. This time, no summons could be issued by the Prince. Unhappily the Press in Hungary is free; no censorship has ever been known; and, though Metternich and his master would probably give their right hand to have such a precious instrument of legitimate government, they are well

aware how hopeless it is to attempt obtaining it from the Diet, and no effort has been made in this direction.

The disabled state of the finances is, after all, the most important part of the prospects of Hungary at this time. If their condition be as is generally described, the appeal to the Diet becomes inevitable, and no grants can be expected without equivalents. But for this the progress of reform would be slow, though we are far from doubting that it would be sure, and in the end effectual. This will accelerate its arrival by half a century, and put to flight all the preventive projects of the Austrian statesmen.

The following statement of distances on the Danube may be useful to the reader. It was drawn up by the Count. We should observe, what Mr Quin must be aware of (though not a very accurate geographer, for he places Montcenis between Genoa and Turin) (ii. 320), that Regensburg is commonly called, except in Germany, Ratisbon.

	German Miles.	
	Part.	Total.
From Eschingen to Regensburg . . .	50	50
—— Regensburg to Vienna . . .	50	100
—— Vienna to Pesth	40	140
—— Pesth to Peterwardein . . .	60	200
—— Peterwardein to Orsova . . .	40	240
—— Orsova to Galacz	100	340
—— Galacz to the Black Sea . . .	25	365
If we add to these items the distance from the mouth of the Danube to Constantinople by the Black Sea, which is seventy German miles	70	
then the total distance from Eschingen to Constantinople will be four hundred and thirty-five German miles ; or about one thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight miles of English admeasurement.		435

'As the voyage by steam, however, can only be made from Presburg to Constantinople, the distance is reduced to about fourteen hundred and forty English miles; which, when the steam-boat establishment and works on the Danube are completed, might be easily traversed in eight days and nights. At present, the journey overland from Vienna to Constantinople cannot be made in the ordinary mode of travelling within less than three weeks. The new route by the Danube will exhibit, therefore, one of the most important triumphs over time which the steam-engine has yet accomplished.'—P. 152.

Our author, in the course of his voyage, introduces a very interesting document—the speech of Prince Milosch of Servia, to the General Assembly last February, on acceding to the prayer of the Servians for a constitution. The Assembly is not a representative body at all, but consists of all the landowners and other persons of note in the country; and from the Prince's allusion to the ex-

pense of the meeting, and the difficulty of often coming together for want of forage, it is plain that many thousands must be gathered together on these occasions. With a great inattention to the subject, and as if he had really never read the document which he is publishing, our author (i. 153), describes the speech as delivered at '*the first Assembly of the States*'—whereas the speech repeatedly alludes to the former Assemblies of the same kind, and mentions this as one of the usual ones, as not being a meeting of the States at all, and as preparatory to a representative Assembly afterwards to be convened. He speaks of a code of laws which had been four years in preparation; he presents the people with an organic statute or constitution, which defines the rights of the Prince, limits his power, and prescribes also the duties of the people. To this, he as well as they are to swear. That financial difficulties have been at work here also, is quite apparent, for one of the main parts of the proposal is a new scheme of taxation; according to which there is to be one tax substituted for all others, and alone to be levied—in the proportion of six dollars (or we presume a pound), for each of the population, and this to be levied according to the income of the contributors, by the elders of each district. The Prince enumerates the imposts, in room of which his income tax is to be substituted; and sufficiently hateful the groupe no doubt is, namely, poll-tax, matrimony-tax, church-taxes, mill, distillery, and corn taxes; tithe of grain, of beehives, and of wine, and compulsory service to men in office. All these the Prince abolishes; and even for the services on public works, the Government is to pay. The only burden left by the Diet, is the repair of roads and bridges.

Count Szechenyi, who was proceeding on a visit to Hussein Pacha, at Widin, joined our author on his voyage down the Danube. The shoals were so inconvenient, so frequently left the vessel aground, that the navigation must plainly be assisted by some works; and, indeed, in one or two places, will probably have to be carried across necks of land by canals. Hussein's appointment at Widin was owing to the jealousy of his enemies at court, after he had successfully defended Shumla against the Russians in the campaign of 1828. The presentation offered nothing very remarkable; but we cannot help thinking that a Florentine physician of the Pacha is somewhat harshly dealt with, as well as his master, when our author sets him down for one who 'would never refuse the secret exercise of his 'skill against the enemy of his employer for an adequate consideration;'—and this merely from his ill-look; though it is added, that 'after feeling as if they could read in his countenance a

'volume of crime, they learnt subsequently from their quarantine 'companions that their suspicions were by no means unfounded.' We really must take leave to doubt if this be the kind of evidence on which so atrocious a charge should be allowed to rest; and Mr Quin must bear in mind that his book, though without mentioning the doctor's name, yet describes him quite as clearly as if it did, and that it will be in all probability known both in Italy and Turkey. The bad favour in which the faculty at Widin was with the party, did not, we observe, prevent our author from taking the disguise of the Count's physician, when it was necessary for him to be part of the suite in order to his presentation. Not, apparently, having had much converse with Courts, he seems greatly surprised, and even disappointed, with the dulness of the ceremonial and the want of agreeable conversation. Why the proverbial taciturnity of the Turks should have led him to expect more *pleasant chat* among their princes than is to be found on ceremonials of reception among our own in the west of Europe, it would not be easy to conjecture. So far our lot is like his, that we can only speak by report of such high matters and high places; but according to all we have heard, there seems nothing peculiarly dull in the following sketch of the Widin levee, nor indeed in any way different from other august solemnities of the same class in the feudal courts; unless, perhaps, that the convenience of seats, and the refreshment of coffee, may by some be thought to cast the balance in the Turcoman's favour.

'The preliminaries of presentation having been gone through, the Count stated, through the Florentine, that as he was passing by Vidin on his way to Bucharest, he felt it incumbent on him to pay his respects to the pacha: that he was a nobleman of Hungary appointed by the Emperor of Austria to direct the improvements which were necessary to facilitate the navigation of the Danube by steam-boats from Presburg to the Black Sea, whence they might then proceed to Stamboul. The enterprise, when completed, would be equally advantageous to Turkey as to Hungary, and he availed himself of that opportunity to recommend it to the pacha's protection. Hussein bade the Count welcome, and said that he was very glad to see him, but made no allusion to the enterprise, which he did not appear to comprehend. A pause of nearly a quarter of an hour then ensued, during which we seemed all conscious of being employed in conjecturing how this oppressive silence was next to be broken.

'At length, the pacha having exhausted his pipe, enquired if the Emperor was much beloved in Hungary. The Count answered in the affirmative, adding that it was impossible for any man to know the Emperor without esteeming him for his great personal virtues. An effort was then made to prolong the conversation by an allusion to the relations of peace which were now happily established between the Turks

and the Hungarians, who had been so long engaged in hostilities; but Hussein cut it short by the maxim, that it was always better for men to be at peace with each other than at war. This truism having been pronounced with great self-complacency, and admitted on all hands, a second quarter of an hour elapsed in solemn taciturnity, which was really embarrassing.

'The assigned period for the generation of another idea having been fully accomplished, the pacha delivered himself of an observation, that the Emperor had several officers of distinguished talent in his service. The Count confirmed the justness of this remark. Silence again resumed her wand, and we were all spell-bound. In the mean while, pipes, with splendid amber mouthpieces, were brought by the attendants, and presented to us; after which, another set of domestics came round with a japanned tray, on which sweetmeats were served in glasses. But as it would be necessary for us to use silver spoons, which were on the tray, and silver is supposed to be a conductor of the plague, our quarantine friends interposed and prohibited the luxury, much to my annoyance, as beside the sweetmeats were arranged glasses of sherbet. Hussein smiled, not pleased, however, at the scrupulousness of our guards, which he must have felt as a sort of imputation upon his country.

'Small china coffee-cups were then brought in upon a gold tray; they were turned down, with silver filagree cups placed over each. Coffee was next produced in a japanned pot, and the tray and coffee-pot having been placed on the floor by the attendants, one of them presented a cup to our chief officer, who removing it from its silver case, filled it with the fragrant beverage, and placed it in the Count's hand. In this way Mr Tasner and I were also served. The pacha and his son took some sherbet. This ceremony being concluded, the pacha enquired whether the steam-boat was going to Stamboul. The Count replied that the steam navigation so far was not yet completed, but that when another boat, which was daily expected from Trieste, should arrive at Galacz, it would be possible to make the voyage from Presburg to Stamboul in eight days. This intelligence produced an exclamation of surprise from Hussein. His officers and domestics held up their hands in amazement. But it was clear that Hussein was no friend to this sort of expedition, which he evidently thought predicted no good for Turkey.'—Pp. 181, 184.

Proceeding on their voyage, they struck on a sandbank; and our author becoming impatient, left the steam-boat and the Count for a Zante boat, which having less draught of water, easily passed along, and took him to Rutschutz, which is between two and three hundred miles from the mouth of the Danube. From thence he came across the Balkan mountains, on horseback, to Constantinople. The following is a brief sketch of that kind of journey:

'The road through the mountains would certainly not have been deemed practicable for an English saddle-horse. It was simply marked over the natural rock by frequent use, no care whatever having been for

one moment expended upon it, even for the purpose of removing the loose stones, or breaking down the more prominent masses. Sometimes we rode over a track polished like ice by the winter torrents, on which, when ascending, we were obliged diligently to take a zigzag course; when descending, to allow the animal now and then to slide at his own discretion. On other occasions, the near foot might be seen on a pointed rock, while the off leg was about to pounce into a hole, the hinder hoofs making the best of their way through boulder-stones, as if playing with them at marbles.

'It seemed to me, at first, an improper hazard of life to attempt to ride over such a road as this, where the horse and rider, even going at the most stealthy pace, were every moment in peril of being dashed to the ground. But the animals, though in England the whole five would not be deemed worth as many pounds, were so well accustomed to the business which they had to perform, that, be the disposition of the track what it might, they never by any chance made a false step. Their intelligence, prudence, courage, and extreme watchfulness for their own safety, as well as for that of the lives intrusted to their keeping, were wonderful. No human being could have executed their office with the uniform success which attended all their movements. So rapidly did they gain upon my confidence, that, on levels or even on declivities, I did not hesitate to follow my Tartar's example, when, with a view to recover the time lost in ascending, or to escape quickly from a pass through a dense part of the woods, whence banditti sometimes fire upon the traveller, he absolutely galloped over these smooth or broken masses, both equally dangerous, as if he were flying for his life.

'Nothing in nature can be more beautiful than the variety, especially towards the close of the autumn, of the hues that distinguish the shrubs and trees which compose the forests of Mount Hæmus. On one side, as if for the purpose of ornament, an eminence rising gradually from the torrent bed over which we rode, and extending towards the heavens, was clothed to its summit with the most magnificent shrubs, tinted with all shades of colour, light gold, russet brown, silver ash, pale green, scarlet red, orange, and the incomparable blue of the iris. Amidst these shrubs the convolvulus and other flowering creepers suspended their festoons of bells, rivalling the delicate white of the lily, or the transparent pink of the wild-rose.

'On the other side the thick forest, sometimes below us, sometimes threatening to march down upon us from their tremendous heights, rank long grass, ferns, and brambles, branches interlacing with each other, old trees fallen in in all directions and scathed by the lightning, rendering them impenetrable, seemed, indeed, peculiarly fitted to be the haunts of robbers. The assassin has only to place himself behind the trunk of a tree, wait until the wayfarer appears in view, then deliberately take his aim, and he can hardly fail to bring down his victim. Pursuit is altogether out of the question. Retaliation would be equally impracticable, as the murderer could not be seen. The traveller who is best armed, as in this case my Tartar was, is usually selected for the first experiment. The discharge is the signal to the whole band, who are stationed at their posts along the edge of the forest, to be ready to fire at the remaining

fugitives; and then, when all danger of a contest is over, the work of plunder commences.

'My Tartar and postilion were in a perfect fever during the whole time we were riding through these passes. We galloped the whole way, whether up or down the declivities. Sometimes the road was occupied by caravans, and we were obliged to mount narrow and broken pathways, which we found or made upon its edge. But even over these tracks, where there was scarcely room for the horse's hoof, we flew with a speed which must have betrayed their terror. I do not affect to say that I was myself altogether free from alarm; but I confess that I thought a great deal less of perils from banditti than from the rocks over which I was obliged to pursue my companions. It was emphatically one of those instances of which I have occasionally seen other examples in the course of my life, where, in order to escape visionary dangers, real dangers were incurred of a much more serious description.'—Vol. I. Pp. 251, 256.

Constantinople has been often described, but never much better than in the following lines:

'Much as I had heard of the beauties of the Asiatic as well as of the European banks of the Bosphorus, I must say that they very much exceeded any description I had ever read, or any panorama I had ever seen of them. The ever-changing character of the hills, that rise on each side; the magic variations of colour cast upon them by the travelling sun, and by their own shadows; the pendant groves and gardens; the castles and fortifications of the middle ages; the old Moorish architecture of the houses and palaces, which extend for five or six miles under the hills, beside the blue waters; the splendid new residences, built on either shore, by the present Sultan or his ministers, with their light Oriental fronts, their latticed windows, their bronze doors, and snow-white marble steps; the towering Turkish ships of war, anchored off the arsenal; the merchant brigs of all nations, sailing up or down the waves; the innumerable boats bent on business or pleasure, urged by the oar or wafted by the wind in every direction; the costume of the Frank mingling with that of the Turk, the Albanian, the Greek, the Tartar, the wild mountaineer from Caucasus, the slave from Circassia, the horse-dealer from Arabia, the silk and carpet-merchant from Persia, the Dervish from India, and the veiled form of woman wherever she appeared, —spread out a picture of human life and industry, and of natural grandeur before me, such as no other part of the world could disclose.'—Pp. 4, 5.

It is not our intention to follow Mr Quin in all his remarks upon this capital and its neighbourhood. What he says of the Dragomans, and the folly of some European states in trusting their most secret negotiations to persons over whom they can have no hold, is quite just, and merits attention. How ridiculous for us in England to find any difficulty in providing an ambassador in the Levant with a trustworthy interpreter from home, or rather in training one or two of our diplomatic agents to a know-

ledge of the language! With all our belief, however, in the various resources of England, we could wish the several pages of rant left out which our author devotes to the enumeration of English glories. Among these is introduced, somewhat drolly (were not the subject so serious), our civilizing Africa by putting an end to 'that unhallowed trade' which, he seems to forget, we were for upwards of a century the greatest protectors of, in all its foulest abominations.

From Constantinople he made an excursion to Vourla, where he was carried by a frigate to Napoli. He then visited Athens and Corinth, and several other parts of the Greek dominions, and was presented to King Otho, of whom he speaks in very favourable terms. The cutting through the Isthmus of Corinth he represents as by no means a work of great magnitude; there being only two miles of plain and two of mountain and rock to cut. The latter, however, seems of such height as to require tunneling; and we presume the resources of the new kingdom are far removed from any extensive operation of that kind. The estimate of half a million sterling, though assuredly below the truth, would probably be found considerably beyond its means.

He came from Greece to Corfu, and thence to Trieste, from which he went to Venice, Rome, and Naples. The rapidity of his journey left him little opportunity of gathering information at any of those places; but the reader will find a brief account of the grand mass celebrated on Christmas day, by the Pope himself, in St Peter's. We have not room for more than a page or two, in which, together with his holiness, 'the servant of ser-'vants,' a very well-known son of the church and ornament of legitimacy makes his appearance,—none other than the conservative of conservatives, the Don Miguel, late of Portugal and the Algarves.

'The Pope was borne to the great altar in his chair of state, attended by a host of cardinals and bishops, and the representatives and many members of all the regular orders of the church. The variety, and elegance, and splendour of ecclesiastical costumes thus brought together, produced a most imposing effect. The gorgeous vestments of his Holiness in his jewelled tiara—the mitres and crosiers, and mantles of the bishops, the red robes of the cardinals, formed a remarkable contrast with the poor Carmelite's white garb of flannel, and his ruder sandal. The Swiss papal guards, in their antique dress, covered over on the breast and back by the steel cuirass, with a hat turned up on one side and decorated by a ruby drooping plume on the other, reminded one of the days of the crusades; while the newest fashions of Paris and London, crowding the tribunes in another quarter, gave a different charm to the

scene, substituting (when the eye turned downward from that airy dome) real beauty for the visions of tradition.

'Amongst the remarkable personages who were present at this great festival, I observed Don Miguel, the ex-usurper of the throne of Portugal. He was in a tribune on the left hand of the Papal throne, and appeared to attract general attention. He was dressed in blue uniform, decorated with some orders, obtained I know not how, or where, or when, as there has been scarcely any period in that prince's life when he merited, in my judgment, any such distinctions. He looked, however, extremely well—indeed, I should have added, even a remarkably handsome man, had his character not been tainted by his proceedings in the Peninsula. His *moral* physiognomy detracted not a little from his external appearance, and his devotion was somewhat too sanctified to be sincere.'—Pp. 275, 276.

From the enthusiasm with which our author commemorates Catholic ceremonies, we presume he belongs to that communion; indeed we rather think this appears somewhere in his narrative, though we cannot lay our hand on the passage. This may extenuate his panegyrics upon the Papal services to Rome, to antiquities and the arts,—services which he considers (II. 286) no secular princes with families to provide for could have rendered. Has he never heard of the *Miracles of St Peter*—a name given proverbially to the splendid mansions and other indications of princely fortunes, amassed by various successors of the Fisherman, and bequeathed to their natural sons or other near relations? The very circumstance of their being elective, and having no means of transmitting to their favourites any thing but what they can save out of their stewardship, has always been held a cause of extortion beyond what a prince has, who leaves the sceptre and the key of the treasury to his descendants.

The present King of Naples, according to Mr Quin, was disposed to give his people a constitution; and this article formed the topic of conversation at Court. The young monarch, to his immortal honour, had resolved to assemble a Parliament of his dominions, both Sicily and Naples, with powers of legislation. He had intended to reform the system of jurisprudence, the very worst in Europe; and to appoint a ministry of able men, excluding the *faineans*, who have hitherto administered and mismanaged the affairs of the state. But here we again meet, at the end of our adventures, a certain prince whom we saw something of at their commencement. We have taken our departure with Mr Quin from Presburg—accompanied him to Pesth—dropt down the Danube with him to Widin—flown across the Balkan on fleet and sure though lean steeds—sojourned among plague-patients at Constantinople—traversed the

Morea—coasted the Adriatic—travelled over Italy, down to nearly the heel of the boot; and lo, here, as at Presburg, Prince Metternich starts up, in the same office, of foreseeing risk to legitimacy at Milan and Vienna, the instant any constitutional appearances shall break out in any quarter above the Germanic horizon! 'If,' says this great conservative, whose ubiquity is marvellous where any mischief is to be done,—'If,' says he in Italy as he had said in Hungary—'If there should 'be a Parliament sitting at Naples, the Milanese and Venetians 'will soon demand a similar constitution.' Here he could listen to no Count Szechenyi, as there were none found to remonstrate. Accordingly troops were prepared to march. The threat sufficed, as no obstacle was interposed either by the Roman states, or France, or England; and the young king, thwarted in his liberal desires, gave himself up to the appointed rulers of Sicilian princes, —his courtiers, and his confessors.

We should really have thought that Metternich had little reason to dread the Milanese and Venetian clamour for Parliaments, after the *free* constitution which he condescended to give them in April 1815—a great charter to their hearts' content—that is, a semblance of a Parliament, both general and provincial, in which representatives are to sit for each province and each town; but chosen with the approbation of the Crown, and removable at the Crown's pleasure; and to which august body of independent legislators are intrusted the inspection of such new taxes as may be proposed to them, with whatever other matter the sovereign may think fit to consult them about. If this constitution has any thing of liberty in it, why should he be afraid of new demands? But if indeed it is a mere mockery—perhaps the most daring insult ever offered to a high spirited, though conquered people—then indeed we can imagine his dread of any other Italian state possessing a representative government; but we are at a loss to conceive how they who have not indignantly risen against his former bounty, should be suspected of asking any new favours at his hands.

From Naples our author came by sea to Genoa, thence to Turin, Geneva, Paris, and home.

ART. VII.—*On the Diffusion of Knowledge amongst the Middle Classes.* By JAMES WILLIAMSON, M.D. 8vo. London: 1835.

UPON the several important questions which have occupied us at different times since the commencement of our labours at the beginning of the present century, we have adopted one course —first, to discuss the subject thoroughly, though often repeatedly, when a single exposition of its merits was not sufficient—and after having laid it distinctly before the country, to recur occasionally to it more generally and concisely according as any new arguments arose which required consideration, or any new events had happened which demanded attention and comment. The last, and among the most important of the great questions which it has been our duty to press upon the attention of our readers, is the impediments which the state of our taxation interposes to the diffusion of knowledge. If any where those obstructions are to expect hostility, surely it is in Edinburgh—the inhabitants of which are all more or less devoted to literary pursuits. We write indeed among a generation which has not yet forgotten the voice of their old and venerated teacher, the learned, honest, indefatigable, Dr Adam, than whom there never lived a more admirable pattern of a schoolmaster, nor a more inflexibly virtuous man—a devoted friend of learning, but not more of letters than of their congenial liberty, and a man endowed with the rare courage of standing up against oppression in the worst times ever known in this part of the island since the tyranny of the execrable Lauderdale in the 17th century. *His* voice still rings in the ears of his scholars, when he was wont to exclaim, '*A tax upon Paper, is a tax upon Knowledge.*' What would *he* have said had he lived to hear it proved in Parliament by one of his old pupils, that in conducting one of the most popular works of the present day, the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' the Society of Useful Knowledge pays as much in excise upon paper into the Exchequer, as it does to the most eminent and scientific men in Europe, —the Aireys, the Babbages, the Brewsters,—men famous as discoverers, but now also devoting their talents and learning to the instruction of all classes of their countrymen. Four thousand pounds a-year paid in duty upon one work! Four thousand pounds a-year tax—tribute—burden—discouragement—prohibition—imposed upon the diffusion of knowledge among the people, through a single channel! As the circulation of the 'Penny Magazine' of the same Society must be three or four times as great as that of the

'Cyclopædia,' this book of the poor man must have to bear the burden of perhaps sixteen thousand a-year in like manner. In after times it will not be believed that in 1835 our policy could have been barbarous to this extent. Such a system will then be nearly as incredible as it now seems to us that thirty years ago our laws should have encouraged the murder and rapine, known by the gentle name of Slave Trading, and to abolish which crime, was but a few years earlier pronounced by a great and zealous Conservative, the late Mr Boswell, to '*shut the gates of mercy on mankind.*'

But there is another tax on knowledge—directly and chiefly on political—but indirectly and substantially on every kind of knowledge, just as objectionable, and the repeal of which we have shown to be as absolutely necessary. We mean the Newspaper Stamp. Since we last discussed this subject, some matters have happened which require to be considered, and to which we shall now advert, in the succinct manner above mentioned, without again going over the general argument.

The public attention has been roused to this most important question, in spite of all the efforts made by the greater part of the London newspapers, to stifle discussion upon it. That these journals are plainly combined against the repeal, no person can affect to doubt, any more than he can justly blame them. They have much at stake, or they think they have: a monopoly, though never intended by the authors of the tax, has been by its operation secured to them, and they are apprehensive of injury from its being taken off. Our very clear opinion is, that they are wrong, and that they would gain full as much as they could lose by the measure. But our opinion is nothing; they have a perfect right to contemn it and abide by their own. Therefore we do not blame them for the course which they are pursuing, like any other dealers, in favour of their supposed interests. But in one respect they differ from other dealers; they have the means of protecting themselves and injuring the public—the consumers, by suppressing all, or nearly all that is doing on the subject. When any other trade is attacked by the legislature, or threatened by the efforts of the consumer to lower the price or improve the quality of the article, the press is at hand to help the party which appears to be in the right. Here the press being one of the parties—the trader,—the other party—the consumer—has no such help. Thus, take the exactly parallel case of the brewers and publicans. The licensing of public-houses, though intended for an altogether different purpose, yet eventually and accidentally had given the publicans in certain houses, or rather the brewers who owned these houses, a monopoly. When that was abolished, millions were shown to

have been wasted in leasehold property on the faith of the monopoly. All this was disregarded—meetings were held—petitions were presented—discussions took place every where—and in a few years the system and the consequential monopoly fell before the force of truth and reason. In this the newspapers aided exceedingly. But how would it have been if these papers had all been—or nearly all been, like the public-houses, in the hands of the brewers? Would they have done their duty to the public—or to the public-houses? Would the reform in question have had fair play? Would it at this day have been carried?

It is due to some of the London Papers to state, that they have taken a most disinterested part on the question of the Stamp. These, too, are among the best conducted and the most inflexibly honest. Their services to the cause of knowledge, and truth, and liberal opinion, have been invaluable. But the rest have taken another course; and they have all endeavoured to suppress the agitation of the subject. So much so, indeed, that he who only reads these journals would never imagine how great and general an interest the subject had excited. As an instance: there were three of the greatest public meetings ever held in the metropolis—two of them attended by all, or nearly all, the metropolitan members; and there was hardly any notice taken of their proceedings in some of the daily papers. Nay, none of these made any mention of two large meetings, one in Southwark, and one at the Mechanics' Institution, farther than to state in a few lines that meetings had been held on the subject. No one, to read such accounts, could ever have conjectured that near two thousand respectable persons had attended each of these meetings. This policy of the papers certainly has had one effect—it has misled ministers and members of parliament, who necessarily take much of their information from such sources. The suppressive process has made the rulers of the state and lawgivers really believe that the public took little interest in the question; and accordingly the tax has been continued for another year, when a knowledge of the general eagerness for its repeal would inevitably have sealed its doom last session. That the interest has been general and intense, the almost unanimous voice of the provincial press demonstrates. Its policy coincides more nearly with its duty, and it has spoken freely and constantly out. The petitions presented to Parliament afford another test. These (as appears from the late *Tabular Returns* to both Houses) have been more numerous, and signed by a greater number of persons, than the petitions upon any other subjects whatever during the session—two only excepted—the Corporation Bill, and the case of the Dorchester labourers. Indeed, as one or

two of the Corporation petitions were signed by twenty or thirty thousand names, it is manifest that a far greater number of petitions must have been presented to Parliament for the repeal of the tax. That the Ministers should have taken, and most properly taken, into their attentive consideration the petitions in behalf of the Dorchester convicts, and granted a considerable mitigation of the sentence, without ever seriously attending to the Stamp petitions, seems very hard to be believed; yet is true.

Why should this Government, of all others, support a tax opposed to the diffusion of knowledge? There never was any that owed so much of its strength to free discussion. There are no friends any where of the existing Ministry, except among those who are most anxious for the spread of political information. A Ministry, too, more attached to literary pursuits has not often existed. Many of its members are themselves honourably known to the world as authors; almost all of them are understood to be men of reading habits; several of them, including both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Leader of the House of Commons, are active members of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge. Well may the public, therefore, wonder at the deaf ear which this liberal and literary Government seems to have turned to its representations. It can only be accounted for by supposing that the newspapers have misled them; and chiefly by suppressing all mention of the subject, and of the anxiety felt upon it. It is possible that the active exertions of a few members of Parliament may have operated unfavourably. Let us hope that the support of the people will, in the interval before the next session, strengthen the hands of the Ministers, and enable them to resist all importunities, as well as encourage them to perform their duty.

There is indeed a quarter of which, on this occasion, we have a right to complain, more than perhaps of the Ministers—we mean the liberal members of the House of Commons. What could possibly induce those who have uniformly supported all propositions in behalf of knowledge and against the stamp, to withdraw a motion when they had a majority in the House, and might have carried their resolution? This is, we confess, one of the most mortifying, and to our minds, most inexplicable things which have happened in Parliament during the late session. The reasons which were assigned, are, as it appears to us, unsatisfactory. We would be understood to speak with all possible respect and regard of men whose services are invaluable to the people; but it is no mark of esteem to suppress our opinion upon an important subject. The carrying one vote against the stamp, even if it had been followed by nothing farther, would have been of infinite importance. We do not believe that the present Chancellor of the Exchequer

would have imitated the worst part of the old Pitt tactics, and tried to rescind that vote another day. Lord Althorp was compelled, and most reluctantly compelled, to do so on the malt tax; but that was a question of millions, and of an income tax;—this was at the utmost one of L.200,000 beyond the disposable surplus; and even so much never could have been lost, for the advertisement duty must have greatly increased.* But suppose he had acted in this manner; that he had given notice of opposing the next vote against the stamp; and that the friends of the repeal had seen grounds for apprehending they would be defeated—What had they to do but leave the question as it *then* would have stood, with one vote of the House of Commons in its favour? Would it not have been time enough *then*, after gaining one victory, to say they would push their success no farther? Surely no person at all acquainted with the history of any one of the great questions which public opinion has carried against Governments and Parliaments, can for a moment doubt the incalculable advantage which this would have gained to the repeal. As to the argument that the Government would have been shaken by a defeat, this is, in many cases, a sound reason for abstaining from a vote; but if constantly used, it becomes one of the most fatal motives of action which can sway public men. It is bad for the ministers, for it makes them absolute and heedless; it is destructive to the country; for it places the fate of every question not upon its own merits, but upon a false and arbitrary issue. Since the session closed, an indication has been given of a nature not to be mistaken; and from hence we suspect that the fate of the tax in question is at length decreed, not indeed by the determination of the Government or the Parliament, but by the nature of the thing. Attempts were made during the summer to print unstamped daily papers, but these failed, as is said, from the want of due preparations. The Government then put the law in force against some of the other papers which had long been published without a stamp; and great complaints were made both in Parliament and out of doors, of this proceeding. We confess we cannot join in these complaints; because, as long as the law exists which subjects papers to a stamp,

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* The excise on paper produces L.800,000, including all kinds of paper—that is, for packing, papering rooms, &c. Taking off one half of the duty for paper for printing, would be an immense relief to literature—especially cheap literature—and would rather be a gain than a loss to the revenue; whilst the increased publication of newspapers would augment still farther this income.

those who print with the stamp have an undeniable right to all the protection which the Government can give them against those who carry on a contraband trade, and sell papers without paying the legal duty. But although no blame can be imputed to the Government for attempting to act as they are by the law bound to act, every one must see that the attempt will fail. The contraband dealer will defeat the Government, exactly as the smuggler of spirits, and many other articles of general consumption, has always done, when these articles were taxed beyond what they could bear. No sooner had a seizure been made of one printing press in London, than other presses were set to work elsewhere; and immediately unstamped papers, of course without any printer's name, were found every where in London, which had been printed in some of the great manufacturing towns, and sent for sale to the metropolis. Can the Government think of continuing this contest? It is impossible—for the contest is hopeless. The people are determined to read newspapers; and they will have them without the duty of two or three hundred per cent which the Legislature has imposed. The duty on spirits was reduced, not because the revenue could be spared, or because any man wanted to make gin cheaper, but because the smuggler beat the Government and undersold the fair dealer. The duty on political, and all other knowledge will be repealed (reducing it is out of the question), because the unstamped newsmonger is beating the Government, and underselling the dealer in stamped papers; and because the people will no more go without reading than without drinking. Every man lamented the necessity of lowering the spirit tax—every man must agree in the necessity of repealing the tax on knowledge.

It is impossible to close an article upon the press without observing upon the almost counter-revolution which France has lately undergone in this branch of her policy,—of all others the most important to a free state. We should ill discharge our duty as faithful journalists of Politics, as well as Letters, were we to hesitate in expressing the deep feeling of indignation which fills our minds upon a survey of the late transactions. There was a foul, and if you will, a diabolical plot, to assassinate the King; and there were newspapers existing at the same time. *This*, this positively, and nothing more, is the connexion between the plot and the press—the pretext, the flimsy pretext, for chaining the press with chains of iron, abolishing trial by jury, extinguishing all journals published by poor men, and, in fact, placing the discussion of all subjects, except perhaps mathematics and antiquities, upon a more slippery and intolerable footing than they were, in the time of an open, avowed, and candid

tyrant. Cherishing the highest respect for the able and enlightened Prince who now rules the French nation, and for his virtuous and accomplished minister, we fervently hope that they will retrace their steps ere it be too late, and give back to France the freedom which they have, under the influence of a temporary panic, been enabled, by the tame acquiescence of the unreformed Chambers, to suspend. The progress which republican principles have made in England during the last twelve months has been remarked by all accurate observers of the signs of the times—and not a foreigner who hears our conversations now, and had left us for a year or two, is insensible of the change. We verily believe that an Englishman resorting to France next year will be struck still more with the like progress, should the new laws be continued in force. We have spoken out as regards our own rulers, when they are plainly misled. We cannot suppress the truth as to those of our neighbours.*

ART. VIII.—*History of the Church from the Earliest Ages to the Reformation.* By the Rev. GEORGE WADDINGTON, Vicar of Masham, and Prebendary of Chichester. Published under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Second Edition. Three volumes, 8vo. London: 1835.

MANY of our readers must already be acquainted with this work. It originally appeared in the Library of Useful Knowledge, where it was distinguished with no ordinary share of public approbation. The author has been encouraged to undertake a new edition; and as it is now presented to us in this revised form, it has been considered, by no mean judges, as entitled to a place among our standard works. We are by no means surprised at the reception it has met with. The author, a cler-

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* We had intended to offer some comments upon the conduct which several real representatives of the people in Parliament have lately pursued in the contest with the London press—members coming from various parts of the United Kingdom. If we abstain at present, it is not from any disposition to undervalue their services, but because we really consider that in the present times every thing is to be avoided which has a tendency to widen the breach between the press and the people's representatives, and to help those who, for obvious reasons, are ever trying to sow dissensions among the friends of liberal principles.

gyman of the Church of England, is obviously an accomplished man, of good principles, respectable abilities, and liberal sentiments; he has paid considerable attention to his subject, writes in a pleasing style, and his History is perhaps the best of native growth of which we can boast:—and yet it is at least a half century behind the progress of the age in accuracy and extent of information, and in the principles upon which it is constructed. As Mr Waddington's work was professedly prepared for general circulation, it would, perhaps, be unreasonable to look in it for profound theological discussion, or nice critical investigation, or even for the fruits of original historical research. We might reasonably expect, however, that the results of the learned labours of other minds would be correctly given; but even in this humbler character we are reluctantly compelled to affirm, that such a work could have appeared only in a country where there had been a suspension, for the best part of a century, of original investigation in the department to which it belongs. If we are correct in this view, it leads to conclusions which we conceive to be of some practical interest at the present moment; and this may justify a more minute examination of Mr Waddington's work than in other circumstances we might have thought necessary.

Whilst we cannot but think that this production reflects little credit on the state of historical knowledge among us, the fault, we conceive, is not altogether in the author, and in no degree in the Society under whose auspices it appears, and who have shown their usual good judgment in giving to the History of the Church a place in the list of their subjects. The fortunes of our religion constitute an indispensable branch of general knowledge, which, in one form or other, ought to be brought within the reach of all classes of readers. Considered as a moral phenomenon merely, and altogether independently of the question of its divine original, there is nothing in the history of our race more remarkable than the rise and progress of Christianity; and, as a subject of curious enquiry, its fate is well worthy of our attention. But it has higher uses than the gratification of our curiosity. For the various important purposes of Christian theology, its value will not be disputed. And it is scarcely less important to the philosopher than to the theologian. Many of the most remarkable appearances in the records of past ages, and in the present aspect of by far the greater portion of civilized society, find their only explanation in the condition of ecclesiastical affairs, or in influences to be traced to modes of Christian faith or worship. And in that highest philosophy which relates to the complicated phenomena of the world of mind, from the influence of Christianity in the developement of the religious principle, an

acquaintance with its history is essential towards the solution of some of the most important problems that can occupy the attention of rational beings.

It must be allowed that few of these advantages are to be derived from ecclesiastical history, as it has been usually conducted. In the great proportion of works upon this subject, under a perplexing multitude of arbitrary divisions, we have a dry catalogue of the various outward forms in which Christianity has appeared, of the disputes of ecclesiastical persons, and of the relation of the Church to political affairs, rather than a vivid delineation of the manifestations of the life and spirit of our religion. Formal lists are presented to us of the opinions which prevailed, and of the rites which were observed in successive periods, without any attempt to discover their origin, to exhibit them in operation, or to detect the secret of their influence. And in another description of works where a narrative interest is maintained, the cause of truth is often sacrificed to sectarian views, and instead of having an exhibition of the large and liberal spirit of Christianity, we find our prospect narrowed to what the superstition, or bigotry, or mistaken piety of the author, limits the character of the true religion.

In the works of the ancient historians of the Church which have come down to us, while much that is valuable is secured, there must also be noted great deficiencies. A want of method and order is common to them all. Different matters are mingled together, without any apparent principle of connexion, and subjects are taken up and dismissed, resumed and abandoned, in a way that is exceedingly harassing to the reader. Of the philosophy of history they had not the remotest idea. They were greatly deficient in the spirit of analysis and criticism. The want of strict accuracy of statement, of which Hume complains in the ancient profane historians, prevails equally with them. And we seek in vain in their writings for any information respecting the developement of Christianity as a system of doctrines—or the changes which were introduced in the rites and ceremonies of religion—or the true character of the heresies which prevailed—or the precise relation of Christianity to heathenism, or of their mutual effects upon each other. With all their defects, however, these works are of great value, and if studied in connexion with the profane literature and ecclesiastical writings of the times, enable us to arrive at sufficiently accurate conclusions respecting many of the most important particulars connected with the state of our religion in its earlier days.

Throughout the dreary course of the middle ages, we find nothing deserving the name of a general history of the Church.

The growing power of superstition indisposed the minds of men to free enquiry, and the naked and open daylight of truth was deliberately shut out as not showing 'the masks, and 'mummeries, and triumphs of the world half so stately and 'daintily as candle lights.' Besides, as the power of the Roman See was in no small degree founded on a falsification of the truths of history, all enquiry was suppressed that might endanger an exposure of its pretensions. Accordingly, with one or two solitary exceptions, the ecclesiastical history of the period referred to, consists of wretched compilations, or extravagant legends, and scarcely any writer evinced the qualities necessary for a credible historian.

A time of change, however, came with the Reformation. The various controversies which arose between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and between the different sects into which the Protestants were soon divided, rendered a searching enquiry into the exact condition of the Church in preceding ages, indispensably necessary. The Roman Catholics were accused of a departure from the faith, worship, and government of the primitive church, and this charge could be proved or refuted only by an appeal to historical documents. On the other hand, the Protestants were obliged to answer the objection brought forward by their opponents, that their doctrine was to be rejected, as taking its rise with the sixteenth century only, and this they did by establishing the harmony of the Protestant principles of belief with those of the early Christians, and by bringing forward examples of sects and individuals in all ages who dissented from the opinions recognised by the Romish hierarchy. This advantage was followed up by showing at how late a period the claims of the successors of St Peter were acknowledged among Christians, through what guilty arts their power was acquired and maintained, and with what disastrous consequences to the interests of religion and the condition of society that power had been exercised for many centuries.

The first regular attack upon Popery in the form of an Ecclesiastical History was by a Society of Lutheran Divines, known by the name of the Magdeburg Centuriators. The name was derived from the city where the first part of their history was finished, and from the chronological mode of division which they introduced into their work. The celebrated Flaccius Illyricus was at the head of the undertaking. The work is divided into periods of centuries, in each of which the authors, with unlimited confidence in their own industry and resources, though with very imperfect ideas respecting the true nature of historical composition, undertake to give a complete view of the aspect which the Church

presented, in a series of chapters, amounting to no less than sixteen, with numerous subdivisions. Every thing connected with the propagation and persecutions of Christianity is set forth, century by century, in three distinct chapters. After this we have a statement of the articles of doctrine taught by ecclesiastical writers, with extracts from their works upon forty heads of doctrine, constituting a whole body of divinity. The succeeding chapters are devoted to the following somewhat heterogeneous subjects—heresies—the rites and ceremonies of religion—schisms —councils—the lives of eminent persons — miracles and prodigies—the affairs of the Jews—religions foreign to the Church —and finally, the political condition of the world. The learning and industry of the Centuriators have never been disputed. Their work was considered as a storehouse by Protestant divines in succeeding times. In Germany it superseded all farther enquiry into Church History for upwards of a century, and its influence in determining the mode in which historians direct their enquiries has been more or less felt even to our own days. Very serious objections, however, may be made to this great undertaking. Notwithstanding the multitude of subjects which the authors proposed to illustrate, some of the most interesting in the field of historical investigation are wholly omitted; and by the mode of division all interest in the work as a continued narrative, is necessarily destroyed. The natural relations which connect different subjects are wholly disregarded; and it must be added, that the Protestant prejudices of the authors sometimes misled them into error. The example of the Lutherans was followed by other Protestant Churches, and in the course of the controversy with the Romanists, many valuable historical works were produced. Hospinian, De Mornay, Daillé, Blondel, Salmasius, Spanheim, and the two Basnages, may be mentioned as among the more eminent individuals who attacked the Romish Church upon historical grounds.

The Church of Rome, when it could no longer reckon upon the credulity or ignorance of mankind, or impose a reluctant silence, prepared vigorously to meet the attacks made on its claims. For this purpose, Baronius was chosen to read ecclesiastical lectures in the Oratory at Rome. He continued in this situation thirty years, going over the History of the Church seven times; and the materials prepared by him were at last published in the form of annals. Dr Cave justly characterises the History of Baronius as a work of incredible labour and pains, to which no fault can be found but that *which pervades the whole*—namely, that the leading object of the author is to defend his Church against the Centuriators, and to make both the sceptre and the cro-

sier stoop to the triple crown. The history of Baronius reaches only to 1198. Continuations to it were written by different hands. The best is by Rainald, who brings it down till 1524. In addition to the other merits of Baronius and his continuator, we are indebted to them for many original papers from the records of the Vatican. From the days of Baronius learned men have never been awanting in the Romish communion, who have shown in their historical researches as much industry, and talent, and ingenuity, and in some instances as much honesty, though not so unfettered a spirit as has been exhibited by Protestant writers. The Catholic historians best known to general readers in this country are Fleury, Tillemont, and Dupin. The credit of sincerity cannot be denied to any of these writers, and their industry has never been surpassed.

As the contests between Protestants and Papists have contributed much to the study of ecclesiastical history, and enriched our theological literature with some of its most valuable treasures, so the contests between different sects of Protestants have led, though in a more contracted degree, to similar results. The controversies between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, between Trinitarians and Anti-trinitarians, between Paedo-Baptists and Anti-Paedo-Baptists, have led to a frequent examination of all that related to the rites and ceremonies of early times, to the primitive form of church government, and to the doctrines set forth in the writings of the fathers.

In regard to almost all the works which have been hitherto referred to, valuable as many of them are in many important particulars, there is one general objection to be made, that they are not of a purely historical character, but may be considered as belonging to the department of polemical divinity, fully as much as to that of history. Some of them, indeed, are scarcely in a historical form, and even where it is otherwise, the partial object the writers had in view, leads them to neglect many important matters altogether, and to exhibit the subjects which they bring forward only in one light. An unfavourable effect is also produced upon the manner in which the different topics are treated, and the calm tone of the historian is often exchanged for the noisy or bitter accents of the polemic.

It is in Germany alone that we find a better spirit; and the progress of Church history in that country is well worthy of attention. We have already adverted to the effect produced by the labours of the Centuriators in suspending further enquiry; and the distracted state of the country in no small degree contributed to the same result. One or two distinguished names

occur soon after the termination of the Thirty Years' War. But it was not till towards the end of the seventeenth century, that the theologians awakened from their sleep, and acknowledged the necessity of making further progress in the study which had been so long neglected. Still, notwithstanding the labours of Sagittarius, Ittigius, Arnold, and others, church history continued in its infancy, till the days of Pfaff, and Weissman and Mosheim, about the middle of last century, when the true principles upon which it ought to be written began to be recognised, and its uses to be acknowledged. By their efforts, and particularly by those of the last-mentioned writer, the facts of ancient history were placed upon a more satisfactory basis than had hitherto been found for them; the subject was freed from much of the rubbish which had been admitted, as by hereditary right, into the pages of preceding writers; the peculiar characteristics of different periods were more distinctly marked; the reciprocal influences of civil and ecclesiastical affairs were exhibited; and the good or the evil, which had previously, without reference to the instruments made use of by Providence, been indolently ascribed at once to God or to Satan, was traced to its more immediate causes. The chief part in this reform is to be ascribed to Mosheim, whose history has long been deservedly popular in this country through the translation by Maclaine, which does justice to the original in almost every respect, except in the spirit in which events are viewed; for Mosheim's temper was as far removed from scepticism as credulity, and his piety, though not ardent, was sincere, and indisposed him to treat with ridicule any indications of a religious spirit. He commenced his enquiries in ecclesiastical history at an early period, bringing to the task a spirit of patient industry, combined with ingenuity and acuteness, an adequate knowledge of several languages, and a practical acquaintance with affairs and with men. His general history combines many excellences, but it is not without very material defects. His arrangement is chargeable with some of the worst faults of the Centuriators. He sometimes allows conjecture to supersede investigation, and though his research was great, it was not so great as might appear from his numerous references; for he sometimes quotes passages in support of his statements which in charity we must suppose he had never read.

Though much was accomplished by Mosheim and his distinguished contemporaries, much still remained to be achieved; and since their days, so great advances have been made, that the writings of Mosheim are now more read in this country than in Germany, where they are looked upon as in a great measure antiquated. It may be allowed, perhaps, that no succeeding church

historian has combined more qualifications for the work than did that eminent individual—none has done so much for the science as was effected by him—none, perhaps, would have been able to introduce the reform of which he was the chief author. But since his days all have enjoyed the advantage of his labours; every separate part of which he treated has been subjected to the rigid examination of different learned men; and thus errors have been detected, new facts brought to light, and in many instances, more satisfactory theories have been constructed for the explanation of events. The methods by which Niebuhr has imparted a new character on the Roman history have, to a certain extent, been employed in reference to particular portions of ecclesiastical history. The conclusions which philosophers have arrived at from tracing the history of religion in general, have been applied with happy effect for the explanation of some of the most difficult appearances connected with the progress of the Christian religion. The scholars of Germany, in the prosecution of their indefatigable labours, are continually succeeding in giving new illustrations of the meaning of classic authors, and many of these have been applied with good effect in the explanation of the early Christian writers. The state of society and manners in the different countries into which Christianity has been introduced—the distinctive features of the different systems of ancient philosophy, their relations to each other and to the popular superstitions of the times—the influences produced by the character of rulers, and by the general state of law and government—these and similar subjects have been carefully explored by different minds, with different objects in view, and the most valuable and unexpected lights have thus been thrown upon many passages connected with Ecclesiastical history. New facts have been brought to light —appearances that had been long familiar, but which seemed altogether unaccountable, have been distinctly referred to the general condition of ancient society, or to peculiarities in the manners of certain districts—and the lengthened tract of Christian history is disclosed, in harmony with itself, and in harmony with the annals of letters and philosophy, and civil society, which run parallel with it. Even the neological views which have so generally prevailed in the German churches, however much to be regretted in other respects, have been of advantage, upon the whole, to the science of history. They have led to a more thorough sifting of the evidence for all the facts favourable to the interests of Christianity, by minds free from the suspicion of any partial bias; they have furnished us with the unspeakable advantage of looking upon the same object, from different points; and though they have encumbered the subject with many extravagant theories,

these very extravagances have called forth greater zeal on the part of Christian writers to set the subject in its true light, till all parties seem to have arrived at the conclusion, that the best historian is he who has most carefully studied all the sources of information, and whose pages present the most faithful impress of the times to which they refer. With such views the inestimable works of the Schroekhs and Plancks were written; and the Neanders, and Gieselers, and Ullmans are year after year enriching historic science with new accessions of knowledge. We had intended to make some remarks upon the distinguishing characteristics of the works of these learned individuals, but we find that it is now full time to proceed to Mr Waddington.

There is one remarkable circumstance in which this author stands contrasted with the most eminent of the German writers. Without any exception of moment, the best general histories have been produced by individuals who commenced their literary career by collecting materials for special departments, and who proceeded by degrees in this manner, publishing works upon separate branches ere they ventured to attempt an exhibition of the vast whole. They have looked upon the work as too arduous to be undertaken without a long course of preparation and many probationary efforts; and wisely judged that by publishing successive works they might become habituated to historical composition, and derive benefit from the criticisms upon their productions, and arrive at more correct views as to the best method of conducting so unwieldy a subject, and be in possession of a more abundant stock of materials. Such seems to have been the views of Ittigius, and Weissman, and Mosheim, and Schroeckh and Neander, and indeed of every other historian of eminence whom we can recollect. Even Flaccius Illyricus published his *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, before he engaged with his coadjutors in their giant work. Mr Waddington has shown more courage at least, and his first demand upon public notice is as a historian of the whole series of ages preceding the Reformation. We cannot help thinking that this circumstance of itself shows, that he has very inadequate notions of the extent and difficulty of his undertaking, and that he engaged in it without being fully aware how much might reasonably be expected.

We are confirmed in this opinion by observing that his work must have been prepared in ignorance of what has been done on the Continent in his department, almost from the days of Mosheim. He occasionally alludes to Semler indeed; and in his second edition the first volume of Neander seems to have come in his way; but there is nothing that would indicate that he has ever heard of any of the other writers already referred to. This

is exactly as if an author were to come before the public with a treatise upon the feudal system, in ignorance that any light had been thrown upon the subject since the days of Hume, and Robertson, and Gibbon; or to attempt a work upon civil law, without having heard of the writings which have proceeded from the school of Montesquieu.

In taking up a general history of the Church, we are naturally led in the first place to attend to the author's method of arranging his materials. It is really distressing to see a respectable person like Mr Waddington, in perfect good faith, taking credit to himself for discontinuing the awkward method of discussing Church history by centuries, never seeming to doubt that it is a notable discovery of his own; and in his table of contents, as well as in the body of his work, complacently bringing his merits in this respect under our eye. Except for the convenience of reference, the division by centuries is absurd in the extreme, and Mr Waddington was quite right in abandoning it; but it is to be regretted for his own sake that he has said so much about it. He is only doing what every good historian for the last half century has done before him. What would we think of a French dramatic writer who should proclaim it to the world as an original discovery that the shackles of the unities are not essential to a good tragedy? A provincial lecturer on botany might consult perhaps the benefit of his pupils, by departing from the artificial system, but he would give unnecessary pain to his scientific friends if he were to come before the public claiming the honours of a Jussieu.

We have only advanced one step towards a right division, when we fix upon the different resting places in our march throughout the long line of ages. The more difficult task remains, to determine the different heads under which we are to arrange our materials in each successive period. In regard to this difficult subject no positive rule can be given, and much should be allowed to different habits of thought in different authors. There can be no doubt, however, that every author should announce a plan of some description; that in this plan the ordinary logical rules of division should not be glaringly violated; and that the plan, moreover, when once made known, should be adhered to. We regret to say that none of these reasonable postulates have been observed in this work. In the introduction, there is, indeed, an imperfect notice of some of the subjects to be treated of in the different periods, but there is no hint respecting the order in which they are to be brought forward; so far as any method is indicated, it is not

adhered to, and in the plan actually followed, every rule of logic is set at defiance;—it does not comprehend all the particulars, similar subjects are separated, and different subjects brought together. When we read the work as it originally appeared, we took it for granted that Mr Waddington, like many other authors, had commenced without knowing the exact course he was to pursue, and that when farther reading taught him that important subjects had been omitted, or imperfectly treated, he made the necessary explanations and additions in a succeeding number. But we presume we must have been in error; for in the second edition the same general method is adhered to, without any essential change; and the author gravely tells us in his new preface that he has 'so enlarged the first, second, third, and 'fifth chapters, as to embrace all that seems most important in 'the much controverted records of the Antenicene Church. My 'deepest consideration they had long ago received; only I 'thought it then sufficient to present little more than the gene-'ral results of my researches, and compressed several particu-'lars which will be found more amply treated in the present 'edition.' We confess we are unable to discover that he has made so many additions as this extract seems to imply, but this is of little importance. He shows at least a tolerable satisfaction in the completeness of this part of the work, as embracing all that seems most important in the first three centuries. Let us see.

We have five chapters relating to the Antenicene period. The *first* is 'on the propagation of Christianity.' It carries us down to the end of the second century. The *second* chapter is 'on the numbers, discipline, doctrine, and morality of the pri-'mitive Church,' that is, of the Church during the first two centuries. We had supposed that he would here have finished all that relates to the state of affairs during this period; but instead of this he proceeds in the *third* chapter with an account of 'the 'progress of Christianity from the year 200 A. D. till the acces-'sion (?) of Constantine, A. D. 313.' And then he overlaps the whole period by two additional chapters, 'on the persecutions of 'several Roman Emperors,' and 'on the heresies of the first three 'centuries.' The reader may now flatter himself that he is done with the Antenicenians,—but he will find himself mistaken; for after having gone on till nearly the end of the second period, and even finished the account of the divisions between the Eastern and Western Churches, which terminated in the schism in the tenth century, the author brings us back again to the very commencement. He no doubt gives a reason for this retrograde move-

ment; but it resolves itself into an acknowledgment that he had executed his work imperfectly, or that he was in the situation of an architect, who, after carrying up his building to the second or third story, finds himself obliged to commence anew by enlarging his ground plan.

Mr Waddington's history begins with the following abrupt paragraph, to which we must request the special attention of our readers, as it may convey a tolerably accurate idea of the spirit and manner in which the whole work is executed.

'It is our object in this chapter to state what is material in the early history of such of the Churches of Christ, whether founded by the apostles themselves, or their companions, or their immediate successors, as were permitted to attain importance and stability during the first two centuries. For this purpose we have not thought it necessary to describe the circumstances which are detailed in the sacred writings, and are familiar to all our readers. The churches which seem to claim our principal attention are eight in number, and shall be treated of in the following order: Jerusalem and Antioch, Ephesus and Smyrna, Athens and Corinth, Rome and Alexandria; but our notice will be extended to some others, according to their connexion with these, their consequence, or local situation. It is thus that we shall gain the clearest view of the progress made by infant Christianity, and the limits within which it was restrained.'

Now here we have, in the first place, to observe a very great deficiency, in the omission of any preliminary notice as to the state of the world at the time of the introduction of Christianity, or as to the systems of philosophy which then prevailed. And as this omission is not supplied in any succeeding part of the work, we consider it as a capital defect. To enable us to appreciate what Christianity has achieved, and even for the right understanding of the internal character of the Church, an acquaintance with the leading characteristics of the philosophic sects and of the popular superstitions is indispensable. Even in an account of any discovery in the arts and sciences, we would expect some introductory information respecting the previous state of human knowledge in that department. And what would be thought of a history of any of the Revolutions in the civil affairs of nations, which should contain no allusion to the circumstances in which they arose! We think Mr Waddington is wrong also in not commencing with an account of the events that relate to the origin of the Church. The Christian religion, historically considered, consists of one great whole, all the parts of which stand intimately connected with each other in mutual relation; and to pass over the life of Christ and the Apostles, appears to us like the omission of any notice of the Sun in a view of the planetary system. Mr Waddington indeed men-

tions, that the circumstances detailed in the Sacred Writings 'are 'familiar to all his readers.' But does he really think, that because the New Testament is in every body's hands, one has nothing more to learn respecting its history! Did he ever see the works by Benson or Paley? Is all that they contain familiar to his readers, and may not new discoveries be made by following in the same tract? For our own part we can say, that Neander's recent work on the Apostolic Church has all the charms of novelty to us; even in those parts that are most exclusively confined to the events respecting which we have no information except from the Acts of the Apostles. But it appears that Mr Waddington has no idea that there are higher duties connected with the office of the historian than mechanical compilation; or that more can be discovered in the record of a fact than the mere existence of the fact; and throughout his work we shall find that he acts upon this principle.

The 'Propagation of Christianity' is the subject of his first chapter; and as the best way for gaining a clear view of this topic, he proposes 'to state what is material in the early his-'tory' of churches that attained to importance during the first two centuries. Now, if the object of division is to introduce order in our enquiries, it appears to us self-evident that the author should have confined himself to his proper subject, viz. the Propagation of Christianity, and not involved himself with all that is 'mate-'rial in the history of the early Churches.' We arrive, no doubt, at a clearer idea of any part of a subject, after making ourselves acquainted with every other part; but, in a systematic work the whole should surely not be treated of in relation to any one part, but, on the contrary, each part should be considered in reference to the whole. To proceed upon any other idea must necessarily be destructive of all order. This is well exemplified in the present chapter; and the confusion in which Mr Waddington perplexes himself, is increased a thousand-fold by the preposterous idea of giving a separate history of each of the Churches that attained early celebrity,—of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, &c. We have questioned Mr Waddington's title to any boast for freeing himself from the shackles that had been imposed upon Church historians in regard to *time;* but certainly the merit of the discovery of this new method of entanglement in regard to *space* is all his own, and nothing can be more preposterous. What would be thought of the historian who should commence a history of Britain with an account of 'what is material' connected with the cities of London and York, and Edinburgh and Glasgow, as the best method of conveying an idea of the progress of the British nation? Or would it be wise, in tracing the advance

of an army, to carry us backward and forward in a narrative of the march of each separate regiment? In the history of each particular Church there are events which are to be traced to causes affecting all the Churches; and there are other events which have a general operation, and affect the cause of Christianity throughout the world. It is obvious, then, that when the historian of the Church undertakes to give an account of each district in succession, he prepares the way either for wearisome repetitions, or essential omissions. A faint idea may be conveyed of the confusion in which Mr Waddington has thus involved himself, by mentioning some of the particulars to be found in his first chapter. It may be truly said, that we have notices *de omnibus rebus* in the text, and then *de quibusdam aliis* in the notes. Thus we have a description of the deaths of James and Simeon, bishops of Jerusalem, —and of the destruction of Jerusalem itself,—and a character of Hegessipus,—and the complaint of Le Clerc, that the first Christians thought little of posterity,—and a note as to our sources of information respecting the condition of the Church during the whole of the Antenicene period,—and an 'episode' as to the martyrdom of Ignatius during the reign of Trajan,—and the defence of Christianity by Theophilus, is preferred to his attack on the heresies of Marcion and Hermogenes,—and there is an anecdote about St John,—and an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp,—and a list of the works of Melito, bishop of Sardis,—and the whole of the letter of Pliny to Trajan, and of the passage in Tacitus as to the persecution of the Christians by Nero,—and an account of the dispute concerning Easter,—and of the controversy as to the Pope's supremacy,—and of the different opinions respecting the Episcopal office,—and a hint as to the present condition and future prospects of 'the wild mountaineers of Taygetus,'—and all these, and a thousand other particulars, before we know who Marcion or Hermogenes was, or what led to the persecution under Trajan or Marcus Antoninus, or that there was such a festival as Easter, or what the claims of the Bishop of Rome were, or what is the state of the Episcopal controversy,—and all these particulars, moreover, as to matters of discipline, government, worship, and as to heresies, persecutions, &c. &c. &c., in the chapter devoted to the 'Propagation of Christianity.' After this specimen our readers will agree, that it is vain to look for any thing like method or order in Mr Waddington's work; and it will not surprise them to learn, that many of the subjects we have mentioned are again and again brought under notice.

But a careless or imperfect arrangement is only one of the

defects of this part of the work. The account of the different Churches might have been made interesting and instructive, however unsuited the idea to the plan of such a history, had the Author made us acquainted with the peculiarities of the different districts, and traced the effect of local circumstances upon the display of Christianity in different situations. But we seek in vain for such information, and his statements are meagre, and often inaccurate. We have marked many errors even in this first chapter, but we can allude only to one or two. His account of the Corinthian Church shows, that his exegetical is as defective as his historical knowledge. Then he speaks of 'Polycarp visiting 'Rome about 100 A. D. for the purpose, as we learn from Ire-'næus, of arranging the Easter controversy.'—P. 19. Mr Waddington cannot have read or attended to the passage he refers to. We do not learn from Irenæus that Polycarp visited Rome 'for the purpose of arranging the Easter controversy.' We have merely the statement of Eusebius that such was the purport of Irenæus's statement. And in the subsequent passage, where the very words of Irenæus are quoted, the time of Polycarp's visit is fixed during the papacy of Anicetus, which was after the middle of the second century. We would have supposed a typographical error, had we not found the date in both editions. In page 10 we have the following sentence: 'The province of Bi-'thynia was situated at the south-western extremity of the Euxine 'sea. We have no record of any Apostolical Church here found-'ed; but we are accidently furnished with a proof, that in the very 'beginning of the second century a great portion of the inhabi-'tants were Christians.' Now, though we have no positive 're-'cord,' we have a tradition referred to both by Eusebius (l. iii. c. i.) and Origen (in Gen.) that the Apostle Peter preached to the Jews in that country; and we know certainly that there was a church in Bithynia in the time of that apostle (1 Peter, i. 1). In page 23 he mentions the differences between the British and Roman churches, concerning the celebration of Easter, as a proof of an original connexion between Britain and Ephesus; and in a subsequent part of the volume he describes the Britons, in the seventh century, as still involved in the error of the Quartodecimans. One would have thought that Pinkerton would have frightened any person from falling into so egregious an error. We shall not apply the language of that ill-natured writer to Mr Waddington, but we may refer him to Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* l. iii. 4. 'Paschae diem non semper in luna quartadecima cum Judaeis, ut 'quidam rebantur, sed in die quidem Dominica, alia tamen quam 'decebat hebdomada celebrabant.' See farther, l. ii. 2, and l. ii.

19. In page 27 he misrepresents Mosheim as not 'hesitating to 'ascribe to Egypt all the corruptions of the ancient innocence and 'chastity of Christianity; all the evils *quæ invaserunt rem* '*Christianam.*' Mosheim's assertion is extravagant enough; but not so much so as Mr Waddington makes it. He qualifies his statement; and though the subject is of no great importance in itself, Mr Waddington should remember how little mercy he has upon Mosheim (vol. i. p. 304) for not quoting fairly; in a case, too, where, unless he saw the edition corrected by Mosheim himself, he cannot be certain whether he, or the printer, or his translator is in fault.

One of the most delicate and difficult subjects connected with the early history of Christianity, is the causes of its rapid progress. Mr Waddington does not seem to consider the particular investigation of this question as belonging to his proper province. In this, however, we cannot agree with him, conceiving that one of the constant aims of the historian should be to bring forward his facts in such a way as to enable his readers to connect them with their real causes. We would conceive it, indeed, to be away from the proper business of the Church historian to present the first part of his work in the form of an argument in favour of the truth of the Christian religion, or of an answer to the celebrated chapters of Gibbon; and we would be still more unwilling that the secondary causes should be *exclusively* treated of. The subject should be handled neither in an apologetical nor in a polemical, but in a historical form; but then it should be set forth in its full extent; and every account of the spread of Christianity will be found to be incomplete that does not discriminate between the causes that are immediately involved in its character as of divine origin; and those which arose from the condition of the world at the time of the early preaching of the gospel; and the character of the people among whom Christianity took the firmest root; and the measures pursued by the reigning powers. Of the first of these no notice is taken by Mr Waddington, and the last is very imperfectly developed. Under a despotic form of government the views of the Emperors in regard to religion could not but be attended with important consequences. But these are in many instances altogether omitted, and in others little more than alluded to. Thus nothing is said of the law by Nerva against slaves who informed against their masters, though there can be no doubt that this operated in favour of the Christians very materially. He speaks of Commodus as 'neither inheriting his 'father's virtues, nor imitating his crimes; so far from this, that 'we might almost imagine it to have been the object of Com-'modus to redeem his numerous vices by his humanity to the

'Christian name.'—P. 120. The degraded character of this Emperor is altogether inconsistent with such a supposition; and besides there is no use for conjecture, as we know that Commodus acted under the influence of Marcia, a favourite mistress (Dio. Cassius, l. lxxii. 4). He huddles together, in the following note, all that we find mentioned as to the character of the Emperors favourable to Christianity during the third century. 'The 'Emperors during this age who were most favourable to Christi-'anity, were Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus, Gor-'dian, and his two successors the Philips.'—P. 71. And no explanation is given of the causes or nature of the favourable sentiments which they entertained, or of their influence upon the fortunes of the new faith. Now, we know that Caracalla had a Christian nurse.* Heliogabalus wished to remove the distinction between all existing religions,† with the view of introducing the impure worship, where he was at once to be the high priest and the god. In this way Christianity was tolerated during his reign; and it is a profound remark on the part of Montesquieu,‡ that these proceedings of Heliogabalus paved the way for the easier establishment of the Christian religion, accustoming the Romans to new modes of worship, and to submit in every thing to the will of the Emperor. Alexander Severus favoured Christianity from very different views from those which actuated his degraded predecessor. His pure mind appreciated the exalted morality of the gospel, though the eclecticism which prevailed in his times, and which found in him a congenial spirit, prevented him from proceeding farther than giving a place to the bust of Jesus in his domestic chapel, along with those of Apollonius of Tyana, and Abraham and Orpheus. Mr Waddington makes no mention of Gallienus, and yet this Emperor not only put an end to the Valerian persecution, but was the first who issued an edict of toleration for the Christians; an edict, too, which was followed by very important consequences in succeeding reigns.

The chapter on the persecutions is open to the same objections which we have made to those parts of the work that relate to the propagation of the gospel. There are many omissions; and the author has not sufficiently distinguished between the state of the church at different periods. The sentiments, however, with which religion was viewed by the heathens are well described; a fair selection is made of passages which exhibit the intolerance of the Roman law on the subject of religion; and the author exposes

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* Tertull. † Lamprid. c. 3. ‡ Grandeur et Decadence.

well the absurdity of the idea, that there can be no persecuting spirit where there is no persecution. In many instances, in fact, the very excess of such a spirit may prevent the exhibition of any conduct to call forth the persecuting act. And there may be circumstances where, from other causes, nothing arises to provoke the bigotry that may lurk under the guise of indifference or liberality. The peculiarity in the system of polytheism that prevented the diversity of gods from generating animosities, or kindling the flames of war between nations, is by no means to be confounded with a spirit of toleration. The greatest philosophers of heathen antiquity were altogether unacquainted with the true principles upon which religious liberty is founded. Many of them were sceptical upon the subject of religion altogether; and this was often the case with the magistrates who joined in the worship of their country, though they were inwardly convinced that there was no real superiority of one form over another. But they looked upon religion as an engine of state; and experience has shown, that the most intolerant of all classes of individuals are those who, sceptical themselves, support some form of worship on the grounds of expediency. There is something also irritating and intolerable to a cold and sceptical temper in the exhibition of strong religious feeling; and in the ready palliations found by Mr Gibbon for the cruelties that were practised against the early Christians, and in the complacency with which he seizes upon any circumstance which may move our contempt for the sufferers, we have a key to that spirit which led the philosophers of antiquity to view with satisfaction, or even to encourage, those inhuman atrocities that give the lie to all the representations of the indifference or tolerance of ancient paganism.

Upon the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church Mr Waddington's work contains much valuable information. There is, however, one defect that pervades almost the whole of this part of his labours—viz. that he makes no attempt to trace the origin of the forms of worship which he records, or to connect these with the prevailing opinions on points of doctrine and government. Thus, it is not even hinted that differences of opinion have prevailed as to the practice of the early Church respecting infant baptism. No attempt is made to determine the periods when the different rites connected with baptism were introduced. No notice is given of the introduction of the doctrinal views that led to the opinion that baptism was essential to salvation. There is no enquiry into the origin of the use of images, or, indeed, of many of the other usages which afterwards became universal. And this is not an accidental neglect. The author is aware of the omission, as he tells us in regard to certain corruptions that

were introduced at an early period, that 'it is not easy, nor 'perhaps important, to detect them with certainty, or to enume-'rate them with confidence.'—P. 44.* Now, though such investigations may be attended with considerable difficulties, they are far from being unimportant. It is desirable to ascertain the real causes of erroneous opinions, or of corrupt practices of every description, because, according to the aphorism of Coke, so admirably paraphrased by Mr Dugald Stewart in his Introductory Dissertation—'to trace an error to its fountainhead is to refute it;' and, in Church history, it is of importance on various other accounts. When we discover with certainty the special cause of any superstitious observance, we are enabled to explain similar appearances which afterwards meet us. And as one great object of history is to make us acquainted with the true character of affairs at each particular period, to fix chronologically the introduction of every new custom is essential towards completing the picture. The doctrines, and worship, and government of the Church, are all intimately connected—the same general causes frequently affect them all; and if there is an error in determining the chronology of a change in any one of these particulars, we may be misled in our view of a whole period. The accurate ascertaining of dates, though apparently a humble, and often an irksome task, is essential to historical fidelity; and more minute attention in this particular has led to new views of the real condition of the race in successive ages, in the same way that an accurate note of the organic remains in the different series of rocks has given a new character to the science of Geology.

Upon the subject of Church government Mr Waddington has shown much liberality; but at the same time he is ill-informed, rash, and inconsistent. Thus, in page 35, he mentions it as 'undisputed fact, that all the religious communities of the 'Christian world, whose history is certainly known, admitted 'the superintendence of ministers called bishops before the con-'clusion of the first century;' and yet so far is this from being undisputed, that we really do not know a single Presbyterian writer by whom it is admitted; or who is even willing to allow that there was so much as a single church in which there was a bishop at that period, who was more than *primus*

* Mr Waddington often inserts a clause merely to fill the ear, without adding any thing to the meaning; and we hope this was the case in the present instance. Though, in truth, it must be acknowledged that he sometimes 'enumerates with confidence' where he has not 'detected 'with certainty.'

inter pares. The statements in the text and in the note p. 379, are at variance with each other, and both are without authority from any writer during the three first centuries. The account of Novatian, in so far as it affects the Episcopal question, could not have been given by Mr Waddington, if he had read the passages in Eusebius and Cyprian, to which he refers his readers in p. 165. We shall not, however, pursue this subject farther.

The fifth chapter is devoted to the *Heresies* of the church. After some introductory remarks as to the manner in which the heretics have been classified by some preceding writers, we have the following notable specimen of the author's own talents for division. 'For our own part, in the concise view which we here 'propose to present of the multiform family of heresies, we shall 'rather be directed by their subject than by their supposed origin '—by the common character which runs through them, than by 'the source whence that character may possibly have been de-'rived. And with this intent, we shall, *first*, mention those 'wherein some of the Christian doctrines were corrupted by asso-'ciation with that extended philosophical system, which took its 'root in the vain curiosity respecting the origin of evil; *secondly*, 'We shall notice those which laid the foundation of the great 'controversies respecting the Trinity and Incarnation, which 'broke out in succeeding ages; and, *lastly*, We shall mention 'one or two of those which appear to have been excited by mere 'individual enthusiasm or madness. In the mean time, we rea-'dily admit the imperfection of this division in the light of an 'absolute distinction, since some of the opinions held by those, 'whom we shall place in the second class, might be traced to the 'principles which will be treated in the first; and there is so 'much wildness in the ravings of certain in both these classes, 'that they might perhaps, without much error, be adjudged 'to the third.'—Pp. 142, 143. Now, to say nothing of the defect in the arrangement acknowledged by the author himself, we would venture to enquire, whether he has not, in the third class, been directed by their *supposed origin*, rather than by their *subject*, which he mentions as his principle of division? What the common subject might have been in this unhappy class, we cannot take upon us to say, as, in reality, Montanus is the only person he places in confinement—which must be put down to Mr Waddington's good nature; as, according to his own account, there are several in the first and second wards who might 'have 'been adjudged to the third.' But, in sober sadness, is it possible to conceive more miserable trifling or drivelling?

Mr Waddington begins with the Gnostic heretics, and de-

votes to them a few pages. His qualifications for doing justice to the subject may be judged of by the following sentences :—

'And we might do well to conclude this subject in the words of Le Clerc, one of the most rational and faithful * among our historical guides. "I am weary of the Valentinians (thus he begins his account of the year 145), and so I imagine are my readers; but the history of the second century is so crammed with them, and the fathers, both of those and of later times, so often refer to them, that it is necessary to expose monstrous opinions, which in themselves do not merit one moment's attention." In truth, their principal if not their only claim on our attention is, that the books of the New Testament appear to contain some allusions to them, which it is our duty to examine and understand.'

He then adds in a note,

'Any one desirous of more ample details respecting the Gnostic heretics may safely consult the learned author in the Encyclopædia Britannica, and Dr Burton's Bampton Lectures and Ecclesiastical History of the Early Church. But if he wish to study their principles profoundly, he should have recourse to Beausobre's History of Manicheism.'—P. 149.

At a period when some of the most gifted individuals on the Continent of Europe are turning their attention to the subject of the Gnostics, as one of the most interesting and important that can attract the notice of the historian, the philosopher, or the divine, and when philosophical societies are holding out prizes which bring forth such works as that by Professor Matter of Strasburg, such is the very different conclusion to which Mr Waddington, in the simplicity of his heart, arrives. We are far indeed from undervaluing the advantages to be derived from an acquaintance with the Gnostics, for the purposes of exegesis—but considering the very limited portion of Scripture to which this extends, we cannot help thinking that there are still higher advantages, even of a theological description, to be derived from the study in the explanation it affords of many particulars connected with the developement of the creed of the Catholic church. Their history also brings us into interesting contact with the condition of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the second century, and with all that is most important in the ancient theosophic and philosophic systems. And at the same time, it presents to us the human mind in some of its most interesting attitudes,—mourning over the

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* How much more discriminating is the sketch of Le Clerc by Gibbon. 'His sense is clear, but his thoughts are narrow; he reduces the 'reason or the folly of ages to the standard of his private judgment; 'and his partiality is sometimes quickened and sometimes tainted by his 'opposition to the Fathers.'

introduction of moral evil into the universe,—wasting itself in unavailing efforts to scale the inaccessible heights that carry up from the finite to the infinite—prying into the mysterious links that connect the will of the Omnipotent with the existence of the visible Universe,—and when the voice of the Eternal 'calls for 'things that are not,' vainly endeavouring to discover *how or whence* 'they come.' Even in their wildest excesses they exhibit the imperishable longings of the soul of man after the vast, the unknown, the infinite;—they show us the extent—if they instructively teach us the limits also of the human faculties;—and in illustrating the vanity of the desire after a perfect *gnosis*, they may convince us of the wisdom of resting in simple *faith* in the fundamental principles of natural and revealed religion.

In the short account which Mr Waddington gives of these early heretics, he has fallen into error almost in every sentence, but we really feel that it would be a waste of time to animadvert upon the mistakes of a writer who refers his reader for full information to the Encyclopædia and to Beausobre. The account of the other Heretics is equally unsatisfactory.

In regard to the *Doctrines* of the Church, Mr Waddington makes no attempt at giving a history. The passages in pp. 161, 167, and 399, which relate to this subject, afford melancholy proof how little he is acquainted with the duties which belong to the office of an ecclesiastical historian. In one sense it may be true that the early Church held all the essential doctrines of Christianity; but the scientific developement of these in the writings of the Fathers, and in the decisions of councils, was a work of time, and we hesitate not to say that the tracing of the gradual steps by which they attained the systematic form in which they are now presented to us, is to the theologian by far the most interesting subject of historic enquiry.

With such essential omissions and glaring errors in the first part, to which, from the extract from Mr Waddington's preface already quoted, we presume he has paid most attention, it cannot afford matter of surprise that the succeeding portions are still more exceptionable. The second part reaches from the accession of Constantine to the death of Charlemagne. One of the most interesting subjects during this period is the fall of Paganism. To the historian of the Church it belongs to set forth a view of the gradual steps by which Christians departed so widely from the tolerant principles of the New Testament; but it would be vain to expect an attempt of this description in the pages of Mr Waddington. The following extracts contain the substance of his views of what may be called the *external* history of the overthrow of ancient Paganism. After the statement that Valen-

tinian placed his pride in the most impartial and universal toleration, he proceeds:—

'The short reign of Gratian, which likewise commenced with great professions of moderation, was rather remarkable for some laws against heretics, than for any deliberate attack on Paganism. Nevertheless that worship was unable to survive the political patronage by which alone it had so long subsisted; it seemed to have lost its only principle of existence as soon as it ceased to form a part of the system of government; left to its own energies it discovered the secret of its decrepitude, and so easy and uninterrupted was the process of its dissolution, that it seemed patiently to await the final blow from any hand disposed to inflict it.

'Theodosius I. is the emperor to whom that achievement is usually, and if to any individual, justly attributed. He ascended the throne in the year 379, but he does not appear to have published his famous law until thirteen years afterwards.' . . . 'The execution of this law, and of others to the same effect, was no doubt much facilitated by the zeal of Christian informers, and there could be few who would suffer martyrdom for a religion, which, as it rested on no evidence, could offer no certainty of recompense; and, therefore, the consequence of the edict of Theodosius was a vast diminution in the number of professed polytheists.' . . . . . .

'The prohibitions contained in the above edict are impartially levelled against every condition of heathen, yet their weight and efficacy must clearly have fallen upon the lower classes, for among the higher and better informed, though there might be many who had not yet embraced Christianity, there could at that time have been extremely few, who either felt or affected any ardent attachment to a worship, which professed no moral principles, and offered no temporal advantages. The vulgar persevered in it somewhat longer, from habit, from prejudice, and from ignorance; but these motives were not sufficient long to sustain them against the laws of the empire, and the authority of their superiors, and the example of their neighbours, all combining to propagate a more excellent and more reasonable faith.' . . . . . .

'Arcadius and Honorius succeeded respectively to the thrones of the East and West, and they followed the steps of Theodosius in his warfare against paganism, as well as heresy. Arcadius was more distinguished in the latter contest, though he proceeded to some extremities against the temples and idols of Phœnicia.' . . . . . .

'Theodosius the younger succeeded Arcadius in the empire of the East, and we may consider him as having completed, as far as the limits of his authority extended, the task transmitted to him by his father and his grandfather. And whether from greater moderation of temper, or because extreme rigour was judged no longer necessary against a fallen adversary, he somewhat mitigated the severity of the existing laws, and was satisfied with inflicting upon the few who still persisted "in their accursed sacrifices to demons," the milder punishments of confiscation and exile, "though the crime was justly capital." From the flexible character of polytheism, and the rare mention of heathen martyrs, we are perhaps justified in drawing the consoling conclusion, that those oppressive laws

were seldom enforced to the last penalty. Yet we cannot doubt that many less direct, but not less effectual modes of persecution, were diligently exercised; we are assured that numbers must have suffered in their persons or property for a blind but conscientious adherence to the worship of their fathers; and we should have celebrated with greater satisfaction the final success of our religion, if it had been brought about by less questionable measures.

'In the West the expiring struggles of paganism continued perhaps a little longer. Though the exhibition of gladiators had been abolished, the games of the circus, and the contests of wild beasts, were still permitted: and though the essence of the pagan religion was virtually extinguished, when the act of *Immolation*, in which, in truth, it consisted, was finally abolished, yet those spectacles were so closely associated with its exercise, if they were not rather a part of it, that they served at least to keep the minds of the converts suspended, by seeming to reconcile with the principles of Christianity the barbarous relics of the old superstition. And thus, though the number who professed that worship was now exceedingly small, yet its practice in some measure survived its profession, and it continued to linger in the recollections, and usages, and prejudices of men, for some time after its name was disclaimed and repudiated. Still from the historical survey of this subject it is manifest, that the mortal wound was inflicted by Theodosius I., and whatever fleeting vestiges we may discover in succeeding reigns, the superstition was in fact extinct from the moment that the Emperor called upon the Senate of Rome to make their election between that and Christianity. This celebrated assembly was convened in the year 388. Christianity was established by the voice, and probably by the conscience, of a very large majority; and the religion of Julian did not in reality survive its enthusiastic votary and reformer for more than twenty-five years.'—Vol. ii. pp. 230–237.

It is unnecessary for us to point out the inconsistencies in these extracts, which must be obvious upon the most superficial glance. But we must remark, that a very imperfect view is given of the spirit shown by those attached to the pagan superstition, and of the steps pursued by the different emperors for the extinction of the ancient worship. The tolerant spirit of Valentinian is well worthy of the commendation of the historian, though Mr Waddington expresses himself in a manner too unqualified. Mr Gibbon also has been willing to afford praise to Valentinian at the expense of Gratian. Perhaps the edict in the *Cod. Theod.* l. ix. t. 16, may not be inconsistent with the principles of toleration. But in addition to this, we have the express statement of Libanius, that along with Valens he forbade bloody sacrifices. It was the misfortune of the pious and amiable but feeble Gratian, that in his proceedings in reference to heretics he too much consulted the views of violent churchmen; but the same influence led him to measures that affected paganism in a way of which the language

used by Mr Waddington affords scarcely any idea. In fact, he might be said to destroy the establishment of paganism; and in proof of this assertion we refer Mr Waddington to the following passages. *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10, 20. *Sym.* lib. x. ep. 61. *Amb.* ep. 17, and to the writings of Zosimus. From these it clearly appears that he removed from the whole system of heathen worship—from the vestal virgins and from the priests—their former immunities, and applied their revenues to the service of the state or of the church; that he was the first Christian Emperor also who refused the honours connected with the title of the Pontifex Maximus; and that the altar of victory, placed in the hall where the Roman senate held its meetings, and upon which divine honours were rendered every day by the senators, was removed by his order, though it had been allowed to continue since the time of its restoration by Julian; and that a deputation from the senate appointed to represent to the Emperor the evils under which they were suffering, and to implore that the wonted ceremonies of religion might be permitted, met with a decided refusal. It is true, indeed, that the statues of the gods were still spared, and that sacrifices were permitted in the temples at Rome. But it is obvious from Libanius, that this was forced upon Gratian by the inhabitants of Rome, as it was for a time upon Theodosius at Alexandria.

The account of the proceedings of Theodosius is confused and imperfect throughout. The idea that the weight of his decrees must have fallen chiefly upon the lower orders may, to a certain extent, be correct; but it is by no means true that it was because there were extremely few among the higher classes still attached to paganism. This view is altogether inconsistent with the statements made by contemporary authors, and with facts evolved in subsequent periods, of some of which Mr Waddington himself has taken notice in succeeding parts of his History. The Christian writers who have wished to expose the worthlessness of heathenism by showing how weak a hold it had on the human mind, have forgotten that at the same time they proportionally lessen the triumph of the gospel in having originally made head against an imposture, to which men were attached by a tie so feeble. It is, we conceive, more honourable to Christianity, as it is more consistent with the truth of history, to acknowledge, that the mythology of Greece and Rome exerted a powerful sway over the feelings of mankind; and that, though it might boast of few martyrs, there were many who both in the highest and in the lowest situations of life continued to acknowledge its influence long after the observance of its outward forms was strictly prohibited.

There is scarcely an allusion to the attacks made upon the tem-

ples of the heathen, and to the melancholy picture which was presented of popular fury on the one hand, and of the detected artifices of the pagan priesthood on the other. And yet our idea of the period must be imperfect in the extreme, if we have no information as to the exposures which were made in regard to both the pagan and Christian parties in the course of the overthrow of the temples of Serapis in Alexandria (Socrates, v. 16; Zos. v. 23; Soyom, vii. 15, &c.) and others.

No mention is made by Mr Waddington of the different conditions of the Eastern and Western Empires, and of the effects produced by this difference on the condition of paganism. The former was less exposed to the dangers of external invasion, and thus the decrees of Theodosius were carried into effect with little interruption by Arcadius and Theodosius II. Bands of monks perambulated the country with full power to put an end to all traces of idolatry; and about the year 423, all visible marks of heathenism were in a great measure effaced. Still, however, the ancient superstition had many secret and not a few avowed adherents. In the reign of the Emperor Zeno, and by his express order, a heathen temple was overthrown in the immediate neighbourhood of Constantinople; and Mr Waddington himself takes notice, in a subsequent chapter, of the suppression of the new Platonic school by order of Justinian. But he does not add, what is still more inconsistent with some of the statements in the preceding extracts, that in the early part of the reign of that Emperor, there were great numbers attached to the ancient religion, and that many offices were filled by pagans. The policy of Justinian, however, was ultimately changed. He issued orders that offices of trust should be held only by Christians. A period of three months was allowed to the pagans to prepare for an abdication of their errors. Not a few were cast into prison, their books were burnt, and the images of their gods destroyed. Many were induced to yield to the laws in regard to baptism, who afterwards subjected themselves to severe punishment, upon its being discovered that they still secretly worshipped idols. The Eutychian Bishop of Asia Minor tells us that he was employed by the Emperor to detect those who concealed their real sentiments, and that a multitude of patricians, sophists, lawyers, and physicians were found among the adherents of the proscribed superstition. Throughout Phrygia, Caria, and Lydia, there were no fewer than 70,000 individuals who had clung to the errors of heathenism, though they now yielded to the efforts of the imperial missionary, and submitted to be baptized to the Christian faith.—Soon after the time of Justinian, the greater part of Thessaly, Macedonia, and the Peloponnesus was overrun

by hordes of the Slavic race, among whom heathenism continued to prevail till the ninth century.

In the Western Empire the inroads of the Goths awakened into new life the lingering superstitions of the Romans; many of whom considered that the gods were visiting them in wrath for abandoning their worship. This idea, though combated by Augustine and Orosius, continued long to prevail, and even after the open worship of the gods was prohibited by laws of great severity, heathen worship was secretly mingled with the profession of Christianity till the end of the fifth century. Valentinian III. found it necessary to issue an edict, forbidding that the doors of the temples should again be opened, or that fires should be kindled upon their altars, or that incense should be strewed upon them, or that victims should be sacrificed.* About the same time, Salvian loudly complains that many who professed to be Christians were not afraid openly to declare that diseases prevailed, because the images of the gods were forsaken, and the usual ceremonies were not observed in the month of February. Laws still severer were promulgated by the Emperors Leo and Anthemius, so that if even a stranger were guilty of idolatry in a house that he visited, the house was confiscated, and the possessor deprived of all his offices.†

In Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, heathenism prevailed among the peasantry till a still later period. In various instances permission was granted by the magistrates to sacrifice to the ancient gods, upon paying a small sum of money. And Gregory the Great bitterly complains of a judge in the island of Sardinia standing in the way of the conversion of the natives, by exacting the same fine from those who renounced heathenism, upon the plea that he had contracted a large debt in order to obtain his situation.‡ The tolerant spirit of Gregory, in reference to the Jews, has sometimes been celebrated; but he seems to have had less patience with the heathen. His biographer tells us that the peasantry in Sardinia, Campania, and in other quarters, were, with his consent or advice, delivered from their idolatrous practices, sometimes by the force of conviction, and sometimes by blows (*verberibus emendati*).§ Dr Johnson, in his Tour through

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* Cod. Just. l. i. t. 11. 7. † Id. l. i. t. 11. 8.

‡ Greg. l. v. ep. 41.

§ In a letter by Gregory himself, he advises his correspondent to exhort idolators, and use every argument in the first instance. 'Quos tamen si emendare se a talibus atque corrigere nolle repereris, ferventi comprehendere zelo te volumus; et siquidem servi sunt verberibus cru-

the Western Isles, mentions that the Protestant Laird of Rum, we think, forced the Popish islanders to attend the preaching of his own minister, not sparing his cane upon the refractory. The people became good Presbyterians, and in remembrance of the instrument of their conversion, they ever after named the new faith *the religion of the yellow stick.* We presume that a similar nomenclature would be adopted in Sardinia.

During the middle ages, the history of the Church resolves itself in no small degree into the history of the Papacy, and upon this subject there is much that is interesting in the work before us. The author has, indeed, failed to trace with sufficient minuteness all the circumstances which from the earliest times gave a certain superiority to the See of Rome over all others, in the feelings of the Christian world. But the degradation of the clergy after the time of Gregory the Great, the process by which the Popes usurped the authority of the Metropolitans, and various other circumstances which contributed to the enlargement of the Papal authority, are well illustrated. We perceive throughout, however, the ill effects of a want of acquaintance with original authorities, or with the writings of those who have given to such authorities the most thorough examination; and still more perhaps the want of a philosophizing spirit to make the best use of the information of which the author may reasonably be supposed to be in possession. We looked with some curiosity to the manner in which the character and conduct of Hildebrand are portrayed; and here the defects we have alluded to are particularly manifest. In drawing the character of that extraordinary individual, Mr Waddington has shown considerable talent; and here, as elsewhere, we are struck with his perfect fairness and impartiality; but there is no attempt to discover the origin of his views in the character of his own mind, and in the condition of the times in which he lived; nor is there any explanation given of the means by which he was enabled to effect the mighty changes he introduced, or of the manner in which he shaped his policy so as to accomplish opposite and apparently contradictory ends. In one respect Mr Waddington is decidedly in error, when he speaks of Hildebrand as merely carrying into effect the principles contained in the Decretals of the pseudo

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ciatibusque quibus ad emendationem pervenire valeant castigare. Si vero sunt liberi inclusione digna districtaque sunt in poenitentiam dirigendi; ut qui salubria et a mortis periculo revocantia audire verba contemnunt cruciatus saltem eos corporis ad desideratam mentis valeat reducere sanitatem.' L. ix. ep. 65.

Isidore. Gregory himself was no doubt anxious to impose this idea upon the belief of his contemporaries, but in reality his ambitious aims were directed to an object that the author of the forgery referred to had no idea of. Before the time of Hildebrand, the superiority of the Bishop of Rome to all other bishops, was generally admitted; but that all other bishops derived their authority solely from the Pope, and that the temporal power was subordinate to the spiritual, so that the kings of the earth were subject to the descendant of St Peter, as the vicegerent of God, were ideas which had not been previously developed. Whether they originated solely with himself, or whether they were the native growth of that particular period, and might be found germinating in other minds, may be doubted. It must be allowed on all hands, that Hildebrand was one of those extraordinary individuals who are presented to us only at the distance of ages, and whose appearance stamps an epoch in the history of the world. But we are disposed to think, that like by far the greater number of individuals of this description who have shaped the fate of ages for good or evil, he did not so much originate any new element as elicit by sympathetic influence, into combined operation, the tendencies that lay latent in other minds. His spirit was cast in the mould of the age which it might yet be said to fashion. He stood forth as the personification of sentiments and opinions that were floating obscurely wherever the influence of the papal superstition extended; and thousands saw in him the realization of what had been dimly pictured in their own breast. The whole of society was in a state of preparation, and wanted nothing but a determinate impulse. An invisible power animated each separate particle of the mysterious element, though it stood suspended till the immersion of one crystallized mass precipitated the whole in uniform configuration. But though many perhaps in Europe might have dimly formed the same idea of what the Papal power abstractly ought to be, Hildebrand alone could have attempted successfully to realize it; and it required an extraordinary combination of circumstances to enable a man of low origin, with no external advantages, to succeed so far in his endeavours.

At the time of his appearance, there prevailed throughout Europe, along with the profoundest reverence for the Papacy, and for the sacerdotal order, the strongest feeling of the necessity of reform in the character of the clergy and in the actual condition of the Church. The energetic character of the Emperor of Germany, Henry III., prompted him to undertake this reform; his superstition made him believe that it was only through the Pope that it could be effected, and he had sufficient wisdom to know

that all must therefore depend upon the personal character of him who occupied the papal chair. The distracted state of Rome, where three rival Popes headed three different factions, disposed the inhabitants to submit willingly to imperial interference, and to acknowledge the right of nominating an individual who might be fitted for the duties of the successor of St Peter. Four individuals were named during the reign of the Emperor, all of whom engaged in the work of reform. This reform, planned by Henry, consisted of two parts—to put an end to the system of simony, and to restore the laws respecting the celibacy of the priests. The two were intimately connected; as the unworthy means by which the clergy secured their promotion, filled the church with profligate characters who set all ecclesiastical laws at defiance. The reforming views of the Emperor were favourable to the interests of the papacy—in recognising the Pope as the only organ of introducing ecclesiastical improvement, and in bringing the bishops more immediately under the jurisdiction of the See of Rome;—and upon these Hildebrand grafted all his plans for papal supremacy.

Little is known of the early history of Hildebrand. We meet him at first in the solitude of the cloister, wholly absorbed in the offices of devotion, and refusing to allow the intenseness of his meditations to be disturbed by a single unnecessary word from his less abstracted associates. We next see him struggling against the passions that tempted to a violation of his sacred vow, and seeking to master them by means that afforded scope for feelings in him still stronger—by gratifying his restless spirit—and bringing him gradually to mingle in affairs, till at last, instead of regulating and controlling the unquiet elements in his own breast, his energies found employment in the more congenial work of directing and commanding the master-springs that give motion to the vast machinery of society. The time when we first perceive his agency in the general business of the Church, is at Worms, upon the nomination by the Emperor of the Bishop of Toul (Leo. IX.), as successor to Damasus II. That individual accepted of the appointment *only on condition that the clergy and people of Rome were unanimous in their approval.** In this remarkable condition we see the germ of the plan to which Hildebrand devoted his life. It was not enough that reform in the Church should proceed from the Pope; it was necessary that the election of the Pope should be independent of the Emperor; and a step towards this was involved in the condition specified upon this

* Wibert. in Vit. Leo. IX., l. ii. c. 2.

occasion. Mr Waddington mentions (vol. ii. p. 59) the anecdote, that Leo, as he was proceeding to Rome, met with Hildebrand at Clugni, who prevailed upon him to lay aside his pontifical robes and proceed in the garb of a pilgrim, and there to receive the apostolical office from the clergy and people. He adds in a note, that 'the earliest authority for this story seems to 'be Otho Frisingensis, who flourished in the middle of the fol-'lowing century, and that Wibertus, who was Leo's archdeacon 'and biographer, does not mention it.' But St Bruno, another of his biographers,* who wrote before the end of the century, mentions that he *was at Worms* at the time of the election, and that he refused to accompany Leo to Rome till he acknowledged the insufficiency of the imperial nomination, and Wibert mentions the condition we have quoted. The only point of importance is to connect the views of Leo upon the subject of the papal election, with the advice of Hildebrand, and this the three different narratives referred to enable us satisfactorily to do. From this period, his influence in the papal council was almost uninterrupted till the time of his own elevation. The particulars of his policy we cannot advert to farther, than to note some essential omissions and errors on the part of Mr Waddington. He speaks of the reign of Leo being distinguished 'by some attempts at salutary 'reform.' But this very inadequately expresses the vigour with which that individual followed out the plans of Henry, under the guidance of Hildebrand, for the extirpation of simony. Mr Waddington goes on to mention, that upon the death of Leo, the election of a successor was confided by the clergy of Rome to the judgment and address of Hildebrand; that he selected Victor II., and obtained, by a difficult negotiation, his confirmation from the Emperor; and then it is added, in a note, 'The Emperor pro-'fessed extreme reluctance to part with his counsellor and favour-'ite.' Mr Waddington, though he quotes Leo Ostiensis, does not mention the most interesting particulars that may be gathered from the narrative of that author; and, indeed, he conveys an erroneous impression. Henry not only professed, but actually felt great reluctance to part with Victor. When his name was mentioned by Hildebrand, Leo adds, 'Tristis super hoc 'valde Imperatur effectus est: nimis enim illum carum habebat. 'Et cum eundem sibi omnimodis necessarium Imperator asse-'reret et alium atque alium hinc officio magis idoneum judicaret: 'Hildebrando tamen, ut alterum reciperet persuaderi nullate-'mus potuit. Erat enim idem Episcopus super id quod pru-

* In Vit. Leonis IX.

'dentia multa callebat, post Imperatorum potentior ac ditior 'cunctis in regno.' It is farther mentioned by Leo, that Victor had set himself in the way of the designs of the former Pope—'prædecessori suo—impedimento maximo fuerat.' In these particulars we have an explanation given of the choice made by Hildebrand, and of the depth of his policy. He judged wisely, that by the appointment of this individual, the Emperor would be deprived of his ablest adviser; and that an influential politician, who had hitherto been opposed to the interests of the papacy, would thus be gained wholly over. During the short pontificate of Victor, the soundness of Hildebrand's policy was clearly shown, though Victor himself never seems to have forgiven Hildebrand for his choice.*

Victor II. was succeeded by Stephen IX., who enjoyed his dignity only a year, when Nicolas II. was raised to the papal chair. The pontificate of Nicolas II. is distinguished by the law which placed the papal election in the hands of the cardinals, with the consent of the people. 'The difficulties which had attended 'his own election,' says Mr Waddington, 'probably led him, 'under the guidance of Hildebrand, his counsellor and patron, 'to that measure which was the foundation of papal independ-'ence.' Vol. ii. p. 61.—But the difficulty presents itself—How could so decided a measure be carried into effect? Of this, Mr Waddington gives no explanation whatever; and an incidental

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* Victor proceeded in the work of reform, and Hildebrand was employed as his legate in France, to endeavour to put down the monstrous evil of simony. Various bishops were deposed by him; and Mr Waddington mentions, in a note,—'Respecting one of these, it is recorded 'by several writers, that having been guilty of simony, he became 'unable to articulate the offended name of the Holy Ghost, though 'he could pronounce those of the Father and of the Son without any 'difficulty.' Vol. ii. p. 60.—We have seen the story told in another way. The bishop had bribed all the witnesses who were to appear against him; and when he entered into the presence of the papal legate, he boldly demanded to be confronted with his accusers. Hildebrand fixed his eyes upon him, and asked if he had not been guilty of sinning against the Holy Ghost. The bishop protested his innocence. 'Then,' said the legate, '*Repeat after me*, Glory be to the Father, and to the 'Son, and to the *Holy Ghost*.' Conscience-stricken, the guilty prelate in vain made the attempt; and falling down at the feet of Hildebrand, confessed that he was unworthy of his holy office. The searching looks, the thrilling accents, the awe-inspiring countenance of Hildebrand, with all the ideas of sacredness which attached to his character, imparted an irresistible power to his unexpected demand, and, in a superstitious age, it was enough to be considered as miraculous.

allusion to the mother of Henry IV. is all that we have to guide us to what in reality is the key to many of the most important events that we afterwards meet with in the history of Hildebrand, viz. that Henry III. was now dead, and that the government was in the feeble hands of a minor. It was in consequence of this that a more decided line of policy was now adopted at Rome. In 1061, Alexander II. was placed in the papal chair, though the election was disputed. And here, again, Mr Waddington has omitted all mention of the circumstance that ultimately gave him full possession, viz. that the Archbishop of Cologne, who had secured for himself at that time the guardianship of Henry IV., was won over to the interests of Hildebrand. Mr Waddington, we think, attaches somewhat too much importance to the pontificate of Alexander II. He does not, however, overrate the degree of influence possessed over him by Hildebrand.*

Upon the death of Alexander II., Hildebrand was called by the unanimous voice of the Romans to fill the vacant chair: (His election, by the way, according to our author, had probably been long delayed, because his stern virtues had made him unpopular; and then he was elected, because his stern virtues, after all, made him popular. See note, vol. ii. p. 66.) The two abuses that the Pope now set himself to reform are properly stated. 1. The marriage of the clergy; and, 2. The simoniacal sale of benefices. But the means by which he sought to accomplish the first of these reforms seem not to be understood by Mr Waddington. He quotes from the order of the council, held in 1074, the following passage: 'That the sacerdotal 'orders should abstain from marriage; and that such clerks as 'had already wives or concubines, should immediately dismiss 'them, or quit the priestly office.' And then he mentions, that, in prosecution of this object, he did not confine himself to

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* 'The following contemporary verses,' says Mr Waddington, in a note, 'perhaps do not much exaggerate the actual supremacy of Hilde-'brand:—

'Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro:
Tu facis hunc Dominum—te facit ille Deum.
Vivere vis Romæ? Clarâ depromito voce
Plus Domino Papæ, quam Domino pareo Papæ.
PETR. DAMIANI.'

The force of these 'verses' would have been somewhat increased, if Mr Waddington had informed us that they were addressed to Hildebrand by his friend Damian; that they were written upon occasions altogether different; and that the latter distich was in consequence of Hildebrand refusing to Damian a petition which the Pope had granted.

the weapon of spiritual censure, but sought to arm the temporal authorities in his service; and, last of all, after alluding to the opposition he met with, he states that 'the confusion 'created was gradually tranquillized by the progress of time, 'by the perseverance of the Pontiff, *by the aid, perhaps, of the* '*laity*, by the indifference of the sovereigns,' &c. Now, we have to remark here, that an essential part of the decree—that part which distinguished it from all the edicts of his predecessors, and which was contrary, indeed, to an ancient ecclesiastical canon—is omitted by Mr Waddington. It was ordained that no layman should receive any of the ordinances of religion from a priest that did not comply with the new injunction. This presented to the superstitions of the laity of that age the strongest inducement to see the decree of Gregory executed; and instead of saying that the law was ultimately carried into effect, '*perhaps*, 'by the aid of the laity,' he should have mentioned this as the chief cause. Legates were sent throughout different kingdoms, to enforce the observance of the statute, and they found the people interested on their side. The writings of the time are full of the violences and disturbances which were occasioned by the people refusing to receive the institutions of religion from married priests, and of the miseries to which the priests were thus subjected.*

The proceedings of Gregory, in reference to the sale of ecclesiastical benefices, the circumstances which led him into a contest with Henry IV. rather than with the Kings of France or England, and the connexion of the question as to simony, with his views respecting the supremacy which it was his ambition to establish, are very imperfectly set forth, or not at all alluded to; but our limits remind us that we must not enter upon these topics.

The propagation of Christianity among the northern nations is a subject of much interest; and we regret to say that Mr Waddington is here more vague and unsatisfactory than in any part of his work. There is no notice whatever of St Columba, or of his followers. The account of the introduction of Christianity among the English is worse than imperfect. The whole work is ascribed to St Augustine, though in reality the Northum-

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* Among the passages referred to, we may quote the following:— 'Quocunque prodeunt clamores insultantium, digitos ostendentium 'colaphos pulsantium perferunt.' And another writer states, 'Laici 'corpus domini a presbyteris conjugatis consecratum sæpe pedibus con- 'culcaverunt et sanguinem domini voluntare effuderunt.'

brians, the middle Angles, the Mercians, and East Saxons, were converted by means of the Columban missionaries. The account of the conversion of Denmark terminates with the labours of Angarius, and leaves us in doubt whether that excellent individual really performed miracles, or whether his success was altogether to be ascribed to his possession of the authority of a legate of the Pope. This is literally the substance of all that we have upon the subject. The struggle between Christianity and Heathenism is left unnoticed, and the real cause of the conversion of the Danes is not at all hinted at, viz. the connexion between the Danes and the Norwegians who settled in France and England, and who were converted to Christianity; and the efforts of the English priests with the support of Swein and Canute the Great.

The account of the introduction of our religion into Sweden and Norway is equally defective; and Iceland is passed over altogether, though it presents some particulars of singular interest. The notices of the conversion of the Slavic nations are, if possible, still more meagre. But, perhaps, the most unpardonable omission is, that Mr Waddington takes no notice whatever of the moral influence of Christianity upon any of the nations thus converted. Upon this subject we would refer him to the fifty-fifth chapter in the 'History of the Decline and Fall,' where Gibbon points out many of the temporal advantages that were derived from the change of faith. We may refer him also to the passage in Milner that treats of this part of the Christian history where the prejudiced view of Hume is very fairly exposed. We intended to have brought forward some particulars connected with this and various other subjects; but we really find that to point out all the mistakes and to supply all the deficiencies of Mr Waddington would require far more space than we can afford for such a task.

We shall now conclude what has been to us a painful duty, as the many good qualities displayed by this writer would have disposed us to leave his work unnoticed. But it is surely of importance that the public should be made aware of the exact state of our ecclesiastical literature. We have neither time nor space at present to enquire into the causes of its deficiencies. But we shall be happy if the remarks that have been made, shall direct public attention to the subject, and stimulate our theologians to increased industry in this field of enquiry.

ART. IX.—1. *Letter from* LORD STANLEY *to* SIR THOMAS HESKETH, *the permanent Chairman of the North Lancashire Conservative Association.* Morning Chronicle, June 18, 1835.

2. *Letter from* SIR THOMAS HESKETH *to* LORD STANLEY. Morning Chronicle, June 27, 1835.

3. *Address of the Reform Association to the People of the United Kingdom.* Morning Chronicle, July 10, 1835.

THE country is beset with political clubs and associations. This is an evil no doubt. But the evil is to be imputed much more to the excited state of the times, and to the causes which have led to it, than to the associations themselves. Discontents are most prevalent and extensive, when the government is much in advance or in arrear of the general intelligence of its subjects. For instance,—when the Hanoverian succession was established in this country on Whig principles, the system of government was considerably in advance of the public mind. Accordingly, there was wide disaffection, with much secret association and latent sedition spread over the least intelligent part of the community. Time and the temperate firmness of the government corrected or conciliated much of this discrepancy. A long course of opposition liberalized the Tory Jacobites, and the possession of power modified the views of the Whigs. By the middle of the century, there was found little difference between the two parties, save the circumstance of in or out of place. The discontents, and with them the secret associations, had died away —old hostilities had ceased, and undivided loyalty succeeded. The country was thriving and united. A war of brilliant achievements closed the reign of George the Second; and on the accession of his grandson, the Hanoverian succession had taken deep and firm root.

A transition state had been gone through. An epoch had arrived when the views and ideas of the governed and of the governing were in general unison. It remained to be seen whether the rule of the new reign would be such as to maintain this harmony, by slackening the cords of its authority in proportion to the advancing knowledge and self-control of the people. Alas! the allurements of patronage and prerogative prevailed—a wide field lay open for the exercise of both, and it was sedulously cultivated during a long and prosperous reign of sixty years. The seeds of future discontents were then sown. Before the grave closed on George the Third, another change had taken place. The go-

vernment which, at the beginning of the century, had been in advance of the great mass of the community—which, in the middle of the century, had been even with it—was at length left far behind in all the great elements of power and knowledge. The mighty brotherhood of the middle and manufacturing classes, which in 1760 were as nothing, had grown into half the weight and wealth of the nation. These, with the more enlightened of the higher ranks, had in their several spheres mooted and solved many important questions of trade, of public instruction, of legislation, toleration, and the reciprocal duties of the ruled and the ruling. The ministries and the court, born and fostered in office —in office almost hereditary—saw all these questions from bygone points of view. Divergence yearly grew wider. Force and war were no longer at hand to press union; places and pensions becoming more scarce, ceased to win recruits. Discontent grew louder; it made its way into the literature of the day; it was heard in Parliament; it assumed a louder tone at public meetings and in frequent petitions. The time was ripening for change. A powerful Parliamentary Opposition responded more and more to the rising voice from without, until political principles, which had been ridiculed on their first announcement, became the test of a party.

The close of the year 1830 brought matters to an issue. For the five preceding years there had been a crumbling and breaking up of the old Tory party. It was not to be expected that they would read the signs of the coming change, or that reading they should understand them; yet still their state of blindness is remarkable. Even unto the present hour, a large body of them cannot, or will not, perceive that a second transition state has arrived. But it is not the less a fact.

Such states are probably quite as necessary and as conducive to the progression of the social, as of the physical and natural world. Political excitement and associations are their necessary companions. They work out the change. The club leads to the union, the union to the association, and this again raises up the whole series of counter-associations. The ferment of party feeling is thus spread abroad, and carried to every distant hearth. Undoubtedly there is evil in such a state of things, but assuredly there is also much good. The rubbings and collisions of party elicit truth; they bring in contact different ranks and prejudices; they awaken search, and so lead to and propagate more correct notions of the great principles of freedom and good government. This is a sort of instruction which cannot be otherwise than useful in a country where the nomination of

the principal governing power of the state resides in the people. Associations have also the power of restraining the over-heated vehemence and presumption of individuals; and the public excitement which attends them, may not, when kept within due bounds, be an useless antidote to the selfish tendencies of a commercial and manufacturing people. But whilst we allow this modified praise, we are not blind to the dangers which spring from extensive associations. They serve to rear up a power, which, if not independent of the laws, becomes practically evasive of their control. They too frequently degenerate into permanent engines of faction.

We say this with the full experience of the Orange Association in Ireland before our eyes, and with some knowledge of the condition to which its younger brother, the Orange or Conservative Association of England, is manifestly tending. We have neither time nor space now to expose the baleful course of the Orange Societies, to record the misery, the bigotry, the heart-burnings and heart-breakings they have to answer for—we leave this, together with our exposure of their recent attempt upon the discipline of the army, for a subsequent Number. Our present business is with the Conservatives of England, who have organized and are extending an association in their own country on the model of this scourge of Ireland. The great object of all the Conservative Associations of England is the perversion and corruption of the elective franchise, which the Reform Bill confirmed or bestowed. Against this all their energies, their hatreds, their personal and official influence, their wealth, their numbers, their secret intrigues, and plausible public declarations and professions are daily combined. These various forces have of late been so systematically organized, and so actively employed, that the Reformers have found themselves compelled to form counter-associations. In this step they are justified even in the opinion of Lord Stanley; who, in his letter to Sir Thomas Hesketh, expressly declares, 'that an organization of the whole 'country, where each man must be a partisan, *will be forced on* 'by you,' *i. e.* the Conservative Associations. He then points out the intrinsic mischief of those Tory associations; and frankly states, 'That all the arguments of self-defence, all the reasons, by which, 'as from an overpowering necessity, you justify a deviation from 'the ordinary channels in which political feeling diffuses itself 'and evaporates, pass at once to the side of your opponents. '*They are those whom it is sought to oppress by combination*— 'they are those who appeal to the sympathy of the country for 'the maintenance of the freedom of conscience, and more espe-'cially of the deliberative powers of the House of Commons,

'uncontrolled by any other influence than that of the constitu-
'ents of each individual member.'

It would not be easy to find a stronger opinion than this in favour of the establishment of a counteracting association; and it would be difficult to find a person less inclined than Lord Stanley to favour such an establishment, unless from an '*overpowering* '*necessity*.' We might be tempted to rest satisfied with his testimony of this admitted necessity. But we prefer tracing the workings of the Conservatives, from the first founding of their Club up to their present state of general organization. By so doing we shall be enabled to throw some light on their political conduct; and at the same time to leave the public to judge whether the Reformers have not been compelled, 'forced' (in the words of Lord Stanley), to associate in defence of the efficient working of the Reform Bill, and of the reforms it was intended to produce.

In 1830, the whole country was disturbed—general *strikes* for work, fostered by trades' unions, unsettled the industry of the larger towns—*Swing*, and his gang of desperadoes, terrified and gave laws to many of the southern districts—while Hunt, and his associates, lectured up to the verge of treason at the Rotunda. Affrays with the police took place on the streets of the metropolis—the military were called out—general risings were threatened—and the King himself, popular as he was, could not venture, even in the first year of his reign, to pass through the streets of his capital, *if attended by his ministers*. Those ministers were the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. It was under the discontents engendered by their coercive rule, that the Trades' and Political unions first made head. This is to be marked, for the contrary has been asserted.

The unpopular Ministers were succeeded by Lord Grey, or the Reform administration. Undoubtedly the agitation arising from the prolonged opposition to the Reform Bill increased the numbers and activity of the unions. But the merits of the Bill itself, and the confidence generally and justly reposed in the Ministers, disarmed their opposition. We have noticed the existence of these unions and political clubs, because the Conservatives have had the effrontery to complain of the Reform Government for not having put them down; whilst they themselves were actually at the very time organizing their own political associations. The unions were mere local clubs instituted in various towns, and which rose into notice from the political excitement of the day, but whose origin lay in the long previous course of anti-national Tory government. There are few or no traces of their mutual correspondence, or of their connexion with persons of

public note. The Government wisely abstained, therefore, from ministering to their importance either by encouragment or by opposition. But the 'Carlton Club' which the Tories now founded was of a totally different nature. It suddenly came forth with a list of all the leading Tories and ex-ministers of the day, followed by a train of magistrates, lord-lieutenants, ex-governors, and ambassadors. It was no mere new club established for the social meeting of gentlemen generally professing the same opinions, as White's or Brookes': from the first it was a political association organized for party and parliamentary purposes. It reunited all the scattered fragments of Tory ascendency which the sudden apparition of a reform administration had surprised rather than dispelled. It extended also to the country. Here, then, was the first step taken towards political association by persons of note and influence, and its first fruits was the rejection of the first Reform Bill.

These Conservative movements were of course well known to the Ministers and their friends; but with the same wisdom with which they had abstained from interfering with the political unions, they now avoided imitating the example of the Conservatives. They trusted to their own good cause; and, after an arduous struggle, succeeded in carrying the second Reform Bill. When this became the law of the land, the political unions, which the unpopular administration of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel had exasperated into action, began gradually to die the best of all political deaths—a death of inanition, —a death which testified the sincerity of purpose with which they had been founded. For the passing of the Reform Bill, and the well-grounded expectations of the fulfilment of the various reforms in detail, which seemed to flow from it necessarily as from a parent source, satisfied the unionists that the future practice of the Government would be in accordance with the advantages thus gained. In other words,—would be in unison with the just wants of the people. The unions, therefore, were dying away, but not so the Conservative associations.

Fortunately the general election followed so rapidly the passing of the Reform Bill that the Tories had no time for general organization. Consequently, the first Reform Parliament, which met in February 1832, was essentially liberal. The abolition of slavery, the resettlement of India, the Scotch Municipal Bill, and the healing of the gangrene of our Poor Laws—in other words, the consolidation of our empire in the East, in the West, and at Home, form the solid pillars of its fame, raised in the short space of only two sessions. Many other reforms were achieved, and

much was in progress, when all was suddenly cut short in November last.

Since the passing of the Reform Bill the Tories had reconsidered the course of their future policy. Were they frankly to continue out and out anti-Reformers; or were they to feign just as much leaning to reform as should serve to gull the people into granting them power sufficient to enable them to stifle all reform? This was the question. Some few stout and consistent lords and gentlemen stood, and continue to stand, out for the first opinion. But the mass of the Tories had far more wit and love of place than to run thus counter to the common sense of their countrymen. They had seen and profited by the errors of their vehement and downright opposition to the Reform Bill. They now therefore resolved to steer a more tortuous and profitable course. Two leading principles were henceforth to form the basis of their political navigation. The one counselled them to place themselves in apparent harmony, or rather parallelism, with the political feeling of the day; the other bade them constitute a central power in the Carlton Club, from whence to communicate with, to organize, to alarm, and to influence the whole country from one end to the other. These plans could not be acted on without some pretext. They accordingly made two notable discoveries. The first, that the Reform Bill, by introducing a new order of things, had absolved them from their former political creed; and the second, that the existence of the political unions (which were ceasing to exist) called upon them to form Conservative associations.

The working of these two principles is to be traced throughout all their subsequent conduct. It is difficult to separate them, and we shall therefore, in our subsequent observations, treat them in common. It was in accordance with the first that the Anti-Reformers from Tories became Conservatives—that from Conservatives they made an advance at the time of the first elections and voted themselves Conformers—that at the second elections they attempted to call themselves Reformers—and that since then they have oscillated between Conforming Conservatives and Conservative Reformers. This insidious veering and shifting caught some not unwilling friends and disappointed opponents. It gave also an air, always useful, of temperance and conciliation to their opposition. Every advantage was taken of the unhappy divisions in the Reform cabinet; and finally, when Lord Grey resigned, a fruitless effort was made to thrust a Tory or coalition ministry on the country. But Sir Robert Peel was too wary to be driven so rashly upon Downing

Street. The more vehement and impatient of his party loudly accused him of want of spirit; but the wiser saw clearly, though with regret, that the time was not yet ripe. They, therefore, the more busily set themselves to perfect the machinery of the Carlton Club. A political secretary was appointed, with assistant committees for correspondence, and the management of registrations and future elections. The county and borough Conservative associations were sought out, and their extension recommended; finally a great meeting was held before the breaking up of Parliament, when Sir Robert Peel, at the instigation of a few friends, consented to reunite himself with the great body of the Tories, and to place himself at their head. A second step was thus taken by the Carlton Club, which now became, to all practical intents and purposes, a central and associative political union.

Happily, it was rashly called into play before its new and extensive machinery was sufficiently exercised and developed. The cause of Reform owes much to the foreign tour of Sir Robert Peel. Still, the branch societies in the country had already made much progress by an untiring activity in calling meetings, exciting prejudices, and concentrating influence, during the whole summer and autumn of 1834. Singular to say, they had all, with a *most remarkable* foresight, paid especial attention to the registrations. Thus, then, although the blow in November was struck too soon for their success, yet it found them in a formidable state of preparation; and the results of the last elections speak volumes as to the efficacy of Tory associations. To these were added, or rather, we should say, under their direction were placed, the old approved means of bribery, intimidation, and ministerial influence; together with electioneering clamours concerning the repeal of the malt tax, agricultural distress, church and state in danger, with other cries which, Lord John Russell well said, were assumed without truth, and abandoned without shame. In some instances, as at Ipswich, Great Yarmouth, York, &c., the expenditure of money was carried on without the usual precautions, as Newgate can testify. Official patronage was lavished with the profusion of a hand which knew it could not long retain power. Harwich, for instance, had no less than seventeen places of profit showered upon the heads of its independent electors during the four short months of Tory rule. Chatham, Plymouth, Falmouth, and the Dock Yards, were as ably, but, with the single exception of Chatham, not so successfully handled. The corrupt corporations of Leicester, Liverpool, Norwich, &c., instinctively strained every nerve, and were unsparing in their exer-

tions. It is with sincere pain we add, that too many of the clergy allowed their zeal for pluralities, and the externals of an establishment, to cause them to forget, in the guise of electioneering partisans, the meek, unobtrusive character of their calling.

Yet vigorous and well-combined as were all these efforts, they would have been utterly fruitless without the use of the conforming principle. This was well exemplified in the celebrated 'Tamworth Manifesto,' in which a pompous profession of general reform was united with a profusion of saving clauses, sufficient to screen any given abuse. Even the absolving virtues of the Reform Bill were not forgotten. These efforts were not unrewarded; and the combined operation of conforming professions, and of a system of clubs, gained for the Tories a large accession of strength in the Commons. Yet still their cause was hopeless. They were in a false position from the moment they undertook to carry any measures of government on Reform principles. They could not possibly, with any honour to themselves, reduce them to practice. They might have served well enough for Opposition speeches, or for election professions; but they soon found it utterly impossible to fulfil them in Parliament, in the face of an intelligent country. No efforts of some notorious newspapers, no support from the court, no smiles from the Peers, no skill of their leader, could extricate them. Each debate added to their embarrassment—they were in a minority on every division—their characters were on trial on every question—till finally, after a fruitless struggle of six weeks, they retired from the offices they had too hastily occupied. During all this troubled and intriguing period, no attempt whatever was made by the Reformers to establish associations, or to imitate the conduct of their opponents; and had those opponents, even then, been convinced of the fruitlessness of their efforts to master the strong current of Reform—had they frankly relinquished their practices, when they found that even the Parliament which they themselves had assembled under circumstances the most favourable to their views, repudiated their rule, it would have been wise for Reformers to have continued quiescent; leaving the undisturbed good sense of the people to judge between the professions of the one party and the performances of the other. But, unhappily, the Tories, or Conservatives, have thought otherwise; and, from the hour of quitting office, they have redoubled their factious efforts. The published correspondence between Lord Stanley and Sir Thomas Hesketh, and, more especially, Sir Thomas's candid reply, leaves no doubt as to their views, and their hopes. They actually proceeded so far, as to solicit Lord Stanley to

belong to their association! That noble Lord, in a public letter to which we have already referred, after showing the mischief of establishing a Conservative Association in North Lancashire for local purposes, proceeds emphatically to denounce the Tory attempt at a general association. He says, 'But if, 'extending your views beyond local objects, you seek to form 'part of a general organization throughout the empire, of coun-'ty clubs, and local clubs, and district associations, acting in 'concert, usurping, in fact, the powers of a government, and 'combining to carry on the affairs of the country through their 'instrumentality, I can conceive nothing more dangerous to pub-'lic liberty.' To this supposition of Lord Stanley's the worthy chairman of the permanent general committee of the North Lancashire Association pleads guilty; for he most distinctly disavows any occasion for the formation of the association for mere local purposes; saying, 'I reply, our objects are general;'—that is to say, are precisely such as Lord Stanley vehemently denounces. Sir Thomas further declares, 'That all who attended our meet-'ing felt, and feel, that such associations have been necessary, 'and unavoidably forced upon the country, 1st, By the baneful 'effects of the Reform Bill, *constituted as it now is;* and 2dly, 'By the measures of the present Administration, as now pro-'posed to despoil the rights of property, both of Church and 'State.'

This at least is frank. He confesses that they are organizing associations throughout the empire. And for what purpose? 'To 'usurp,' says Lord Stanley, 'the powers of government.' Ay, rejoins Sir Thomas Hesketh, but simply to *alter the Reform Bill.* For, what other possible meaning can be attached to his formal declaration, that all who were present at this Lancashire meeting felt that such associations were forced upon the country by the baneful effects of the Reform Bill '*constituted as it now is?*' Here then are two antagonist powers at issue,—the Reform Bill and the Conservative clubs. Their chairman says, 'we assert our legitimate 'right to *associate together to regain that influence and that just* '*and fair representation* in the senate,' which, he adds, may enable us to stem the torrent of innovation; in other words, of reform.

This is the recorded opinion, not of a hot-brained young gentleman fresh from Oxford, but of a highly respectable and well informed, and quiet English country gentleman;—a member, too, of the Carlton Club, and mixing confidentially in all the highest Tory societies, and speaking their opinions, and revealing their projects with more truth than discretion. It is to

be remarked that this declaration of the objects of the Tories has in no degree been disavowed or explained away by any of their own members; and very lately this gentleman, at a meeting of the same Lancashire Conservative association, uttered the same sentiments, which were responded to by Lord Skelmersdale, and the rest of his associates.

But while we have this light thrown on their general views from one of their own members, we are enabled also to exhibit the well-combined methods by which their special objects are worked out in detail. All their communications are conducted with the greatest caution; but the following circular has fallen into our hands, and we submit it to the public, adding, merely for the sake of general information, that the persons composing the central committee, and whose names appear in the fourth resolution, are carefully selected from all the various classes of society, from the peer to the small tradesman. It is worthy of remark, that in this, as in its prototype the Irish Orange Association, all the members of the central committee are recommended to form a chain of sub-committees, over which, each in his sphere presides as chairman. The following is the circular, with the resolutions of the committee:—

'WESTMINSTER CONSERVATIVE SOCIETY.—DISTRICT OF ST JOHN.

'SIR,—I beg leave to transmit you a Copy of the Resolutions adopted at the General Meeting of the Westminster Conservative Society. In conformity with the sixth of those Resolutions, a Committee has been formed in this District, who request you will allow them to propose you as a Member of the Society. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

'April, 1835.

'P.S.—The favour of an early reply is requested.'

'*At a Meeting of Electors and Inhabitants of the City of Westminster, interested in the support of Conservative Principles, held on Monday, the 2d day of March,* 1835, *at Willis's Rooms, King-street, St James's,*

'LORD ELIOT IN THE CHAIR,

'THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS WERE UNANIMOUSLY PASSED.

'I. THAT a CONSERVATIVE SOCIETY having been established for the purpose of securing the fair and independent representation of the City and Liberties of WESTMINSTER in Parliament, and for promoting the Conservative Cause therein;—this Meeting earnestly recommends the Society to the support of such of the Constituency as entertain principles in accordance with their own. And that all persons, now assembled, do hereby enrol themselves as Members of the same.

'II. That all Members of this Society do pay an annual Subscription, not exceeding One Guinea, and that the Treasurers be authorized to receive Donations to any amount.

'III. That a CENTRAL COMMITTEE be appointed to promote the Election of Conservative Candidates for the City of WESTMINSTER, and to adopt such regulations as they may deem advisable for advancing the purposes of the Society. And that such Committee shall from time to time report to the Society at large.

'IV. That the following Gentlemen be Members of such Committee, with power to fill up vacancies, and to add to their numbers with the consent of an absolute majority.

'Sir Francis Ommanney	Mr Barwise	Mr Eaton
'Mr Walford	Mr Spike	Mr Wrangham
'Mr Fraser	Mr Shadbolt	Mr Fisher
'Mr Freeman	Mr Fincham	The Hon. R. C. Scarlett.
'Mr Delwar		

'V. That for the future no person shall be admitted, except by the Central Committee, upon the recommendation of two Members of the Society.

'VI. That Sub-Committees be immediately formed in the several Districts of the City, the Chairman of each of which shall be, ex-officio, a Member of the Central Committee.

'VII. That Lord ELIOT be appointed President of the Society, who shall be also, ex-officio, a Member of the Central Committee.

'VIII. That the money raised by Subscriptions and Donations be applied to the legitimate expenses incidental to the Registry and the Election, and to the general purposes of the Society, with the approbation of the Central Committee.

'IX. That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Lord ELIOT for his upright and able conduct in the Chair, and for the part he has taken in establishing the Society.'

Here we have the programme for a whole web of affiliated sections and members, from the Carlton Club down to the St John's Union;—the high, the low, and the middle classes, being all artfully dovetailed into a compact and well-disciplined body, ready to receive, transmit, and execute all necessary party instructions, and bidding fair to accumulate and exercise, if not duly checked, a great and irresponsible power in the state. The same system is in progress throughout the country; busily exercising its secret and extensive means of influence and intimidation. The political opinions of friends and dependents, of the smaller farmers, shopkeepers, manufacturers, and innkeepers, &c. are carefully enquired into; and they soon find themselves treated by the members of the association according to the results of those enquiries. The general and local associations keep up a communication with some confidential friend who *happens* to be a member of the Carlton

Union. By means of this subterfuge the penalties of a corresponding society are evaded; although the club becomes not the less well acquainted with the political state of every borough and county in the three kingdoms. They learn who are the persons of influence on the spot or in the immediate neighbourhood—what are the prevailing opinions, prejudices, and grievances of the voters—what causes of offence may have been given by the present members—what reasons can be alleged for the failure of unsuccessful candidates. All this, and other more secret information, as touching the price of freemen, &c., afford, when duly recorded, an ample basis on which to found electioneering operations. Lists of candidates are carefully prepared. The question of funds, with the several quotas of contribution from the candidate and the club, are all pre-arranged. Incidental contingencies are provided for; and each embryo candidate is instructed to hold himself in readiness to start, or to declare at a moment's warning. It is thus that all our boroughs and counties are secretly parcelled out, ticketed, labelled, tied up in red tape, and placed in rows on the shelves of the Carlton Union; in order, as Sir Thomas Hesketh pleasantly says, 'that the freedom of the House of 'Commons may be restored and secured!'

It was an indiscreet boast of these Carlton Unionists to declare they had a candidate packed up and ready for every borough or county for which Lord John Russel or Lord Palmerston might stand, and where, from their secret information, they thought it possible such candidate might have a chance. And now arises the question of why and wherefore all this array of Conservative associations from one end of the kingdom to the other? Is it to protect *Protestant* Ireland from the further infliction of the schools which Lord Stanley introduced for the general instruction of all Christian children? Far from it—for the Tories themselves were prepared when in power to propose a further grant in favour of the extension of those very schools, which, when in Opposition, they had denounced as no better than nests of idolatry.

Perhaps, then, it is to uphold the sanctity of the marriage vow, and to defend that venerable and *most tolerant* law which, regardless of all conscientious scruples, allows no one to enter into the 'holy state of matrimony,' except through the gates of the ceremonies of the Church of England. On the contrary, our high church Conservatives brought in a bill declaring marriage to be a civil contract. Are the corrupt corporations the subject of their associating cares? No. Then, perhaps, their object was to change the whole face of our foreign policy, which, from the Opposition benches they so frequently declared derogatory to the interests and the honour of the country; and which

Mr Baring, now Lord Ashburton, prophesied, four years ago, would bring on a general war in six months? Still no, for they themselves adopted it. Their ancient ally, the King of Holland, poor man, was neglected. Belgium was supported—hateful France continued as an ally—the Queens of Spain and Portugal upheld, and those no longer useful worthies, Don Carlos and Miguel, were respectively warned off from Lisbon and Madrid. Are the pluralities of the Church of England the object of defence? Apparently not; for the Tories themselves were about to mingle their lay fingers in the distribution of these inaccessible funds. Still less are the incomes of the Irish clergy under the shield of these associations; for one of the last ministerial acts of the Tories was to bring in a bill which deducted even five per cent more from their tithes than the bill of the Reformers; and which bill, be it remarked, the House of Lords threw out last year, as destructive of all the rights of property, although their Lordships not very consistently lately expressed a willingness to pass it. But if these important questions, involving general principles of policy, have been apparently so readily thrown aside or compromised, can it be believed that all this apparatus of associations is formed solely to prevent the *surplus* of the revenues of the Irish church, —that is to say, *a sum over and above all the demands for its real duties*,—being applied to the general purposes of education and charity? Or, in other words, that 180 Irish absentee clergymen and their successors for ever should be maintained in the non-resident enjoyment of the tithes of 180 parishes, in which there are no Protestants—absolutely none—and this at the expense of blood—and for the benefit of—religion—the Protestant religion! The most prejudiced person can scarcely be so credulous. Who, that has watched the conduct of the conforming Tories for these last few years, will be rash enough to say, that, if they were in power to-morrow, and a little hard pressed, they might not turn suddenly round, laugh at Lord Stanley and his principle, and propose the appropriation of this very surplus, or make it even a larger surplus for the payment of the Catholic priesthood? They have already made bolder countermarches.

Thus, then, they are Reformers and anti-Reformers in the same breath. Surely we are not inexcusable in suspecting mischief and double dealing beneath such inconsistency. Either they are sincere Reformers, or they are not. Sir Thomas Hesketh and their Conservative Clubs say they are not. Sir Robert Peel and his light troops say they are. This is worth examination. By their fruits, we are told, we may know them. During their long undisturbed official life, they were confessedly anti-reformers. Since then, a new exposition of the Reform Bill allows them, they say, to become reformers. A majority of

their own House of Commons distrusted and disavowed them. But they appeal to their own deeds—their own bills—and what were they? A short reference to their boasted reforms will show that there is always some saving clause or omission, by which the essence of the measure is evaporated or poisoned. The Dissenters' Marriage Relief Bill was certainly a reform; but yet, on the very face of it, there were clauses, by which odious distinctions were sought to be kept up between one sect of Christians and another. Their children, too, were refused university honours. Again, the report on which the English Church Reform was to be founded, went to saddle the country with fresh payments; and left much of the paramount question of non-residence and pluralities to the discretion of the bishops,—that is to say, to the discretion of men, whose practice it has hitherto been, and whose temptation it ever will be, to heap pluralities on their own friends and relations. Our foreign policy, too, was said to be upheld; but we were daily not the less drawing apart from France, while Lord Londonderry was nominated for Russia, and Lord Eliott actually went on a mission to the rebel Don Carlos. But we will not multiply illustrations, which the observation and memory of every one must suggest. We will barely put it to the common sense of the most unprejudiced, and ask if there be thus, by the *apparent* concession of nearly all the leading questions of reform, no ostensible reason for the Tory associations—whether there must not be some very powerful *latent* motive for the extension of their costly machinery? And what is it? Is it not an artfully concealed, but constantly pervading endeavour, to regain at all price, and at all risks, *an ascendency in the House of Commons.* Without it they can do nothing—with it they may do any thing. Their plausible leader has, over and over again, confessed that he can do nothing without the House of Commons. And well may he; for twice within these few years have his own Houses—houses collected in 1830 and 1835, under his own rule and especial care—hurled him from power within a few weeks after their first meeting. The Court, the Peerage, and the Church may all smile upon them; but, until a majority of Tories or Conservatives can be packed within the walls of the Commons' House, their smiles and their plaudits, or their groanings and cries of Church and State in danger, can be of no real avail. It is therefore against the House of Commons, against its liberal cast, that all their efforts and intrigues, all their speeches and measures, whether in or out of power, are ultimately directed. We do not mean to assert, that they are mad enough to propose or to dream of yet effecting any essential modification of the Reform Bill itself. Far from it. They are too wary, and are working

towards their ends with far too much prudence and preparation to blow their cause up by so indiscreet an avowal. Their present object, and that for which they are straining every nerve of every associated club throughout the kingdom, is gradually to acquire such an ascendency over the representation, constituted *as it now is*, that they may ultimately bring it to work in the same manner as it did when *constituted as it was*.

This would serve all their purposes; and, unless they meet with an active and compact resistance, there is much danger of their success. Those only who look superficially at the state of affairs will laugh at our fears. But let not Reformers deceive themselves—the strength of the Tory party is still immense, and requires only that national organization and developement they are now giving it to become most dangerous. In the House of Lords alone two-thirds of the peers, or of the fathers of the peers, now sitting there, have been created or advanced by the Tories. Until within the last four years all the great officers of state, all the lieutenants of counties, with the whole bench of magistrates —all bishops, deans, prebends—all judgeships—all high stations and great commands—all appointments of ambassadors—all and every channel and avenue to power, place, distinction, and profit, were in the keeping and in the gift of the Tories. Who can wonder, therefore, that the current still runs strongly in their favour?

But if the Reformers be true to one another, and continue united and on the alert, the dangers of a Tory restoration may be averted. There must be no selfish paltering, no splitting of hairs. Every one should rally round the standard of Reform, which is in danger; and, sacrificing minor points of theoretical difference, unite, in the words of the address of the Metropolitan Reform Society, 'in counteracting by every 'lawful mode the undue influence of the societies now founded 'and forming, under the name of Conservative clubs and associa-'tions, throughout the kingdom.' In other words, counter associations must be formed. This may be an evil, but it will be infinitely less than the evil of handing over the country and its institutions to Tory domination; subject, too, to the fearful reaction which would inevitably follow on the heels of such a change.

We are therefore glad that the leading Reformers have taken their stand, and shown the country that they will not be put down or over-reached by specious cries and underhand associations. Their conduct in founding their own association was manly and above board. The room in which they met, and the discussions which took place, were open to the public. The names of the members, their resolutions and address, have been published in

all the newspapers. The address itself embodies most of the points which we have already touched upon; and we now insert it as a pledge of the real purposes of the institution.

'The extensive formation of "Tory Associations," or "Conservative Clubs," throughout Great Britain, calls upon Reformers to unite for the protection of the constitutional power of the people.

'Since the nation obtained a Reform of the House of Commons, and a solid foundation for good government on the basis of popular representation, the Tories, who had so long established their power on an usurpation of the exercise of the elective franchise, have been insidiously labouring to evade the consequences of that great legislative measure.

'The abrupt dismissal of a Liberal Administration in which the country confided, replaced the executive functions of the state, at the end of last year, in the hands of the Tories. Their first act was the dissolution of a Parliament too liberal for their designs. They succeeded in returning a more numerous party to the present House of Commons; not, as is pretended, from any change or "re-action" in public opinion, but by a preconcerted and successful attention to the registration in 1834—by various means, either out of the reach or repugnant to the principles of Reformers—by the unprecedented canvass by a large body of the clergy—by bribery and intimidation—by the corrupting influence of close corporations—by the unscrupulous perversion by Tory authorities, for party purposes, of powers confided to them for the maintenance of order and the ends of justice—and by deceptions practised on the fears of the timid and the prejudices of the uninformed.

'Notwithstanding these unconstitutional and corrupt arts, successive majorities in the present House of Commons have driven the Tories from office. They are again endeavouring strenuously, by means of party clubs, and affiliated associations—by an insincere, but specious profession of liberal principles—and by every mode of delusion and misrepresentation, to regain their lost power. The counteraction of these formidable efforts requires the closest union and the utmost vigilance of all classes of Reformers, and is the sole purpose of this association.

'Under such circumstances, the common friends of Reform throughout the country must adopt prompt and energetic measures to secure, as the first and most essential object, a full and honest registration of all persons in counties and towns qualified for the elective franchise under the provisions of the Reform Acts. It is equally important to expose and counteract the corrupt and paralysing influences called into action by their opponents—to uphold the free and pure exercise of the right of suffrage—to enlighten the ignorant and the prejudiced, and to convince them that the views of Reformers are solely directed to the correction of abuses, and to the amendment, and consequent preservation, of our national institutions. Moderate local contributions, and the devotion of a small portion of time, combined with a proper division of labour, will not only secure these ends, but will also lead to an organization, which must hereafter greatly diminish the trouble and expense of election contests. Subscriptions will be received from all friends of the liberal cause

who may be disposed to aid the general views of the Association ; but it is not desirable that contributions which may be more usefully employed by local societies, should be diverted from local objects to the general fund ; it being of the utmost importance that all, in their several districts, should organize and prepare their separate means for the approaching registration.

'The Reformers throughout the kingdom are therefore earnestly called upon by the Reform Association, to co-operate with them for the accomplishment of these lawful and important purposes.'

This is a plain summary of the case. The causes and the objects of the formation of the Society are distinctly avowed; and we have the guarantee of nearly seven hundred of the most independent commoners belonging to the Liberal cause, that these are, and will continue to be, its *sole objects*. They regard, especially, the freedom and independence of elections. The people are temperately warned of their danger—they are called upon to guard against it by a vigilant attention to the registration of their votes ; in other words, by a simple exercise of the power which the Reform Bill conferred upon them. They are offered all proper means of advice and instruction to guide and support them in the exercise of this preliminary duty ; they have the further assistance of a powerful society of friends, who will vindicate and protect them from all violence and intimidation in the exercise of their franchise ; and who, by searching out and prosecuting all cases of bribery and treachery, will take especial care that the votes arising from real property shall not be swamped by Tory corruption.

In one word, the object of the association is, by clearing away all obstructions, misrepresentations, and undue influence, to obtain and to preserve a fair and open field, wherein the plain good sense of the electors of the empire may have full and free exercise. It will there be decided whether the cause of Reform is to advance, to halt, or to retrograde.

Who can doubt the issue, provided the cause be fairly tried ? Indeed, we can easily believe, that the more sober Tories are beginning to repent the over activity of their friends, whose temporary success has forced the Reformers into activity and union. They may soon learn that they are playing a losing game ; for surely, in the present age, in a contest for the confirmation and extension of the rights of the middle classes (and this is the real basis of the present struggle), it is highly improbable that the party which advocates the greater extension of those rights should not, in an appeal to those very classes, prevail over that which confessedly contends for a narrower limitation of them. Failure can arise only from supineness or folly. Hitherto the Reformers have been not so much supine as wisely slow to act. Therefore, now when they see that with safety to their cause

and their country, they can no longer remain inactive, we have small fear of their running into any opposite extreme. They have a good cause before them, with all the advantage, great in every civil struggle, and more specially so in a country like ours, of being confessedly forced to take up their defence.

The Reform Associations have already carefully superintended this year's registrations. They have found the Tory agents every where most active, and fully prepared to overbear the Liberal voters in substantiating their franchise. But the quibbles of the law, the vexations of town clerks, the studied omissions of church-wardens, and the endless devices of the well-practised and well-paid electioneering agents, have been guarded against and defeated. In consequence of these precautions, and of the ample instructions afforded by the registration societies, we can congratulate the friends of good government upon a large and *decisive* addition to the ranks of the Liberal voters throughout the three kingdoms.

We have now given an outline of those Tory proceedings and attempts at a national organization for the control of elections, which have forced the formation of counteracting societies. We have examined their construction and their measures. We have found nothing dangerous in their proceedings: we have found them in accordance with the principles of their members. We can perceive no attempts at centralization of power; and, above all, we have observed no secrecy in their conduct which should lead to a suspicion of ulterior views. We have, therefore, no hesitation in declaring, that we give them our confidence; and the more so, we repeat, because they are formed in counteraction of clubs, whose construction, and connexions, are attempted to be shrouded in secrecy, and the conduct of whose members is in glaring inconsistency with the political principles and conduct of their lives.

If any Reformers do yet entertain doubts as to the policy which prompted the formation of the Reform Associations, still they must perceive, that the step has been taken, and is now irrevocable. Wherefore, surely it is their duty, as sincere Reformers, to give it the sanction of their names, and the weight of their councils, thereby to enable them to guide and restrict, if need be, the measures of those bodies to wise and useful purposes. In this point of view, we regret the fastidiousness which has kept every member of the Government, as well as every liberal Peer, apart from them. We trust this will speedily be altered; for, if it be necessary for the Association to exist at all, then every great, good, and substantial Reforming name ought to be inscribed on its roll.

ART. X.—*The Whigs, their Prospects and Policy.* By CAPEL LOFFT, Esq. 8vo. London, 1835.

THE last time of addressing our readers on the state of public affairs, was on the eve of a change of administration. We then expressed our opinion very freely upon the character and composition of the present House of Commons,—and we did not withhold our apprehensions of still worse mischiefs from the infatuated conduct of a great party in the other House of Parliament. Upon neither subject has the history of the session in the least tended to change our sentiments. But the change of Ministry was an event of great importance. A government so weak as to be incapable of carrying any one question in the Lower House, has been succeeded by one just strong enough there not to be beaten, and too feeble in the Upper House to command a vote upon any contested question. Of the composition of this government, or that of the last, we need not speak. One thing is quite certain, that from the one the country never obtained any thing but by compulsion; while from the other almost every thing has been obtained which it had the power to give. This is surely one ground of confidence—one claim to support. Another is, that our confidence and support is necessary to their existence. The Court, we fear, is against them. The Church is against them, and regards them, most absurdly, most wildly regards them, as the source of all its perils,—whereas we verily believe they stand between the Church and destruction. The aristocracy, whether in Parliament or in the country, is their implacable enemy; and, hating reform only somewhat less bitterly than it hates them, would even support a reforming government of Tories, if such a course might only relieve them from the Whigs. Last of all, the House of Commons is but by a narrow majority for them; and of that small majority there are many unfriendly in their tenets both to their persons and their policy, who only support them through fear of their constituents,—not having, like others elected by the Liberal party, broke faith, and gone over to the enemy. Thus circumstanced, unless the people support them, is there a chance of their continuing to fill those places, from which, if they be driven, a Tory succession, without prospect of end, is the fate that awaits the country?

The support of the people is, in truth, absolutely necessary, not only to control the Court, but to control the Commons. The recent conduct of the Lords has not unnaturally withdrawn the attention of men from the conduct of our representatives.

Yet a very little reflection will remind us of scenes in the Lower House of Parliament far from consolatory to the friend of liberal principles. The Speakership carried by eleven votes — the amendment to the Address by sixteen—the resolution on the Irish Church by about twice as many :—such is the measure we must be content to take of the preponderance of liberal representation in the people's House of a Reformed Parliament. Yet, was it thus at the general election? Did nearly one-half of the candidates for the people's suffrages avow that they were resolved to support the Tories? Did little more than one-half of these candidates profess themselves friends to Reform? Far from it. The people were deceived—grossly, scandalously deceived. Men pretending to be liberal in their sentiments won their favour, that they might lend it to the enemies of all liberal opinions. Men who had never given a vote at all,—nay, men who had given many votes, but never a liberal one,—were believed when they affected to be Reformers; and some were even preferred to known and tried friends of the people. Were we to estimate at five-and-twenty or thirty the persons who played this game and then deserted to the enemy, we should by no means exaggerate their numbers. But there are at the least as many more, who, hating reform in their hearts, and desirous of quitting the government, and wishing to see that government destroyed, yet have never summoned up the bad courage that has led the others, in open and audacious breach of their faith, to desert in the face of day, and join the adversary's ranks. On those men, —those lukewarm, unwilling friends, or concealed enemies,— depends even the scanty majority which the Government now has. Can it be for an instant doubted, that the least relaxation of support from the country would at once decide their votes, and throw the Ministers into a minority in the House of Commons,—seal their doom with the Court, and with the Peers, and with the Tory leaders,—giving the Court the courage to fling them out,—giving the Tories spirit to take their places,—and raising the assurance of the Peers to a pitch which, even without any such encouragement, it had wellnigh attained a short time ago? If any one should think our apprehensions chimerical, we entreat him to look at the composition of the Ministerial majorities during the session. He will find not only how small they were, but how various in their constituent parts,—that is to say, not of how many parties composed—of this we are presently to speak— but how many of the individuals who voted on any one occasion were absent, and had their places supplied by different persons on another occasion. Where parties run near, nothing can better prove the number of persons who are not steady—not to be

relied upon in all things. Then, it by no means requires the defection of such members as we have been supposing hollow friends, to turn the scale. When the majorities are twelve or fifteen, eight or ten leaving their ranks, and five or six going over to the Tories, at once throws the Government into a minority,—and one such defeat would be fatal upon a question of any importance.

The composition of the ministerial body in the Commons is another and a most powerful argument for supporting the present Government. It consists of at least three great parties, and several lesser knots of individuals. The tie which knits them all together is but a feeble one; it is, in truth, only the dread of a Tory reign. Surely no more needs be said to demonstrate the absolute necessity of the people showing their fixed determination to tolerate no schism. If this be not plainly and loudly manifested, there will arise selfish feelings, or feelings of personal vanity and pride and ill temper, which may, from sordid or from silly views, withdraw so much numerical strength as to overset the ministry.

It ought to be very distinctly understood in what way any coldness on the part of the country must infallibly operate to restore the Tory rule. The Court is of course anxious, if it dared venture on the experiment of last year, to repeat it. What gave the courtiers the courage to try it then? The abusive tone taken by many at public meetings, and by some through the press. This, and this alone, was the cause of the change in November 1834. The Tory party instantly raised a cry that the Ministry were grown unpopular; and, in proof of their position, they appealed to one or two intemperate and thoughtless speeches by liberals or pretended liberals, and to one or two scurrilous newspapers, who wore the same liberal colours. The courtiers, prone to believe what they wished were true, thought the Whigs had become unpopular, and removed them from power. It was now too late for those to repent, who had, if not done the mischief, yet enabled others to do it. They did what was far better than empty penitence—we mean such of them as had been sincere and honest, though mistaken—they rallied against the Tories, and united to support the Whigs as a body; if not for their own sakes, yet in preference to their adversaries. This same heedless and ruinous course must not again be pursued by the country. If they only relax in their support of the Ministry,—if they show any symptoms of declining favour,—the Court will assuredly turn upon them, and welcome its natural allies, the Tory faction.

The kind of slackness of which we speak may operate in ano-

ther way to destroy the government. Even if it do not permanently unsettle the majority in the Commons, or encourage the Court to recall the Tories—a single defeat, a defeat on one question, and *not* likely to be repeated on any other, may very possibly make the Ministers throw up the government. They feel that in the Lords they can do nothing—a majority of three to one against them is their fate in that house,—in the place too where their principal members sit. This is not a very agreeable state of existence for any men—for any men of spirit it is not even very bearable. But, if it be attended with a defeat, even a single defeat in the Commons,—who has a right to wonder that they retire from so thankless a service? Especially, if the people should betoken any disinclination towards them,—who would have a right to complain of their retirement? The discomforts of high office—of narrow majorities on test-questions—of slack or unruly support where zealous aid was justly expected—of opposition, undeserved in quarters where co-operation was claimed as of right—may possibly be the reason why some are now no longer in the service of the people, whose labours the people would most gladly reward with their unbounded, because well-earned confidence. Better not try the same thing too often. Better not disgust with the public service those who still cling to it, and endeavour faithfully to discharge their duty to the country.

The very circumstance which the opponents of the present Ministry are so anxious to put forward as a charge against them,—the formidable strength of the opposite party—its great superiority in the one house, and its almost equal force in the other—is the most powerful argument that can be urged for the undivided and unremitting support of the liberal party of all shades and divisions in the country. For that charge, though it assumes the form of ascribing weakness—of vaunting—that none of the constituted authorities is with the government, in reality contains within itself a most important exception. Affecting, indeed, to say 'You have nobody with you,' it does by implication add, 'except the People.' Is not that—ought not that to be every thing? With an honest and reforming Government, and for a patriotic purpose, it is all in all—as long as the people shall continue to give the important exception truth and force. That they have an interest in doing so, who can for a moment doubt? The proposition in fact means that the Government is the government of the people; and hence flows a most momentous result. Such a Ministry, well knowing that its strength lies in popular support, is not only utterly incapable of any attempts against the rights of the nation; but, what is of infinitely greater importance, it lies under the absolute necessity of consulting the

interests of the country in all its measures, and those interests alone. Nay, more, it must, without any intermission, be devising and bringing forward such measures of reform as shall maintain it in the good opinion, and fix it in the good wishes of the empire at large. Other Administrations have known and felt that their existence depended upon the favour of the Court, and the countenance of the Peers, and, to a certain degree, on the support of the people. *This* feels and knows that its existence depends on the people's support alone. Most other administrations have acted as if they had only to do nothing offensive towards the country, and had chiefly to please the aristocracy, which, in truth, domineered alike over the Sovereign and his subjects. *This* must go a good deal further—it must transpose the former rule; doing nothing offensive to the Aristocracy and the Crown, but seeking first of all to please the people. What the Court and the Lords once were, the people are now—the breath of the Ministry's nostrils. This is the genuine result of the reform which has lately been effected in our Constitution; it is not therefore the more acceptable to one portion of the community, but it ought for that reason to be the greater favourite with the rest.

Let it not, however, be supposed, that we regard the want of strength in the Commons as the result of that great measure, or as any advantage in itself. Far, very far, from it. Had all parties done their duty last winter, the case would have been different, and the position of the Reformers would have been more commanding, because that of the Ministry would have been much stronger. But we are stating the result, and the most precious result, of the Reform, namely, the intimate connexion between the people and the Ministry, the fact of the Ministry being now the people's servants rather than the Crown's; or at least only the Crown's because the King holds his office in trust for the people. We are also showing the inference, from the Government's want of numerical force in Parliament, to be, that they must look to the country more than any other Government ever did; and, educing good from evil, we are showing how this position of the Government secures their attempting all practicable Reforms, and gives the country a peculiar interest in supporting them.

It may be asked, then, if we are of opinion that a government deprived of due support in Parliament, is always most useful to the country? That is not, in our apprehension, a sound opinion; nor is it at all a legitimate deduction from the foregoing observations. It by no means follows, that because we would show the good which may be made to come out of a government deficient in strength, therefore we prefer this kind of system to one in which more power was possessed by those intrusted with the conduct

of affairs; or that we are blind to the inconveniences which may arise from being so crippled. We desire to be understood as quite awake to these evils. So long as a government is kept in such a state of dependence upon the people as shall secure us against misrule, and above all, so long as such a government is intrusted to reforming hands, there is no doubt that its strength in Parliament must be beneficial, not injurious, to the people themselves. In fact, serious evils arise from the Government having an inadequate support of that constant description which it is the very essence of the representative system to regard as the regular and usual, though assuredly not the only popular power in the state. If, indeed, that system were brought to a state of absolute perfection, by the complete extension of the elective franchise, by the shortened duration of Parliaments, and by the extirpation of corrupt influence, it may be doubted whether any other expression of popular opinion, or any other interference of the nation at large could be tolerated, except that of choosing, and from time to time instructing, their representatives; and even in the present comparatively imperfect condition of the system, the greater and more ordinary influence of the nation at large ought to be exerted through their Parliamentary organs. The support of any ministry, therefore, even the most popular, by a decided majority of the people's representatives, is of the last importance upon a theoretical view of our constitution. But practically it is not less so. For the inevitable consequence of a government being defective in this material element of strength is, that it cannot freely choose either what course it shall take, or what it shall avoid—what measures it shall propound, or what it shall discontinue. A state of things in which the Ministers may, any day, be left in a minority of the Commons, is pregnant with mischief to the country yet greater than its annoyance and inconvenience to themselves and their Parliamentary supporters. It is a predicament in which the unfettered exercise of judgment is not left to those whose duty is to consult for the good of the commonwealth. It is a crisis in which they are not masters of their own movements, but must be at the mercy of others. Nay, it is a state of things in which this very worst of mischiefs must oftentimes befall us, that small knots of men, or even single individuals, rising into an unnatural and most inauspicious importance, are enabled to dictate to the Government what line shall be pursued; and thus to become the arbiters upon measures of the greatest moment. As long as the parties that divide Parliament are so equally balanced, every individual—certainly every half dozen of individuals—may exert an influence on the affairs of the country, which no good citizen can really contemplate without feelings of alarm. No one can, therefore, seriously

maintain that a vast improvement would not be gained to our present condition, were the people to regain somewhat of the preponderance which, in the first Reformed Parliament, they had in some excess; and which at the last election, we believe them, through great mismanagement of various kinds, to have lost in as great a degree of deficiency. It is impossible to deny, that the Parliament which met in January 1833, contained an inadequate proportion of Tory members—less than one-fifth—of the whole; but it is equally impossible to doubt that sixteen to seventeen—or at the very least five to six—is far more than the due share of that party in the representative body. We anxiously hope, therefore, that no new Parliament will ever, under any circumstances, be returned in which so equal a balance of parties shall be found.

The reader will be prepared, from these very obvious remarks, to expect that we should differ not a little from those excellent and liberal persons, who, in seeking for a solution of all the difficulties which have of late beset the path of the Reformers and of the Reforming Ministers, keep their eyes fixed upon the House of Lords alone. Now, let us not be for one instant misunderstood. Not a man among all who have attacked that ancient and illustrious Assembly, is less alive to their conduct, and more deplores their infatuation, than ourselves. We only deem it superfluous to dwell upon points admitted by all but the zealots of the Tory faction, and which, to urge upon these zealots, would be altogether vain. But while the Lords have their due share of the blame, and while we amply admit the deep responsibility that they have incurred, let us ask ourselves one question which never seems to strike the partisans to whom we are alluding. Whence comes it to pass that these same Lords—for they are the self same with the Lords of 1832, 1833, and 1834—have held a conduct so exceedingly different in 1835? What reforms did they contrive to throw out in those years? What reform have they suffered to pass this year? This question, however, is answered just as soon and as easily as it is propounded. The *Lords* are the same; but the *Commons* are different. Herein lies the great secret of the diversity of conduct pursued by their Lordships in these two eras. In 1833, for example, all the measures of Reform which went up from the Lower House were backed by majorities of four or five to one—if indeed there ever had been a division taken upon them. In 1835, the divisions were in the proportion of 220 to 240 or 250—and the Lords felt that it was one thing to reject what had been carried by acclamation, or by a preponderating force of numbers; and another to reject what had only the measuring cast in its favour. Nor does it make any difference in the argument that the Lords rejected

some measures which had come up to them with the almost undivided assent of the Commons. The general motives remained the same; the general complexion of the Commons upon all questions in which the expediency of reforming policy came in controversy, was no longer as it had been, all one way; and the Lords felt that they might safely enough venture upon a course which they knew was no longer disapproved of by five-sixths, but only by little more than one half of the people's representatives. In truth, they did not stop to enquire how parties were balanced in the Commons upon any given question,—the amendments to the Corporation Bill alone excepted. They looked to the consequence generally of their coming in collision with the Lower House; they asked themselves what proportion of the latter would stand by them in such an extremity; and if they found that nearly one half would be firm, they got courage to run the risk. In 1832, 1833, and 1834, they were quite aware that nearly as many of the Commons would have taken part against them, in the event of a collision, as upon any of the contested measures; in other words, that they would not have had the support of above one in six of the representatives of the people.

Now, is it not best that these things should be well considered by those who are looking for the causes of the late discomfiture sustained by the people in their conflict with the House of Lords? Let it be remembered, that in the important alterations which they made in the Corporation Bill, they were driven out of nine-tenths of their positions, when they found the general sense of the Commons against them. Much mischief was, no doubt, done to that great measure: many things were introduced into it deeply to be lamented. To do this, and persist in this, the balance of parties in the other House gave them strength and encouragement; but when they found, that notwithstanding this balance, if they made a stand upon those parts of their alterations, compared with which all the rest were of little importance, —namely, retaining the present magistrates and officers for life— the great body of the Commons would desert them, they recurred to the prudent policy of former years; and repeated on this one occasion what they had practised on all occasions, while the Reform party in the other House had its full preponderance.

Now, why are we so anxious to set these truths before the reader? First because they are truths; and it is never of any real use to conceal the truth on any question—least of all on one of a practical nature, where delusion cannot long prevail, and where the worst consequences must flow from acting in the dark. To dispel such delusions is a sacred duty; and we discharge it, however much any persons may choose to be offended,

who are at present so intent upon what they call '*putting* '*down the Lords*,' that they never stop to consider how far the Commons have enabled the Lords to do the bad work we are all complaining of. But we state the truth also, with this practical view—that the remedy to which our remarks lead is in the hands of the people; and without any revolution, or any violent change in the present constitution of Parliament—a remedy, too, which will be of considerable efficacy. We do not, by any means, venture to pronounce that it will be complete. Whose fault was it that, instead of one in six, which the Tories returned in the Parliament of 1833—or one in three, which they returned in 1831, before the rotten burghs were abolished—they returned in 1834 almost an equal number with the Reformers? We have, indeed, already adverted to one deduction which must be made from this calculation; for the people were deceived by a considerable body of candidates. But suppose this number is taken from the force of the Tories, and added to that of the Reformers, there still will be left a fatal increase in the strength of the former. Who is to blame for that? The people were supine; they had neglected the registry; they had reckoned upon no attempts being made against them by a very active enemy. There was unpardonable want of vigilance; they had reckoned upon a still powerful enemy having been annihilated, when he was only stunned. This was the most unpardonable of all the errors into which any men can fall in any kind of contest. But another error was committed, which takes away even the right to make a deduction from deserters after Parliament met; and entitles us to charge upon the people themselves the present state of parties, without making any allowance for breach of faith by the members after their election. Why did the voters trust to the professions of so many untried men, when they might have chosen those whose former votes had recorded their principles—whose past conduct had put the purity of their pretences, the sincerity of their promises, to the test? Nay, why did they, on so many occasions, trust men who had before given the very worst votes,—even men who had already violated their plighted faith to their constituents? It is an undeniable fact, that such men, coming upon the hustings, and professing liberal principles—some of them even outbidding honest Reformers, who had never voted wrong in their lives—succeeded in deceiving the people, and obtained their return. Surely they, who are now ascribing all evil to the Lords, would do well to recollect, that for this, at least—and, in general, for the state of parties in the Commons—they themselves, and not the Lords, are answerable. No constitution formed by man ever can secure the people's rights, if the people go to sleep over those rights. This

is a truth so obvious, that stating it would seem to be childish, did we not see, by daily experience, how often it is forgotten. It is the part of silly or of dishonest men to keep this truth from the people's eyes, to abstain from all seasonable or wholesome remonstrances with them, and to flatter them by casting all the blame upon others, when, in fact, those others never could have done the mischief but for the people themselves. Now, there is no question, there can be no question, upon the facts of this case. Either all we have said is true,—or it follows that the country is equally divided between the Tory and the Liberal party,—or that the Reform Bill is useless, and gives no adequate representation to the different classes of the community. One or other of these positions we must take; and it is not very easy to believe in either of the two last. If, indeed, *our* position is abandoned, and if we are to cling to the Reform Bill, then the present House of Commons justly and fairly represents the country; and if that be the case, there is an end of the question, and Reform, if not doomed, is lingering between life and death. But we do not believe any one out of the precincts of the high Tory palaces can be so blind as to hold that it is any thing like a fair representation; or that such a balance of parties can ever again be expected in a new House of Commons. Nothing, in truth, can render it possible but a repetition of the errors of last year.

We have said that the remedy which the people have in their own hands is by no means so complete as to leave nothing further to be done. Even if the natural weight of the Reformers in the House of Commons were restored, we should still have the Lords in opposition to them, and throwing out all measures of improvement on which the Commons and the country were not prepared to encounter a collision with the Upper House. That *this* is a most serious evil—that it well justifies all enquiries into the best means of redressing it—no one can doubt. Before coming to that consideration, let us stop to state the facts of the case a little more accurately than they have of late been laid before the public; because all exaggeration is hurtful, and only benefits the adversary; and considerable mistatement has prevailed upon this matter, to the no small profit of the party attacked.

The Lords during the last session stopped several most important measures; they stopped some, of the beneficial tendency of which they hardly could doubt; they stopped others improperly, but so far consistently, that they professed their disapproval of them; and they stopped some, because they had not sufficient time allowed for their discussion.

We are clearly of opinion that the Lords are liable to the

greater share by far of the blame cast upon them—that their responsibility to the country is serious and great for what they really did do amiss; but we are also clear, that for all the wrongs laid to their charge, they are not to be held amenable. Let us at once, then, dismiss those charges which are made in ignorance of the facts. Unhappily, enough will remain behind to make a conviction inevitable.

The '*Imprisonment for Debt bill*,' is the most important of those measures which they are very erroneously, and therefore unjustly accused of stopping. It is a measure of immense extent—of extreme importance—of great difficulty in principle—of vast and complicated details. Few of those who speak of it have perhaps at all considered its nature. It establishes local judicatures all over England—subjects every man, whether in trade or not, to a system resembling in its operations the Bankrupt law—prescribes the mode in which all the debtor's property shall be wrung from him, and distributed among his creditors—and in short introduces a new code of the law of debtor and creditor, with a new judicial system for carrying the provisions of that code into effect. There is hardly a principle of the English law which this code does not materially affect; and not a person in the community whose position it does not in some measure change. We are acquainted with its details; we approve of them, generally speaking, as we wholly approve of the fundamental principles. There is, however, the greatest diversity of opinion respecting them among the trading part of the community; to say nothing of the legal profession. But be that as it may, is it not a little too much to say that the Lords ought to have passed a bill of this sort in a week or ten days; and yet it was only brought before them at the end of August? Can any man, who soberly reflects on the matter, deny that, unless the Lords are to be regarded as merely ministerial in legislation, it was absolutely impossible for them to enter upon this important subject at that time? We assume for the present that there is some use in two Chambers of Parliament, and that those measures which pass the one, are the better for undergoing examination in the other. We assume this, because probably even those who hold that the *veto* of the Lords should be taken away are not prepared to assert the entire efficacy of the discussions of any one Chamber of Parliament; this being, in fact, an assertion of infallibility in that Chamber.

Mr Buller's Bill for allowing prisoners counsel to make defence in cases of felony, by addressing the jury—is the next. It was proceeded with, and referred to a select committee, which examined much evidence; and then it was found that a very great difference of opinion prevailed among the most practically

experienced men upon this question. Nothing is more common than to represent this measure as quite a thing of course, and on which all men are agreed—at least all men of liberal opinions. But nothing is less true. There are many grave difficulties in the question. We think the preponderance of the argument is in favour of the bill—but we cannot speak with so much confidence now, as we could have done before the labours of the committee disclosed such diversity of sentiment among the most experienced persons. One thing is clear—that men of liberal opinions are as much divided to the full as the Anti-reformers; for while the Lord Chief Justice Denman, Lord Chief Baron Abinger, Sir F. Pollock, and Mr Hill, are found on one side and favourable to the measure; Lord Lyndhurst and the Recorder are supported in their opposition to it by Mr C. Phillips, one of the most distinguished friends of liberal principles, and the person in the profession most practised in criminal jurisprudence at the present day; and Lord Radnor, himself a most experienced magistrate as well as a recorder, and a most eminent reformer, has given decisive testimony also against the measure. It is surely not to be wondered at that, in this discrepancy of sentiments, the Lords declined proceeding with the bill while the Law Lords were absent upon their Circuits; from which the Chief Justice and Chief Baron did not return till the very close of the Session. If the Lords did wrong then in postponing this bill, they must share the blame with Lord Brougham, who moved it, and Lord Denman who supported it—both of whom agreed in the opinion that it must, for the reason we have assigned, stand over.

The Bills for altering the Law on the execution of Wills, and on other matters connected with testamentary and intestate succession, were likewise referred to a select committee. A difference of opinion arose among the Law Lords who attended it; and the eminent conveyancer who had chiefly prepared the report of the Real Property Commissioners out of which the bill grew, was directed to attend for the purpose of being examined on the disputed points. A family affliction prevented him from appearing for some days, during which the Chief Justices were obliged to go upon their respective Circuits. One of them had proposed some very important alterations in the powers of the principal bill. These could not be discussed before his return. Perhaps nothing more needs be said to convince all whose opinions upon the fit and safe mode of reforming our jurisprudence are worthy of notice, or at least entitled to much respect. We have no hesitation in saying, that the Lords would have been greatly to blame had they hurried through these bills, in the absence of the Judges.

The Tithe Suits bill, and the Turnip Tithe bill (the latter of

which by the way is as direct an interference with the rights of Churchmen and with private property as any clause in the Irish act), are accounted, in all the lists we have seen, among the bills thrown out by the Lords. There is not a word of truth in this. Both of them passed; each greatly improved by the alterations it received, and made to effect its purpose much more surely. They are now laws.

If it be true that he is thrice armed who 'hath his quarrel 'just,' it cannot be doubted that they are most injudicious in their attacks upon the House of Lords, who have charged them with throwing out bills which it was utterly impossible for them to pass without sitting all through the long vacation; and even with throwing out bills which they actually passed into laws. But does it follow, because that illustrious body has been erroneously accused of some things, therefore it is guilty of none? Very far from it; and the error, and indeed the injustice, of the exaggerated charge, is not more gross than their defence is, who would infer from the admission of the exaggeration, that when it has been corrected nothing remains. So much remains as to leave no kind of excuse for those accusers who were not satisfied with the truth of the case—no kind of excuse, we fear, for the accused.

The Irish Church Bill is the first of their misdeeds. We speak with all respect of a branch of the Legislature; but in these days no one is exempt from the jurisdiction of public opinion. The Commons had resolved that no measure of relief to the Irish clergy—no plan for settling the Tithe question—should pass into a law unless it were accompanied with a provision, that the superfluous portion of the church revenues should be applicable to the education of the whole people. The Lords knew that the Government had been changed upon this resolution; and that the Ministry and the Commons were pledged to abide by it. Upon various grounds—among others, the truly absurd one, that there would be found to be no surplus, in which case the measure would have no operation—they rejected the appropriation clause, and the bill dropt, of course; for it was a money clause, and though the bill had passed shorn of it, the Commons could not, by their forms, have received it—even had there been no pledge against passing it in that shape. On the Lords, then, still rests the responsibility of the misery in which the Irish clergy, and the discontent under which the Irish laity are doomed to suffer for another year; and the only comfort which either party receives, is to be told by English Bishops and English Peers, that they will die sooner than apply a remedy which involves the dereliction of what they, the Bishops and Peers,

living in quiet and in luxury here, deem to be the sound principles of Irish ecclesiastical polity.

Then came Lord Clanricarde's bill for enabling Catholic priests to marry Protestants—a bill confessedly required by every principle of humanity and of justice, and for want of which every seducer is now armed with the power of accomplishing a woman's ruin under the belief that she is marrying him, when he can the year after turn her forth upon society with the reputation of a strumpet, and the burden of maintaining a bastard. For this measure of relief there were many other reasons as cogent, connected with the security of title by the evidence of pedigree. None of these arguments were answered,—no denial of the flagrant abuse was attempted; but noble Lords were unwilling to touch the marriage law until it could be all recast,—a time pretty sure not soon to arrive; and Right Reverend Prelates were averse to losing a single hold over Catholic priests. So the bill was flung out by a large majority. The thanks of the country are not the less due to Lord Clanricarde, one of the ablest and most patriotic men of the many who adorn the sister kingdom, and who has this year and the last added to his ample claims on the gratitude of the kingdom at large, by becoming one of those supporters of a liberal government, who, wholly unconnected with the Ministers, lend them an unwearying and a conscientious support upon public principles alone.

The alterations effected in the Corporation Bill have been sufficiently adverted to; but the rejection of the Dublin Police Bill stands alone in point of absurdity. All admitted the vicious state of the police in that great city, and that it hardly deserved its name. Almost all allowed that Lord Duncannon's bill afforded a judicious and effective remedy. But on the ground of the corporation of Dublin not having been consulted upon it by Mr Drummond, who arranged the details of the measure, it was flung out. That the corporation had sufficient notice of it, and that time to remonstrate against it by petition had been allowed, no one denied; and yet petitions there were none. Could then the Tory Lords greatly marvel if their adversaries represented this as a mere act of hostility to the Government—a demonstration of their weight in the Upper House on an occasion where they might safely display it—or at best a court paid to the Orange Corporation of Dublin at the expense of the public peace of the city?

The rejection of another most wholesome measure of police, the Constabulary Force Bill, may close the catalogue; this was upon a ground somewhat different. Mr O'Connell was understood to be friendly to the measure, and a vague apprehension

was also entertained, or at least expressed, that it would arm him and his party with influence by the exercise of the patronage which it created. This was quite enough to decree its doom—the bill was lost.

We say nothing of Lord Brougham's Education and Charity Abuse Bill; because, although it was by him very reluctantly postponed in compliance with the sense of the House, the Government took the lead here in desiring the delay; one consequence of which was that it became absolutely necessary to remove from the Corporation Bill all the clauses respecting Charity Trusts, and to leave the administration of these in the hands, not of the new elected councils, but of the old officers who owe their municipal rights to self-election. But quite enough has been said to demonstrate this truth—that the Lords are not likely to pull in the same direction with the people of this country; and that some remedy must be sought for an evil which bids fair to produce the worst of mischiefs in our constitution, if not to endanger its very existence. While the Lords held sway over the Commons by the nomination and other corrupt burghs, the conflict never could happen, any more than the veto of the Crown could ever be called into action, and for the same reason: the Lords did conflict and the Crown did reject, but in the House of Commons. The Reform has placed things upon a different footing, and put the soundness of the principles to the test upon which the British Constitution is constituted, by trying them for the first time in their purity.

We may begin by laying it down as quite clear that a second Chamber of Parliament is necessary, and would be so even had we the whole frame of the Government to reconstruct. Unless the Commons be infallible as well as honest and vigorous, this is unquestionable. The very numbers of that assembly render this necessity still more urgent; and the members being representatives of the whole community, in the eyes of some affords an additional reason why the result of their deliberation should undergo further and more calm revision. But we rest our belief of the necessity of a second chamber upon the necessity of a reconsideration in a less occupied assembly, to prevent fatal oversights and other errors. Let any one reflect on the Bills of 1833, and then doubt of this necessity if he can. Mr Lamb's Justice of Peace Bill was sent to the Lords, with a clause which abolished all the criminal judicature of the magistrates all over England, from and after the first of October in that year—for it provided that any one justice might liberate any prisoner committed by a whole bench of magistrates, though he had never heard a word of the evidence. The Lords adopted the

whole bill (which was an excellent one) excepting this clause. The Commons, however, insisted upon retaining it, and the bill was lost. That the latter body acted under either misapprehension or ill-humour, cannot be doubted—but the good of the country plainly required that its determination should undergo revision. So also Lord Brougham's Patent Law Amendment Bill was returned from the Commons with the most valuable clause struck out—that which took from the House of Lords (who in reality alone exercised it) the power of prolonging the term of fourteen years, and vested this in the Judicial Court of the Privy Council—the power in the Lords having always been abused by canvassing, and the expense of the private acts being enormous. Some individuals in the Commons, ignorant of the merits of the case, and not aware that the Lords had for once really abdicated a function which they performed badly, caused the House to reject this provision. The Lords, however, refused their amendment, and after a conference, but not without a very narrow division, the Commons yielded, and the most important part of the bill was thus restored.

It being, therefore, perfectly manifest that a second House, something in the nature of a House of Lords, is necessary for sound and safe legislation, the only question is, how it shall be composed—and first of all, shall it be elective or hereditary? or if hereditary, shall the members sit by individual right, as they now do, or by election among and by the nobility, as the French nobles did in their States-General? Let us begin with the last plain and most obvious change. Would it avail us any thing in remedy of the present evil? Certainly it would have the directly opposite effect—for if all the members of the House of Lords were chosen by the Peers as a body, or even divided into any conceivable chambers of election, instead of two-thirds, or it may be three-fourths, anti-reformers, we should not have a single member of the house a reformer. The Scottish Peers are an example of this, of whom sixteen-sixteenths are Tories. Then, shall the Crown select Peers among the nobility as in France? The consequences would be the same, with this addition, that the Upper House would be the mere creature of the Crown. The only other course then is to have the House elected, but not by the peers—in other words, that the people shall elect. Are they to elect by the same qualification by which they choose their own representatives? If so—the Upper House will be a mere duplicate of the Lower; and after all difficulties are overcome as to how a local apportionment of the elected shall be made, we shall only have obtained what would be more easily and just as effectually obtained by dividing the House of Commons into two, and making one half revise the proceedings of the other. But we hold it to be quite clear that

more than a mere duplicate chamber is necessary in order to ensure an effectual revision. Such a duplicate will, in most cases, only repeat the same errors which the first has committed. That which secures discussion, and gives the probability of real revision and correction, is the second chamber being differently constituted from the first. Therefore many have suggested, what is indeed the American plan, that the elective franchise should be higher; and consequently that the second chamber should represent a class of individuals different from those who choose the first. Suppose, then, that only persons of L.500 a-year or upwards were to elect among the peers—or there being no distinction in favour of peers, suppose they were to choose among all classes indiscriminately—what would be the result? We are by no means certain that a better chamber than the present House of Lords would not be found; but we are very sure that it would be quite as hostile to liberal principles; indeed it would probably be more hostile—for the wealthier classes would by no means return as many liberal peers as now sit by right in the Upper House. The new and elective House might be in some respects better: it would be more diligent, and it would lend itself to fewer jobs—because it would be accountable for its votes to a body of constituents. But, as these constituents would assuredly be very generally adverse to reform, we can have little doubt how the decisions in general would turn. Then be it borne in mind, that whatever extends the basis on which the House rests, arms the Peers with new power, and confirms their courage to resist the propositions of the Commons and of the people; so that even the present House of Lords would be far more domineering when it owed its existence to the voice of a large portion of its countrymen than it now is, without any title but that of inheritance or creation.

The truth is, that the evil lies a little deeper than many imagine who discuss this question. It comes from the unhappy but undeniable fact, that a large majority, not only of the peers, but of the property of the country, is alarmed at, if not positively adverse to, reform. This is the state of our case; this the condition of the problem we have to solve; and shutting our eyes to it is quite useless and quite childish. There is, however, one thing incomparably more childish, and that is, the fancy that we can effect any radical change of the House of Lords in a Parliament where the people have but a bare majority in the House of Commons, and can only carry the most moderate reforms, and of the most ordinary cast, by the most inconsiderable majorities of their own representatives. But for what we daily read and hear, we could hardly believe that there existed persons so heedless of

the circumstances of the case they are handling, as some reformers of the Lords. It is equal to Major Cartwright's philippics against the abominable heresy of *Triennial* parliaments, at a time when there seemed not any very probable chance of the *Septennial* bill being ever repealed.

The first thing to be done, then, is to reform—that is, to mend, at a new election, the House of Commons—and then, when the Reformers shall have regained their just ascendant, we may hope, with the help of the people out of doors, to improve the constitution of the Lords. To make Lords eligible in the Lower House would be a step towards this improvement; because it would engender a greater community of feeling than now exists between the Houses. The plan of a Free Conference, which we suggested in a former Number, would then be a very great step towards the reform of the system; for this would ensure all Bills being carried which had a decided majority of the Commons in their favour. It would in fact be depriving the Lords of their veto in certain cases; but only in cases where there seems no sound reason why they should retain it. A direct abrogation of their veto appears to be only suggested by those who cannot have well considered the subject. For, as it is on all hands allowed, that they must have some power of revising measures, who is to draw the line in each case, and to pronounce what alteration amounts to an amendment and what to a rejection? Let the supporters of this doctrine try it by any one measure—for example, by the late controversy on the amendments to the Corporation Bill, and see how it would work. All the havoc which the Lords played with the bill, and ten times more—the franchise—the numbers of councilmen—in short, radical changes in every one part of the bill—might have been accomplished under the name of alterations or amendments—and no exercise of the abrogated veto ever have been required to utterly destroy the measure.

If this proposal of a Free Conference (that is, of both Houses voting together occasionally) should be deemed inadequate, or be found insufficient, possibly to make the Peers elective, by certain counties and cities electing one or two each, and those to hold their seats either for life, or for a number of years considerably greater than the period for which the House of Commons is chosen, might be found an advisable measure. But we have no very favourable opinion of it; being convinced that so vast a change in the constitution is recommended by no probable benefit to be expected from it; and not even justified by the necessities of the case—at least until we see, first, that the House of Lords, as at present constituted, resists the tide of public opinion, and opposes a better constituted House of Commons—and next, that the

plan of a Free Conference wholly fails. One thing we must very plainly state, that if the balance of parties in the Lower House shall continue as it now is on a new election—nay, if there is not a very decided preponderance of members in favour of reforming policy,—we can see no ground for requiring the Lords to adopt that course. If the real representatives of the country are not much more nearly unanimous in favour of any change in our laws or our policy than they are at present, what pretence is there for requiring that the other classes of the community should adopt that change? Is not all reason in favour of continuing as we are? This is the ground of our predilection for the plan of a Free Conference, which would only compel the Lords to adopt changes sanctioned by a considerable proportion of the people's representatives. We must not, however, be misunderstood. We firmly believe the opinion of the country at large to be, by a great preponderance of voices, in favour of a large measure of reform in all our institutions; and this makes us both quite confident in the favourable result of a new election, and in the like degree confident of the successful result of a Free Conference on almost all measures of sound and effectual reform.

But we cannot leave this important topic of the Lords, without adverting to the great dangers which an encouragement and extension of the prevailing sentiments upon the subject must bring upon the present liberal and reforming government. If the cry becomes very loud and somewhat general, nothing will satisfy those who raise it, but the Ministers of the Crown beginning next session with some Bill to reform the House of Lords. That any minister in his senses should propound such a measure to the present House of Commons, is quite impossible. The cry, therefore, means dissolution, or it means nothing. Now, suppose the Ministers were to propose that measure, and the Court to refuse, as infallibly it would, only just consider the consequences. The Ministry retires of course, to the no small contentment of the Court and the Peers; because to the inevitable strengthening of the Tory interest in the House of Commons. We have not the shadow of a doubt that the Tory Ministry would *then* have a majority in the Lower House; for its existence, that is, its continuing to exist for five years, would be bound up with the existence of the Tory Government. Whoever voted to turn them out, would know that he voted to send himself back to his constituents. Let any one consider this with reference to the construction of the present House of Commons, such as we have described it, and he will be at once convinced how steady a majority the Tories would have. We throw out the suggestion as one of the most practical kind which can, at the present moment, be presented to the minds of honest and sincere reformers.

May we be permitted to add another suggestion, less practical, indeed, as regards any immediate object, but demanded by a regard for justice? It is with feelings of extreme pain, sometimes mingled with indignation, that we have lately observed those who professed their attachment to the present Ministers, eagerly drawing distinctions between their government and Lord Grey's—and all in disparagement of the latter. That any thing could by possibility be more hateful to those Ministers, we utterly disbelieve. We say nothing of the gratitude which the country owes to Lord Grey; nothing of the universal veneration which he commands; we speak merely of the gross absurdity of the charge which those invidious comparisons imply. Take, for example, the Irish Coercion Bill, wrung from Lord Grey's Government by the hard necessities of the country. Whose bill was that? Lord Melbourne's—the Irish Secretary of State—the person first of all responsible for every Irish measure. And yet we are to be told that Lord Melbourne's Government excels Lord Grey's on account of that very bill! But indeed the same parties make almost as great a distinction between the present government and that which was dismissed last November—and yet that was Lord Melbourne's as much as this. But why is this line taken by those persons? We fear there can be but one reason given. It is because they helped the courtiers to dismiss the Government of 1834, and they are now defending the Government of 1835. So that to show themselves consistent, they must needs find out some difference between the two. Would it not be far more correct and more fair, at once to say—what is the plain truth—that when they made these attacks last year, they did not know the mischief which would ensue; but that now, wise by experience, they will not repeat their error? We conceive that it is the same motive which makes them cautiously avoid speaking of the House of Commons, and only attack the Lords. The House of Commons, as it is now constituted, of near three hundred Tories, instead of little more than one, they know to be the result of the change; and feel, therefore, to have been brought about, in part at least, by themselves. Hence they are willing to dwell upon that part of the case.

We offer these reflections in perfect kindness and respect towards those worthy reformers of whom we have been speaking. That no schisms will henceforth split our forces, we are fully persuaded; but this desirable result is far more likely to happen, if justice be done to all parties among us, so that no reasonable cause of complaint shall remain to any;—if our whole case be stated with truth, and always rested upon the right ground—ground on which we can abide.

ART. XI.—*Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir James Mackintosh.* Edited by his Son, ROBERT JAMES MACKINTOSH, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1835.

THERE cannot, we think, be a more delightful book than this: whether we consider the attraction of the Character it brings so pleasingly before us—or the infinite variety of original thoughts and fine observations with which it abounds. As a mere narrative there is not so much to be said for it. There are but few incidents; and the account which we have of them is neither very luminous nor very complete. If it be true, therefore, that the only legitimate business of biography is with incidents and narrative, it will not be easy to deny that there is something amiss, either in the title or the substance of this work. But we are humbly of opinion that there is no good ground for so severe a limitation.

Biographies, it appears to us, are naturally of three kinds—and please or instruct us in at least as many different ways. One sort seeks to interest us by an account of what the individual in question actually did or suffered in his own person: another by an account of what he saw done or suffered by others—and a third by an account of what he himself thought, judged, or imagined—for these too, we apprehend, are acts of a rational being—and acts frequently quite as memorable, and as fruitful of consequences, as any others he can either witness or perform.

Different readers will put a different value on each of these sorts of biography. But at all events they will be in no danger of confounding them. The character and position of the individual will generally settle, with sufficient precision, to which class his memoirs should be referred; and no man of common sense will expect to meet in one with the kind of interest which properly belongs to another. To complain that the life of a warrior is but barren in literary speculation, or that of a man of letters in surprising personal adventures, is about as reasonable as it could be to complain that a song is not a sermon, or that there is but little pathos in a treatise on geometry.

The first class, in its higher or public department, should deal chiefly with the lives of leaders in great and momentous transactions—men who, by their force of character, or the advantage of their position, have been enabled to leave their mark on the age and country to which they belonged, and to impress more than one generation with the traces of their transitory existence. Of this kind are many of the lives in Plutarch; and of this kind, still more eminently, should be the lives of such men as Mahomet, Alfred, Washington, Napoleon. There is an inferior and

more private department under this head, in which the interest, though less elevated, is often quite as intense, and rests on the same general basis, of sympathy with personal feats and endowments—we mean the history of individuals whom the ardour of their temperament, or the caprices of fortune have involved in strange adventures, or conducted through a series of extraordinary and complicated perils. The memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini, or of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, are good examples of this romantic sort of biography; and many more might be added, from the chronicles of ancient paladins, or the confessions of modern malefactors.

The second class is chiefly for the compilers of diaries and journals—autobiographers who, without having themselves done any thing memorable, have yet had the good luck to live through long and interesting periods; and who, in chronicling the events of their own unimportant lives, have incidentally preserved invaluable memorials of contemporary manners and events. The Memoirs of Evelyn and Pepys are the most obvious instances of works which derive their chief value from this source; and which are read, not for any great interest we take in the fortunes of the writers, but for the sake of the anecdotes and notices of far more important personages and transactions with which they so lavishly present us; and there are many others, written with far inferior talent, and where the design is more palpably egotistical, which are perused with an eager curiosity, on the strength of the same recommendation.

The last class is for Philosophers and men of Genius and speculation—men, in short, who were, or ought to have been, authors; and whose biographies are truly to be regarded either as *supplements* to the works they have given to the world, or *substitutes* for those which they might have given. These are histories, not of men, but of minds; and their value must of course depend on the reach and capacity of the mind they serve to develope, and in the relative magnitude of their contributions to its history. When the individual has already poured himself out in a long series of publications, on which all the moods and aspects of his mind have been engraven (as in the cases of Voltaire or Sir Walter Scott), there may be less occasion for such a biographical supplement. But when an author (as in the case of Gray) has been more chary in his communications with the public, and it is yet possible to recover the precious, though immature, fruits of his genius or his studies,—thoughts, and speculations, which no intelligent posterity would willingly let die,—it is due both to his fame and to the best interests of mankind, that they should be preserved, and reverently presented to after times in such a posthumous portraiture as it is the business of biography to supply.

The best and most satisfactory memorials of this sort are those which are substantially made up of private letters, journals, or written fragments of any kind, by the party himself; as these, however scanty or imperfect, are at all events genuine relics of the individual, and generally bearing, even more authentically than his publications, the stamp of his intellectual and personal character. We cannot refer to better examples than the lives of Gray and of Cowper, as these have been finally completed. Next to these, if not upon the same level, we should place such admirable records of particular conversations, and memorable sayings gathered from the lips of the wise, as we find in the inimitable pages of Boswell,—a work which, by the general consent of this generation, has not only made us a thousand times better acquainted with Johnson than all his publications put together, but has raised the standard of his intellectual character, and actually made discovery of large provinces in his understanding, of which scarcely an indication was to be found in his writings. In the last and lowest place—in so far, at least, as relates to the proper business of this branch of biography, the enlargement of our knowledge of the genius and character of individuals—we must reckon that most common form of the memoirs of literary men, which consists of little more than the biographer's own (generally most partial) description and estimate of his author's merits, or of elucidations and critical summaries of his most remarkable productions. In this division, though in other respects of great value, must be ranked those admirable dissertations which Mr Stewart has given to the world under the title of the Lives of Reid, Smith and Robertson,—the real interest of which consists almost entirely in the luminous exposition we there meet with of the leading speculations of those eminent writers, and in the candid and acute investigation of their originality or truth.

We know it has been said, that after a man has himself given to the public all that he thought worthy of its acceptance, it is not fair for a posthumous biographer to endanger his reputation by bringing forward what he had withheld as unworthy,—either by exhibiting the mere dregs and refuse of his lucubrations, or by exposing to the general gaze those crude conceptions, or rash and careless opinions, which he may have noted down in the privacy of his study, or thrown out in the confidence of private conversation. And no doubt there may be (as there have been) cases of such abuse. Confidence is in no case to be violated; nor are mere trifles, which bear no mark of the writer's intellect, to be recorded to his prejudice. But wherever there is power and native genius, we cannot but grudge the suppression of the least of its revelations; and are persuaded, that with those who can judge of such intellects, they will never lose any thing by the most lavish and indiscriminate disclosures. Which of Swift's

most elaborate productions is at this day half so interesting as that most confidential Journal to Stella? Or which of them, with all its utter carelessness of expression, its manifold contradictions, its infantine fondness, and all its quick-shifting moods, of kindness, selfishness, anger, and ambition, give us half so strong an impression either of his amiableness or his vigour? How much, in like manner, is Johnson raised in our estimation, not only as to intellect but personal character, by the industrious eavesdroppings of Boswell, setting down, day by day, in his note-book, the fragments of his most loose and unweighed conversations? Or what, in fact, is there so precious in the works, or the histories, of eminent men, from Cicero to Horace Walpole, as collections of their private and familiar letters? What would we not give for such a journal—such notes of conversations, or such letters, of Shakspeare, Chaucer, or Spenser? The mere drudges or coxcombs of literature, may indeed suffer by such disclosures—as made up beauties might do by being caught in undress: But all who are really worth knowing about, will, on the whole, be gainers; and we should be well contented to have no biographies but of those who would profit, as well as their readers, by being shown in new or in nearer lights.

The value of the insight which may thus be obtained into the mind and the meaning of truly great authors, can scarcely be overrated by any one who knows how to turn such communications to account; and we do not think we exaggerate when we say, that in many cases more light may be gained from the private letters, notes, or recorded talk of such persons, than from the most finished of their publications; and not only upon the many new topics which are sure to be started in such memorials, but as to the true character, and the merits and defects, of such publications themselves. It is from such sources alone that we can learn with certainty by what road the author arrived at the conclusions which we see established in his works, against what perplexities he had to struggle, and after what failures he was at last enabled to succeed. It is thus only that we are often enabled to detect the prejudice or hostility which may be skilfully and mischievously disguised in the published book—to find out the doubts ultimately entertained by the author himself, of what may appear to most readers to be most triumphantly established,—or to gain glimpses of those grand ulterior speculations, to which what seemed to common eyes a complete and finished system, was, in truth, to serve only as a vestibule or introduction. Where such documents are in abundance, and the mind which has produced them is truly of the highest order, we do not hesitate to say, that more will generally be found in them, in the way at least of hints to kindred minds, and as scattering the seeds of grand and original conceptions, than in any finished works which the indolence, the

modesty, or the avocations of such persons will have generally permitted them to give to the world. So far, therefore, from thinking the biography of men of genius barren or unprofitable, because presenting few events or personal adventures, we cannot but regard it, when constructed in substance of such materials as we have now mentioned, as the most instructive and interesting of all writing,—embodying truth and wisdom in the vivid distinctness of a personal presentment,—enabling us to look on genius in its first elementary stirrings, and in its weakness as well as its strength,—and teaching us at the same time great moral lessons, both as to the value of labour and industry, and the necessity of *virtues*, as well as intellectual endowments, for the attainment of lasting excellence.

In these general remarks our readers will easily perceive that we mean to shadow forth our conceptions of the character and peculiar merits of the work before us. It is the history not of a man of action, but of a student, a philosopher, and a statesman; and its value consists not in the slight and imperfect account of what was done by, or happened to, the individual, but in the vestiges it has fortunately preserved of the thoughts, sentiments, and opinions of one of the most powerful thinkers, most conscientious enquirers, and most learned reasoners, that the world has ever seen. It is almost entirely made up of journals and letters of the author himself; and impresses us quite as strongly as any of his publications with a sense of the richness of his knowledge and the fineness of his understanding—and with a far stronger sense of his promptitude, versatility, and vigour. Before presenting our readers with some specimens of these most interesting relics, we should scarcely have thought it necessary to give even a summary of the simple but most honourable personal history of the individual: But, besides our consideration for the natural curiosity which most people have to know something of the private life and habits of those who have attained eminence, there are certain traits of character, by the knowledge of which they will be enabled both to relish more highly, and to understand better, the views and speculations of the individual. We shall venture, therefore, to premise a very slight and hasty sketch of his history.

Sir James Mackintosh, born in 1765, was descended of an ancient but not opulent family in Inverness-shire. He went first to College in Aberdeen, where he distinguished himself above all his contemporaries, less by his diligence or extent of attainment, than by the singular vivacity of his parts, the uniform suavity of his temper and manners, and the intrepidity and vigour of his speculations. Having fixed on the profession of

medicine, he afterwards went to finish his academical studies at Edinburgh; where he maintained the same unenvied eminence, in a larger and more advanced circle of competitors. He took his degree with credit in 1788; and soon after went to London with the view of following out his profession. Politics and letters, however, soon engrossed his ardent and ambitious mind; and though he seems at one time to have dreamed of trying his fortune as a physician in Russia, he speedily found the attraction of the distinguished society to which he had made his way in the metropolis, too strong to be resisted; and, giving himself up to the natural bent of his genius, resolved to study the law, and yield without farther struggle to that impulse which directed the rest of his life to literature, politics, and social distinction and enjoyment. He went through the usual apprenticeship of writing in newspapers and speaking in debating societies; but made his first bold step into public life by the publication of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, in answer to Mr Burke's celebrated Reflections, in 1791. The consequence of this was his immediate admission into the intimate society of the leaders of Opposition, and the establishment of a reputation which at once threw open to him all the avenues to distinction. He was called to the bar in 1795; and in the end of the following year had the happiness of being introduced to an acquaintance with Mr Burke, which nothing but the speedy death of that illustrious man could have prevented from ripening into friendship. The atrocities which blasted the first fair promise of the French Revolution had by this time painfully abated the enthusiasm with which it had been regarded by Mackintosh and other sanguine philanthropists in this country; and in 1799 he delivered, in Lincoln's-Inn Hall, a series of lectures on the Law of Nature and Nations, in which, with singular eloquence, learning, and power of reasoning, he attempted to settle the rule of public and private duty, and to assign their just limits to the rights of a people and the authority of a government. The introductory lecture was published, and remains to this day the best summary and defence which has ever been made, of the noble science of which it professes to treat.

He had married soon after his arrival in London in 1788, and was thrown into the deepest affliction by the death of his excellent wife in 1797. In the following year he married a second time (Miss Allen of Cresselly, in Pembrokeshire), and continued to extend his society and reputation, and gradually to rise in his profession, till his celebrated speech, on the trial of Peltier for a libel on Bonaparte in 1803, seemed to place its highest honours within the fair range of his expectations. It was at this period, however, and when his professional income had risen to upwards of

L.1200 a-year, that his anxiety to realize an earlier and less laborious independence, and to secure more leisure for the execution of his literary projects, induced him to solicit the appointment of Recorder of Bombay, which he accordingly obtained in the close of the same year, and took his departure for India early in 1804. The experiment was not successful. Though we now know that his mind was in a state of great vigour and activity during the whole of his residence, he was not enabled to accomplish, and scarcely to begin, any of the great works he had contemplated; while his habitual inattention to economy prevented any great improvement in the state of his worldly affairs; and he returned to England in 1812, with broken health and spirits, uncertain prospects, and vast materials for works which were never to be completed.

Mr Percival was now at the head of the Government; and almost immediately on his arrival endeavoured to secure the support of Sir James, by offering him a seat in Parliament, and an early promotion to the head of the Board of Control. These tempting offers, however, he instantly declined, as 'inconsistent with those principles 'of liberty which were then,' as he has himself recorded, 'higher 'in his mind than they had been twenty years before.' But he was almost immediately returned, on the Whig interest, as member for the county of Nairn. His life after this scarcely admits of any detailed abstract. He continued in Parliament, and true to liberal principles, for the remainder of his days. He was appointed law professor at Haylebury, in 1818, and resigned that situation in 1827. He contributed articles of great value to this Journal. He furnished, in a preliminary discourse to the Encyclopædia Britannica, by far the best history of ethical philosophy which has ever been given to the world. He gave the most efficient support to Sir S. Romilly's exertions for the improvement of the criminal law;—and after the death of that admirable person, became the leader in that most necessary and unexceptionable branch of reform; and after printing several volumes of a popular and abridged History of England, which contains more thought and more lessons of wisdom than any other history with which we are acquainted, he left, at his death, that invaluable fragment of the History of the Revolution of 1688, of which we have endeavoured to give some account in our last Number. He was appointed to a seat at the Board of Control under Lord Grey's Administration in 1830, and cordially and effectually co-operated in all the great measures of Reform which were then brought forward. He died in 1832; regretted with more sincerity, and admired with less envy, than any man of the age.

His intellectual character cannot be unknown to any one ac-

quainted with his works, or who has even read many pages of the Memoirs now before us; and it is needless, therefore, to speak here of his great knowledge, the singular union of ingenuity and soundness in his speculations—his perfect candour and temper in discussion—the pure and lofty morality to which he strove to elevate the minds of others, and in his own conduct to conform, or the wise and humane allowance which he was ready, in every case but his own, to make for the infirmities which must always draw down so many from the higher paths of their duty. These merits, we believe, will no longer be denied by any who have heard of his name, or looked at his writings. But there were other traits of his intellect which could only be known to those who were of his acquaintance, and which it is still desirable that the readers of these Memoirs should bear in mind. One of these was, that ready and prodigious memory, by which all that he learned seemed to be at once engraved on the proper compartment of his mind, and to present itself at the moment it was required; another, still more remarkable, was the singular maturity and completeness of all his views and opinions, even upon the most abstruse and complicated questions, though raised, without design or preparation, in the casual course of conversation. In this way it happened that the sentiments he delivered had generally the air of recollections—and that few of those with whom he most associated in mature life, could recollect of ever catching him in the act of making up his mind in the course of the discussions in which it was his delight to engage them. His conclusions, and the grounds of them, seemed always to have been previously considered and digested; and though he willingly developed his reasons, to secure the assent of his hearers, he uniformly seemed to have been perfectly ready, before the cause was called on, to have delivered the opinion of the court, with a full summary of the arguments and evidence on both sides. In the work before us, we have more peeps into the preparatory deliberations of his great intellect—that scrupulous estimate of the grounds of decision, and that jealous questioning of first impressions, which necessarily precede the formation of all firm and wise opinions,—than could probably be collected from the recollections of all those who had most familiar access to him in society. It was owing perhaps to this vigour and rapidity of intellectual digestion that, though all his life a great talker, there never was a man that talked half so much, who said so little that was either foolish or frivolous; nor any one perhaps who knew so well how to give as much liveliness and poignancy to the most just and even profound observations, as others could ever impart to startling extravagance and ludicrous exaggeration. The vast extent of his information, and the natural gaiety of his temper, made him independent of

such devices for producing effect; and, joined to the inherent kindness and gentleness of his disposition, made his conversation at once the most instructive and the most generally pleasing that could be imagined.

Of his intellectual endowments we shall say no more. Nor do we mean to attempt any delineation of his moral or personal character. Yet there are two or three points on which we do not think that justice can be done without some observations. These are his political consistency and independence, the depth and tenderness of his domestic affections, and the extraordinary modesty, or humility rather, of his estimate of himself. On the first point he has been exposed to some paltry, and some malignant misrepresentations. On the other two, the greater part, even of his familiar associates, have not hitherto had such means of judging as the authentic revelations of these volumes have at last supplied.

On the first and most momentous of these chapters, we have fortunately anticipated all that we could now have been called upon to say; and those who will do us the honour of looking back to what is stated at p. 274, &c. of our last Number, will probably require no farther vindication of Sir James Mackintosh's honour and consistency in all that concerns his public life; nor indeed should we have at all recurred to the subject, but for the temptation of laying before our readers the following touching and high-minded explanation, addressed by Sir James himself, in a confidential letter to his friend Mr Sharp, written from Bombay in the end of 1804. After briefly noticing the calumnies to which he had been exposed, he proceeds:—

'"My fortune has been in some respects very singular. I have lately read the lives, and private correspondence of some of the most memorable men in different countries of Europe, who are lately dead. Klopstock, Kant, Lavater, Alfieri—they were all filled with joy and hope by the French Revolution—they clung to it for a longer or shorter time—they were all compelled to relinquish their illusions. I do not speak of the genius of the persons I have named, all pretension to which it would be arrogance in me even to disclaim. I speak merely of their enviable privilege, as private men of letters, to listen to the dictates of experience, and to change their opinions without any other penalty, than the disappointment of their own too sanguine hopes. This privilege was not mine.

'"Filled with enthusiasm, in very early youth, by the promise of a better order of society, I most unwarily ventured on publication, when my judgment and taste were equally immature. It is the nature of a political publication, in a free country, to associate the author, however obscurely and humbly, with practical politics. He will generally be more sure to feel the restraints than the advantages of the connexion.

‘ “ At the same time warm personal attachments, I might almost call them affections, which I had felt from my youth, which I thought, and still think, upon strict principles of reason to be necessary parts of all practical politics in a free state, blended themselves with mine. Those only who had irrevocably attached their early hopes, their little reputation, which they might be pardoned for exaggerating, and even, as they conceived, their moral character, to the success or failure of the French Revolution, can conceive the succession of feelings, most of them very painful, which agitated my mind during its progress. They alone knew my feelings from whom no sentiments of mine could be concealed. The witnesses of my emotion on the murder of General Dillon—on the 10th of August—on the massacre of the prisons—on the death of the king, are now no more. But the memory of what it is no hyperbole to call my sufferings, is at this instant fresh. As often as I call to mind these proofs of deep and most unaffected interest in the fortunes of mankind, the indignation, the grief, the shame, which were not on my lips, but at the bottom of my heart, I feel an assured confidence of my own honesty of which no calumniator shall ever rob me.

‘ “ The Revolution continued so much to occupy my thoughts, that I could not help constantly exercising my judgment on it. I could not forget it, nor shut my eyes on its events. It had grown to such a size, in my conception, that I could not quite consider it in that subordination to domestic politics which was natural to those who had great objects of domestic ambition. My mind was so fixed on it, that I could not but be most distinctly conscious of every modification that my opinions respecting it underwent. My changes were slow, and were still more slowly avowed. But they were not insensible; and I could not hope to persuade myself that I remained unchanged.

‘ “ My lectures gave me an opportunity of speaking my opinion. I have examined myself pretty severely with respect to the manner in which I availed myself of that opportunity. As the adherent of a party (for such I professed myself to be, and as such, therefore, my conduct may doubtless be tried), I cannot, on the most rigorous scrutiny, find the least reason for blame. Personal attachment, as well as general (though not undistinguishing) preference of the same party to whom I had from childhood been attached, secured me perfectly from any intentional, and from any considerable deviation.

‘ “ As a political philosopher I will not say that I now entirely approve the very shades and tones of political doctrine which distinguished these lectures. I can easily see that I rebounded from my original opinions too far towards the opposite extreme. I was carried too far by anxiety to atone for my former errors. In opposing revolutionary principles, the natural heat of controversy led to excess. It was very difficult to preserve the calm scientific temper of academical lectures, for a person agitated by so many feelings, in the year of the conquest of Switzerland, in the heart of London, to an audience, the very appearance of many among whom was sufficient to suggest trains of thought unfavourable to perfect impartiality, and, indeed, to rekindle many of the passions of active political contest. I will not affect to say that I preserved it.

'"But is this confession very important? Have I stated any thing more than a part of those inevitable frailties for which allowance is always made by rational men, and which are always understood whether they be enumerated or not? At this moment, it is true, I suppose myself in a better position for impartiality. I therefore take it upon me to rejudge my past judgments. But can I be quite certain that the establishment of monarchical despotism in France, and the horrible effects of tyranny and imposture around me in this country, may not have driven my understanding once more to a point a little on the democratic side of the centre? I own I rather suspect myself of this; and though I labour to correct the deviation, and am convinced that it is much less than ever it was before, yet I am so sensible of the difficulty of discerning the middle point in politics, and of the still greater difficulty of resting near it, in the midst of so many disturbing powers, that I cannot but feel some distrust of my present judgment, and some disposition not to refuse to my own past errors that toleration, which I never withheld from those of other men." '—(Vol. i. p. 129–134.)

On looking back to what we have now transcribed, we feel more strongly than before that the citation was unnecessary; and we only let it stand, as our first specimen of the dignity and candour with which the writer was used to think and to speak of himself and others, even under circumstances of great provocation. For a still better example of the same magnanimous forbearance, we shall merely refer to his remarkable letter to Dr Parr, at p. 329 of the same volume.

But though this general charge of inconsistency, or desertion of old principles, may now be considered as finally put down, we have observed with pain that another, and a more insidious accusation, has been brought forward since his death, to which it may therefore be proper to advert. The scope of this is, that Sir James Mackintosh was truly and in his heart a Conservative, ever after the time when he first despaired of the regeneration of the world by means of the French Revolution—that he was only restrained from avowing this by a weak fear of offending his original associates—and that he was induced by this, or a still baser motive, to give a reluctant, and consequently a dishonest, support, to the reform measures of Lord Grey's Government, of which, in his conscience, he entirely disapproved; and, it is added, with appropriate liberality, that it was the knowledge of this disapprobation which prevented him from having a seat in the Cabinet under that Government. That the Conservatives should wish to grace their cause with such a name as that of Sir James Mackintosh we can easily understand; but we do not imagine that they will find many to credit this legend of his conversion. We have his own word at least, and the tenor of his whole life, to the contrary: nor indeed is there a shadow of evidence to give colour to the imputation. In the first place, it is plain from the letter we have just cited, that the change in his opinion, which took

place about 1797, was not such as implied the slightest departure from the principles of the party to which he had all along been attached, and amounted to no more than an increased sense of the value of old institutions, and the danger of all violent revolutions: And we find, accordingly, that it was so viewed by the illustrious man to whom it seems to have been first avowed, and who, of all others, must have been the most disposed rather to exaggerate than to undervalue its amount. In a letter of Mr Burke to Dr Lawrence (cited in a note to page 90, vol. i.), he speaks of Mackintosh's 'supposed conversion,' as 'no conversion at all'—and says, that though taking a different view of the interior polities of this island, he 'suspects that as to France and many 'other countries, he remains *as frank a Jacobin as ever.*' The matter, however, does not rest there: If Sir James Mackintosh had truly drawn a new light from the Tory star, then in its ascendant, by what should he have been restrained from following the example of Mr Windham, the Duke of Portland, and many other eminent men, who, without imputation of dishonour, had left their former connexions, and ranged themselves under the banner of Mr Pitt? If love of place or emolument had any influence (as seems now to be insinuated) on his conduct, it is plain that he needed not then to have sought them on the opposite side of the globe. But the whole of his letters demonstrate that he never for an instant verged towards the principles or polities of the Tories; or abated a jot of his zeal for reform, though impressed, no doubt, with a stronger conviction of the caution with which it should be pursued. In one of his earliest letters from India, he says—(in February, 1805)—'I am convinced that Pitt 'has done more harm by going into place with his creatures, and 'surrendering the country to the King, or his advisers, than King 'William did good—or at least as much.' And in another confidential letter, written soon after hearing of the dissolution of the Whig Ministry of 1806, he says (p. 375)—'I consider the late 'Ministers as the most deserving in the reign of George III., 'and the worst used in the history of England. All above and 'below them conspired against them, and betrayed them. Circumstances compelled them to be too democratical for the permanence of their power, and *yet not democratical enough—I will 'not say for the demands of sanguine men,—but for what I think the 'only chance of safety for the country.*' It is needless to multiply quotations to this effect. We have already seen, that on his return to England he at once declined taking office under Mr Perceval, as 'inconsistent with those principles of liberty which 'were then (1812) higher in his estimation than they had been 'twenty years before.' And the whole course of his social and parliamentary life, from that time downwards, attested the sincerity of this profession. As to the Reform Bill of 1831, it will proba-

bly be thought a sufficient refutation of the injurious assertion, that he gave it his public support against his private conviction, to cite from a most confidential letter to his sister-in-law, the following words:—'At all events, *I am proud* that we have pro-'duced a measure which nobody can deny to be disinterested, 'honest, and brave.' This, too, was written in March 1831, before the freemen were perpetuated, the tenants at will admitted, or the number of the members restored to its original amount. But Sir James's own speech on that bill is fortunately on record; and no candid reader can dispute that it displays as full and hearty a conviction of the necessity and safety of the measure, as it is possible for a thinking man to express. That a cautious and balancing understanding like his should foresee possible hazards from so great an alteration—or rather from the ulterior progress of that movement which made this alteration necessary as well as just—and from *the unreasonable opposition* which might be made to that movement, is probably true—as well as that he may have occasionally expressed such apprehensions: But that he ever hesitated as to the justice of the measure itself, or ever considered the dangers of granting it as in any way to be compared with those of its rejection, we not only do not believe to be true, but may say we know to be false. To endeavour to bring this into question, and to throw a doubt on the sincerity of professions thus sealed by the whole tenor of an honourable life, on some supposed inconsistency between them and certain general doctrines maintained in the lectures of 1799 (and not long after disavowed), or on certain propositions in a review by another person, to which he had given a passing word of commendation in 1809, appears to us to be as flagrantly unfair, and as ludicrously absurd, as it is to extract an admission of his being in the habit of voting against his conscience, from a brief note in his journal, in which it is set down without any special protest or remark, that 'Castlereagh said to me * * * * is an ex-'cellent politician, but, like you, he thinks right and votes wrong!' But we have done with those paltry cavils—the result of which must be rather embarrassing, we think, for the enemies of reform. The best argument *against* reform, they assure us, is to be found in Sir James Mackintosh's lectures in 1799; but if Sir James was sincere, as no one will now seriously question, in supporting reform in 1831, then he must have been convinced, with his matured intellect and longer experience, of the fallacy of that argument: and his whole authority passes therefore at once to the other side of the question.

We have said that the tenderness of his domestic affections, and the deep humility of his character, were not sufficiently known, even among his friends, till the publication of those private

records: For his manners, though gentle, were cold; and, though uniformly courteous and candid in society, it was natural to suppose that he was not unconscious of his superiority. It is, therefore, but justice to bring into view some of the proofs that are now before us of both these endearing traits of character. The beautiful letter which he addressed to Dr Parr on the death of his first wife, in 1797, breathes the full spirit of both. We regret that we can only afford room for a part of it.

'Allow me, in justice to her memory, to tell you what she was, and what I owed her. I was guided in my choice only by the blind affection of my youth. I found an intelligent companion, and a tender friend, a prudent monitress, the most faithful of wives, and a mother as tender as children ever had the misfortune to lose. I met a woman who, by the tender management of my weaknesses, gradually corrected the most pernicious of them. She became prudent from affection; and though of the most generous nature, she was taught economy and frugality by her love for me. During the most critical period of my life, she preserved order in my affairs, from the care of which she relieved me. She gently reclaimed me from dissipation; she propped my weak and irresolute nature; she urged my indolence to all the exertions that have been useful or creditable to me, and she was perpetually at hand to admonish my heedlessness and improvidence. To her I owe whatever I am; to her whatever I shall be. In her solicitude for my interest, she never for a moment forgot my feelings, or my character. Even in her occasional resentment, for which I but too often gave her cause (would to God I could recall those moments!) she had no sullenness or acrimony. Her feelings were warm and impetuous, but she was placable, tender, and constant. Such was she whom I have lost; and I have lost her when her excellent natural sense was rapidly improving, after eight years of struggle and distress had bound us fast together, and moulded our tempers to each other,—when a knowledge of her worth had refined my youthful love into friendship, before age had deprived it of much of its original ardour,—I lost her, alas! (the choice of my youth, and the partner of my misfortunes) at a moment when I had the prospect of her sharing my better days.

'The philosophy which I have learnt only teaches me that virtue and friendship are the greatest of human blessings, and that their loss is irreparable. It aggravates my calamity, instead of consoling me under it. My wounded heart seeks another consolation. Governed by these feelings, which have in every age and region of the world actuated the human mind, I seek relief, and I find it, in the soothing hope and consolatory opinion, that a Benevolent Wisdom inflicts the chastisement, as well as bestows the enjoyments of human life; that Superintending Goodness will one day enlighten the darkness which surrounds our nature, and hangs over our prospects; that this dreary and wretched life is not the whole of man; that an animal so sagacious and provident, and capable of such proficiency in science and virtue is not like the beasts that perish; that there is a dwelling-place prepared for the spirits of the just, and that the ways of God will yet be vindicated to man. The sen-

timents of Religion which were implanted in my mind in my early youth, and which were revived by the awful scenes which I have seen passing before my eyes in the world, are, I trust, deeply rooted in my heart by this great calamity.'

We may add part of a very kind letter, written in 1808, in a more cheerful mood, to his son-in-law Mr Rich, then on a mission to Babylon, and whose early death so soon blasted the hopes not only of his afflicted family, but of the whole literary world.

'And now, my dear Rich, allow me, with the liberty of warm affection, earnestly to exhort you to exert every power of your mind in the duties of your station. There is something in the seriousness, both of business and of science, of which your vivacity is impatient. The brilliant variety of your attainments and accomplishments do, I fear, flatter you into the conceit that you may indulge your genius, and pass your life in amusement; while you smile at those who think, and at those who act. But this would be weak and ignoble. The success of your past studies ought to show you how much you may yet do, instead of soothing you with the reflection, how much you have done.

'Habits of seriousness of thought and action are necessary to the duties, to the importance, and to the dignity of human life. What is amiable gaiety at twenty-four, might run the risk, if it was unaccompanied by other things, of being thought frivolous and puerile at forty-four. I am so near forty four, that I can give you pretty exact news of that dull country; which, though it be almost as bad as "Yankee land," yet ought to interest you, as you are travelling towards it, and must pass through it.

'I hope you will profit by my errors. I was once ambitious to have made you a much improved edition of myself. If you had stayed here, I should have laboured to do so in spite of your impatience; as it is, I heartily pray that you may make yourself something much better. You have excellent materials; and, with all your love of the fine arts, you will, I am sure, acknowledge, that the noblest of them all is the art of forming a vigorous, healthy, and beautiful mind. It is a work of unwearied care; which must be constantly retouched through every part of life. But the toil becomes every day more pleasant, and the success more sure. I have much too good an opinion of you, and too warm a solicitude for your happiness, to make any apology for moralizing. I do not think I ever can write to you without a little preaching. "*Il est permis d'ennuyer en morale, d'ici jusqu'à Constantinople.*"

'You came here so early as to have made few sacrifices of friendship and society at home. You can afford a good many years for making a handsome fortune, and still return *home* young. You do not feel the force of the word quite so much as I could wish; but for the present let me hope that the prospect of coming to one who has such an affection for you as I have, will give your country some of the attractions of home. If you can be allured to it by the generous hope of increasing the enjoyments of my old age, you will soon discover in it sufficient excellences to love and admire; and it will become to you, in the full force of the term, a home.'

We are not sure whether the frequent aspirations which we find in his private letters, after the quiet and repose of an academical situation, ought to be taken as proofs of his humility, though they are generally expressed in language bearing that character. But there are other indications enough, and of the most unequivocal description—for example, this entry in 1818. '—— has, I think, 'a distaste for me. I think the worse of nobody for such a feeling. 'Indeed I often feel a distaste for myself; and I am sure I should 'not esteem my own character in another person. It is more 'likely that I should have disrespectable or disagreeable qualities, 'than that —— should have an unreasonable antipathy.'—(P. 344, Vol. II.)

And again, 'Very much saddened, I reflected on my lot, *or* '*rather my faults*, and bitterly felt that the business of life was 'but begun, while I am already beset with infirmities which mark 'the commencement of decline towards that state when man is

"Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans ears, sans every thing;"

'and how few now remain of those who were kind to my child-'hood, or whom my boyish promise filled with hope and pride.'

In the same sad but gentle spirit, we have this entry in 1822. 'Walked a little up the quiet valley, which on this cheerful 'morning looked pretty. While sitting on the stone under the 'tree, my mind was soothed by reading some passages of —— in 'the Quarterly Review. With no painful humility I felt that 'an enemy of mine is a man of genius and virtue, and that all 'who think slightingly of me may be right!' If the ensuing passage refers, as we suspect, to the same individual, we greatly fear that he would not, in similar circumstances, have felt or acted with the same generosity.

'I seldom go to the Royal Society of Literature, but as soon 'as I saw ——'s name in my circular letter, I determined to go 'to support him by my vote, and by all my little influence. The 'public duty is so evident, that I need not, though I sincerely 'might, speak of personal good-will. His claims as a man of 'genius are so transcendently superior to those of all those who 'have been, or who can be chosen, that I hope there can be no 'doubt of the Society being desirous of justifying their Institu-'tion by such a choice. I was one of his earliest, I have been 'one of his most constant, and I believe that I am now one of 'his greatest, admirers. If I were to listen to feeling instead of 'worldly prudence, I should rather propose a deputation to re-'quest his acceptance of the place, than a canvass to secure his 'appointment to it. On looking back for thirty years, I see too 'many faults in my own life, to be mindful of the faults against 'me!'

But the strongest and most painful expression of this profound humility is to be found in a note to his Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy; in which, after a beautiful eulogium on his deceased friends, Mr George Wilson and Mr Serjeant Lens, he adds—'The present writer hopes that the good-natured reader will 'excuse him for having thus, perhaps unseasonably, bestowed 'heartfelt commendation on those who were above the pursuit 'of praise, and the remembrance of whose good opinion and 'good-will helps to support him, under a deep sense of faults and 'vices.'

After this, it is rather a relief to find the following devout aspirations, on occasion of a delighted perusal of Jeremy Taylor on the Beatitudes, 1811.

'For a moment, O Teacher blessed! I taste the unspeakable 'delight of feeling myself to be better. I feel, as in the days of 'my youth, that "hunger and thirst after righteousness," which 'long habits of infirmity, and the concerns of the world have con-'tributed to extinguish!'—(P. 124, Vol. II.)

The reader now knows enough of Sir James's personal character, to enter readily into the spirit of any extracts we may lay before him. The most valuable of these are supplied by his letters, journals, and occasional writings, while enjoying the comparative leisure of his Indian residence, or the complete leisure of his voyages to and from that country: and, with all due deference to opposite opinions, this is exactly what we should have expected. It has been objected, we see, to these most interesting volumes, that they give us only the *no life* of an empty house at Bombay, or the incidents on board the good ship Caroline, while they tell us next to nothing of the intense vitality of a London and parliamentary existence. If the design of the work had been to record *incidents*, the objection would be unanswerable; but we have already explained that such could not have been its design:—and if the thoughts, judgments, and reasonings of such a man are of value, it is plain that we must look, for the best records of them, to those periods of leisure, and it may be of ennui, when the want of suitable society or fitting occupation threw him back most completely on his own resources, and drove him to take refuge in the strengths of his own great mind. Sir James Mackintosh, it is well known, had a great relish for society; and had not constitutional vigour (after his return from India) to go through much business without exhaustion and fatigue. In London and in Parliament, therefore, his powerful intellect was at once too much dissipated, and too much oppressed; and the traces it has left of its exertions on those scenes are comparatively few and inadequate. In conversation, no doubt, much that was delightful and instructive was thrown out; and,

for want of a Boswell, has perished. But, according to his own estimate at least, the scantiness of his *political* notices is not much to be wondered at, or regretted. 'How exclusive and 'uniform,' says he, in his first session, 'is the life of a politician! 'A tailor might as soon make a lively journal by an account of 'the number of coats he had made.' And, at all events, though it may be true that, from the imperfection of the memorials of his London life, we have in a great measure lost the light and graceful flowers of anecdote and conversation, we would fain console ourselves with the belief that we have secured the more precious and mature fruits of those studies and meditations which can only be pursued to advantage, when the cessation of more importunate calls has 'left us leisure to be wise.'

With reference to these views, nothing has struck us more than the singular vigour and alertness of his understanding during the dull progress of his home voyage. Shut up in a small cabin, in a tropical climate, in a state of languid health, and subject to every sort of annoyance, he not only reads with an industry which would not disgrace an ardent Academic studying for honours, but plunges eagerly into original speculations, and finishes off some of the most beautiful compositions in the language, in a shorter time than would be allowed, for such subjects, to a contractor for leading paragraphs to a daily paper. In less than a fortnight, during this voyage, he seems to have thrown off nearly twenty elaborate characters of eminent authors or statesmen in English story—conceived with a justness, and executed with a delicacy which would seem unattainable without long meditation and patient revisal. We cannot do better than present our readers with one of them; and we begin with that of Lord Somers —which, along with another of Swift, appears to have been the work of a Sunday morning, the 29th December, 1811. It is more of the nature of a panegyric than most of the others; but full of fine observation, and deep as well as acute, reflection.

'"To delineate the character of one who was 'as solicitous for the concealment as for the performance of illustrious actions,' at the distance of a century, and amidst a singular penury of original authorities, must be acknowledged to be an undertaking surrounded by more than common difficulties. He seemed to have very nearly realized the perfect model of a wise statesman in a free community. His end was public liberty; he employed every talent and resource which were necessary for his end, and not prohibited by the rules of morality. He was neither unfitted by scruples for the practical service of mankind, nor lowered by the use of immoral means to the level of vulgar politicians. The only term of intellectual praise which necessarily includes virtue is Wisdom, or that calm and comprehensive reason which chiefly fixes its eye on human happiness, after having embraced in its wide survey both the worlds of speculation and action, and from the contemplation of both

discovered the most effectual means of attaining the worthiest ends: This exalted quality is characteristic of that serenity and order which prevailed in the vast understanding of Lord Somers, as well as the disinterested principles which regulated its exertion. He may be eminently called wise, who, without the aid of enthusiasm, persevered for thirty years in combining human characters and passions, and in employing them in the service of liberty, with the same systematic consistency and undisturbed tranquillity, as if he were engaged in the cultivation of the most abstract science. His regulating principle was usefulness. He employed as much labour for his country as the selfish and ambitious exert for their own aggrandisement. To be useful, he submitted to compromise with the evil which he could not extirpate; and did not reject the smallest attainable good from a vain pursuit of that which could not be attained. To be useful, he endured unpopularity: he endured even the reproaches of inexperienced virtue, which clamoured for what was impossible, and disdained the small acquisition within the reach of human wisdom. He practised every art of moral policy. His life proved that virtue is not a vision, that prudence may be employed to render justice triumphant, and that as sound a moral constitution may be displayed in employing the arts of discretion under the restraints of conscience, as by those whose feelings recoil from the use of any means but such as would be sufficient among a race of beings as wise and virtuous as themselves. He did not disdain to conciliate Queen Anne, a weak and prejudiced woman, but on the preservation of whose favour the liberty of Europe partly depended. In his great labour to remedy abuses in the law, he was content with extorting from selfishness and prejudice far less than he sought. To disarm jealousy against himself, to make every public measure originate where it was most likely to be acceptable and successful, as well as to gratify his own modesty, he often suggested measures to others which he had himself conceived. He thought it enough that his means were lawful, and he considered the nobleness of the end as giving them sufficient dignity.

' " All the subordinate qualities of his mind were well fitted to be parts of such a whole. During the long period of violent change in which he acted, neither inconsistency, nor lukewarmness, nor revenge, has been laid to his charge. His quiet and refined mind rather shrunk from popular applause. He preserved the most intrepid steadiness, with a disposition so mild, that his friends thought its mildness excessive, and his enemies supposed that it could be scarcely natural. He seems to have been raised by the simplicity, which the love of usefulness inspires, above all the moral qualities which tend towards boasting or violence, and to have been conscious that he could be an active statesman without ceasing to be a man of virtue. He united a masculine understanding with the most elegant genius; he was a most learned lawyer, an accomplished orator, and a writer both in prose and verse, at least of sufficient excellence to prove the variety of his attainments, and the elegance of his pursuits. In the midst of the most arduous duties, he found leisure to keep pace with the progress of literature and of science, and his society was courted by the most finished wits, as the most delightful com-

panion of their leisure, and the most competent judge of their works. The purest morality added its finish, and the urbanity of his manners corresponded with the elegance of his taste, as well as with the gentle benevolence of his disposition.

' " Our knowledge of the infirmity of human nature forbids us to suppose that this all-accomplished person should have been without some defects. One of his contemporaries observes, ' that Lord Somers had few faults, such only as seem inseparable from human nature, and from which no mortal was ever exempt;' and Swift himself can only discover that he was not of noble origin, and that the gentleness of his manners arose from a constraint upon the original violence of his passions. His enemies ascribed all the wise measures of his party to his advice, and all their errors to its rejection. The Jacobites represent the punishments inflicted after the rebellion as condemned by him; and no opponent seems to have thought that he could have convicted a public measure of injustice and inhumanity, unless he could first show that it was disapproved by Lord Somers. Two great writers have delineated his character. The first was Addison, in a paper on his death in the ' Freeholder,' written with due tenderness and reverence, and with that exquisite and consummate elegance peculiar to his beautiful genius. The scrupulous veracity of Addison, and the access to the best information, which he derived from long friendship with Lord Somers, and from intimate and equal connexions with his colleagues, render his testimony respecting facts of the greatest weight. The other was Swift, who has written both as the friend and the enemy of Lord Somers. His dedication of the ' Tale of a Tub' is, in an ironical disguise, the most polite and lively panegyric in our language. In the ' History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne,' he has vainly laboured to an opposite purpose; but the impotence of his invective is a nobler homage to Lord Somers than the ingenuity of his panegyric." '

Samuel Johnson is given with equal power; and affords opportunity for more nice and strong discrimination. It is much longer, however, and we can venture on but a part of it.

' " He was distinguished by vigorous understanding and inflexible integrity. His imagination was not more lively than was necessary to illustrate his maxims; his attainments in science were inconsiderable, and in learning, far from the first class; they chiefly consisted in that sort of knowledge which a powerful mind collects from miscellaneous reading and various intercourse with mankind.

' " In early youth he had resisted the most severe tests of probity. Neither the extreme poverty nor the uncertain income to which the virtue of so many men of letters has yielded, even in the slightest degree weakened his integrity, or lowered the dignity of his independence. His moral principles (if the language may be allowed) partook of the vigour of his understanding. He was conscientious, sincere, determined; and his pride was no more than a steady consciousness of superiority in the most valuable qualities of human nature; his friendships were not only firm, but generous, and tender beneath a rugged exterior; he

wounded none of those feelings which the habits of his life enabled him to estimate; but he had become too hardened by serious distress not to contract some disregard for those minor delicacies which become so keenly susceptible in a calm and prosperous fortune. He was a Tory, not without some propensities towards Jacobitism; and a High Churchman, with more attachment to ecclesiastical authority and a splendid worship than is quite consistent with the spirit of Protestantism. On these subjects he neither permitted himself to doubt, nor tolerated difference of opinion in others. The vigour of his understanding is no more to be estimated by his opinions on subjects where it was bound by his prejudices, than the strength of a man's body by the efforts of a limb in fetters. His conversation, which was one of the most powerful instruments of his extensive influence, was artificial, dogmatical, sententious, and poignant, adapted, with the most admirable versatility, to every subject as it arose, and distinguished by an almost unparalleled power of serious repartee. He seems to have considered himself as a sort of colloquial magistrate, who inflicted severe punishment from just policy. His course of life led him to treat those sensibilities, which such severity wounds, as fantastic and effeminate, and he entered society too late to acquire those habits of politeness which are a substitute for natural delicacy.

' " In the progress of English style, three periods may be easily distinguished. The first period extended from Sir Thomas More to Lord Clarendon. During great part of this period, the style partook of the rudeness and fluctuation of an unformed language, in which use had not yet determined the words that were to be English. Writers had not yet discovered the combination of words which best suits the original structure and immutable constitution of our language. Where the terms were English, the arrangement was Latin—the exclusive language of learning, and that in which every truth in science, and every model of elegance, was contemplated by youth. For a century and a half, ineffectual attempts were made to bend our vulgar tongue to the genius of the language supposed to be superior; and the whole of this period, though not without a capricious mixture of coarse idiom, may be called the Latin, or pedantic age, of our style.

' " In the second period, which extended from the Restoration to the middle of the eighteenth century, a series of writers appeared, of less genius indeed than their predecessors, but more successful in their experiments to discover the mode of writing most adapted to the genius of the language. About the same period that a similar change was effected in France by Pascal, they began to banish from style learned as well as vulgar phraseology; and to confine themselves to the part of the language naturally used in general conversation by well-educated men. That middle region, which lies between vulgarity and pedantry, remains commonly unchanged, while both extremes are equally condemned to perpetual revolution. Those who select words from that permanent part of a language, and who arrange them according to its natural order, have discovered the true secret of rendering their writings permanent, and of

preserving that rank among the classical writers of their country, which men of greater intellectual power have failed to attain. Of these writers, whose language has not yet been slightly superannuated, Cowley was probably the earliest, as Dryden and Addison were assuredly the greatest.

'"The third period may be called the Rhetorical, and is distinguished by the prevalence of a school of writers, of which Johnson was the founder. The fundamental character of the Rhetorical style is, that it employs undisguised art, where classical writers appear only to obey the impulse of a cultivated and adorned nature, &c.

'"As the mind of Johnson was robust, but neither nimble nor graceful, so his style, though sometimes significant, nervous, and even majestic, was void of all grace and ease, and being the most unlike of all styles to the natural effusion of a cultivated mind, had the least pretensions to the praise of eloquence. During the period, now near a close, in which he was a favourite model, a stiff symmetry and tedious monotony succeeded to that various music with which the taste of Addison diversified his periods, and to that natural imagery which the latter's beautiful genius seemed with graceful negligence to scatter over his composition."'

We stop here to remark, that, though concurring in the substance of this masterly classification of our writers, we should yet be disposed to except to that part of it which represents the first introduction of soft, graceful, and idiomatic English as not earlier than the period of the Restoration. In our opinion it is at least as old as Chaucer. The English Bible is full of it; and it is the most common, as well as the most beautiful, of the many languages spoken by Shakspeare. Laying his verse aside, there are in his longer passages of prose—and in the serious as well as the humorous parts—in Hamlet, and Brutus, and Shylock, and Henry V., as well as in Falstaff, and Touchstone, Rosalind, and Benedick, a staple of sweet, mellow, and natural English, altogether as free and elegant as that of Addison, and for the most part, more vigorous and more richly coloured. The same may be said, with some exceptions, of the other dramatists of that age. Sir James is right perhaps as to the grave and authoritative writers of prose; but few of the wits of Queen Anne's time were of that description. Though our quotation from this character is already very long, we must add that part of the sequel which contains the author's general account of the Lives of the Poets.

'"Whenever understanding alone is sufficient for poetical criticism, the decisions of Johnson are generally right. But the beauties of poetry must be felt before their causes are investigated. There is a poetical sensibility which in the progress of the mind becomes as distinct a power as a musical ear or a picturesque eye. Without a considerable degree of this sensibility, it is as vain for a man of the greatest understanding to

speak of the higher beauties of poetry, as it is for a blind man to speak of colours. But to cultivate such a talent was wholly foreign from the worldly sagacity and stern shrewdness of Johnson. As in his judgment of life and character, so in his criticism on poetry, he was a sort of free-thinker. He suspected the refined of affectation, he rejected the enthusiastic as absurd, and he took it for granted that the mysterious was unintelligible. He came into the world when the school of Dryden and Pope gave the law to English poetry. In that school he had himself learned to be a lofty and vigorous declaimer in harmonious verse; beyond that school his unforced admiration perhaps scarcely soared; and his highest effort of criticism was accordingly the noble panegyric on Dryden. His criticism owed its popularity as much to its defects as to its excellences. It was on a level with the majority of readers—persons of good sense and information, but of no exquisite sensibility; and to their minds it derived a false appearance of solidity, from that very narrowness which excluded those grander efforts of imagination to which Aristotle and Bacon confined the name of poetry."'

This admirable and original delineation appears to have been the task of one disturbed and sickly day. We have in these volumes characters of Hume, Swift, Lord Mansfield, Wilkes, Goldsmith, Gray, Franklin, Sheridan, Fletcher of Saltoun, Louis XIV., and some others, all finished with the same exquisite taste, and conceived in the same vigorous and candid spirit; besides which, it appears from the Journal, that, in the same incredibly short period of fourteen or fifteen days, he had made similar delineations of Lord North, Paley, George Grenville, C. Townshend, Turgot, Malesherbes, Young, Thomson, Aikenside, Lord Bolingbroke, and Lord Oxford; though (we know not from what cause) none of these last mentioned appear in the present publication.

During the same voyage, the perusal of Madame de Sevigné's Letters engages him (at intervals) for about a fortnight; in the course of which he has noted down in his journal more just and delicate remarks on her character, and that of her age, than we think are any where else to be met with. The following may be more interesting than most of them, to a reader of English history:—

'"Her testimony agrees with that of Madame de la Fayette, with respect to the poverty of spirit and understanding shown by James II. on his arrival at Paris. They were both exquisite observers, and zealously devoted to the cause of James; there cannot, therefore, be more weighty evidence against him. She praises his queen. In the midst of all the rage felt at Paris against King William, the admirable good-sense and natural moderation of Madame de Sevigné catches a glimpse of his real character, through the mists of Rome and Versailles. 'Le prince n'a pas songé à faire perir son beau-père. Il est dans Londres, à la place du Roi, sans en prendre le nom, ne voulant que rétablir une religion qu'il croit bonne,

et maintenir les loix du pays sans qu'il en coute une goutte de sang—voilà l'envers, tout juste, de ce que nous pensons de lui; ce sont des points de vue bien différens. Pour le Roi d'Angleterre il y [St Germains] paroit content,—et c'est pour cela qu'il est là.' Observe the perfect good-sense of the last remark, and the ease and liveliness with which it is made. Tacitus and Machiavel could have said nothing better; but a superficial reader will think no more of it than the writer herself seems to do."'

We do not know any thing in the whole compass of English literature more finely thought, or more finely expressed, than the following remarks on the true tone of polite conversation and familiar letters,—suggested by the same fascinating collection :—

"'" When a woman of feeling, fancy, and accomplishment has learned to converse with ease and grace, from long intercourse with the most polished society, and when she writes as she speaks, she must write letters as they ought to be written; if she has acquired just as much habitual correctness as is reconcilable with the air of negligence. A moment of enthusiasm, a burst of feeling, a flash of eloquence may be allowed; but the intercourse of society, either in conversation or in letters, allows no more. Though interdicted from the long-continued use of elevated language, they are not without a resource. There is a part of language which is disdained by the pedant or the declaimer, and which both, if they knew its difficulty, would dread; it is formed of the most familiar phrases and turns, in daily use by the generality of men, and is full of energy and vivacity, bearing upon it the mark of those keen feelings and strong passions from which it springs. It is the employment of such phrases which produces what may be called colloquial eloquence. Conversation and letters may be thus raised to any degree of animation, without departing from their character. Any thing may be said, if it be spoken in the tone of society; the highest guests are welcome, if they come in the easy undress of the club; the strongest metaphor appears without violence, if it is familiarly expressed; and we the more easily catch the warmest feeling, if we perceive that it is intentionally lowered in expression, out of condescension to our calmer temper. It is thus that harangues and declamations, the last proof of bad taste and bad manners in conversation, are avoided, while the fancy and the heart find the means of pouring forth all their stores. To meet this despised part of language in a polished dress, and producing all the effects of wit and eloquence, is a constant source of agreeable surprise. This is increased when a few bolder and higher words are happily wrought into the texture of this familiar eloquence. To find what seems so unlike author-craft in a book, raises the pleasing astonishment to its highest degree. I once thought of illustrating my notions by numerous examples from 'La Sevigné.' I must, some day or other, do so, though I think it the resource of a bungler, who is not enough master of language to convey his conceptions into the minds of others. The style of Madame de Sevigné is evidently copied, not only by her worshipper, Walpole, but even by Gray; who, notwithstanding the extraordinary merits of his matter, has the double stiffness of an imitator, and of a college recluse.

' " Letters must not be on a subject. Lady Mary Wortley's letters on her Journey to Constantinople, are an admirable book of travels; but they are not letters. A meeting to discuss a question of science is not conversation; nor are papers written to another, to inform or discuss, letters. Conversation is relaxation, not business, and must never appear to be occupation; nor must letters. Judging from my own mind, I am satisfied of the falsehood of the common notion, that these letters owe their principal interest to the anecdotes of the court of Louis XIV. A very small part of the letters consist of such anecdotes. Those who read them with this idea, must complain of too much Grignan. I may now own that I was a little tired during the two first volumes: I was not quite charmed and bewitched till the middle of the collection, where there are fewer anecdotes of the great and famous. I felt that the fascination grew as I became a member of the Sevigné family; it arose from the history of the immortal mother and the adored daughter, and it increased as I knew them in more minute detail; just as my tears in the dying chamber of Clarissa depend on my having so often drank tea with her in those early volumes, which are so audaciously called dull by the profane vulgar. I do not pretend to say that they do not owe some secondary interest to the illustrious age in which they were written; but this depends merely on its tendency to heighten the dignity of the heroine, and to make us take a warmer concern in persons who were the friends of those celebrated men and women, who are familiar to us from our childhood." '

Hardly any thing can be more characteristic of the indulgent, though perfectly sound and pure views of Sir James, on the relative importance of different moral duties, than what he has stated in the same journal, after reading the passionate letters of Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse.

' " I am the last man in the world to wish it otherwise; if I were to value myself upon any thing, it would be upon having showed the immense importance of female purity, and its tendency to produce every other virtue; I only wish our moral sentiments to be silenced, that I may gain a hearing for one or two sober reflections. However justly we may reprobate the Parisian morals, every individual at Paris must be tried with reference to that standard. Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse preserved every other virtue, partly, because the immorality which she had committed, was not, in her society, attended by the forfeiture of honour. Looking over the whole world, insensibility, or malignant passions, seem almost the only causes of great evil. The evils of excessive and ill-regulated sensibility offend us; but they are almost confined to the smaller and more refined part of the more civilized communities. Wherever I see perfect disinterestedness and heroic affection, I cannot but recognise the presence of the highest virtues, though I lament that they have not taken the form and direction most conducive to the happiness of society. Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse had all the virtues of a generous and honourable *man*. With a full knowledge of all the circumstances, she retained the tender friendship of Turgot, perhaps the most virtuous man at that time existing in the world. By the great refinement of manners, the inter-

course of the sexes became more unfettered in France than in other countries; and, by an unfortunate inversion of the progress of education, women were rendered more alluring before they were made more rational. The gallantry of the court during the first part of the reign of Louis XIV., grew out of this state, and reacted upon it. The bigotry of Madame de Maintenon exasperated that disease, till it broke out in full violence under the regent.

'"One word more on Mademoiselle de l'Espinasse—she was an illegitimate child. Illegitimacy rouses the understanding to struggle against unjust depression; it naturally inspires a dissatisfaction with the order of society which degrades the innocent. A child who is led to hate his father as a betrayer, his mother as dishonoured, must experience that general disturbance of feeling which must arise from the disordered state of those primary sentiments out of which all human affections spring. This theory is much supported by my observation."'

Somewhat akin to this, though in a higher strain, is the following:—

'"It is impossible, I think, to look into the interior of any religious sect, without thinking better of it. I ought, indeed, to confine myself to those of Christian Europe; but, with that limitation, it seems to me that the remark is true; whether I look at the Jansenists of Port Royal, or the Quakers in Clarkson, or the Methodists in these journals. All these sects, which appear dangerous or ridiculous at a distance, assume a much more amiable character on nearer inspection. They all inculcate pure virtue, and practise mutual kindness; and they exert great force of reason in rescuing their doctrines from the absurd or pernicious consequences which naturally flow from them. Much of this arises from the general nature of religious principle; much, also, from the genius of the Gospel morality,—so meek and affectionate, that it can soften barbarians, and warm even sophists themselves. Something, doubtless, depends on the civilisation of Europe; for the character of Christian sects in Asia is not so distinguished."'

In 1808, he remarks on that visible return towards religious sentiments among the educated and literary classes, which we are happy to think has ever since been progressive:—

'"How general is the tendency of these times towards religious sentiment! Madame de Staël may not, perhaps, ever be able calmly to believe the dogmas of any sect: But she seems prepared by turns to adopt *the feelings* of all sects. Twenty years ago the state of opinion seemed to indicate an almost total destruction of religion in Europe. Ten years ago the state of political events appeared to show a more advanced stage in the progress towards such a destruction. The reaction has begun every where. A mystical philosophy prevails in Germany; a poetical religion is patronised by men of genius in France. It is adopted in some measure by Madame de Staël, who finds it even by the help of her reason in the nature of man, if she cannot so deeply perceive it in the nature of things. In England no traces of this tendency are discoverable among

the men of letters; perhaps because they never went so near the opposite extreme; perhaps, also, because they have not suffered the same misfortunes."'

How many debateable points are fairly settled by the following short and vigorous remarks, in the Journal for 1811 :—

'"—Finished George Rose's 'Observations on Fox's History,' which are tedious and inefficient. That James was more influenced by a passion for arbitrary power than by Popish bigotry, is an idle refinement in Fox; he liked both Popery and tyranny; and I am persuaded he did not himself know which he liked best. The English people, at the Revolution, dreaded his love of Popery more than his love of tyranny. This was in them Protestant bigotry, not reason: But the instinct of their bigotry pointed right; Popery was then the name for the faction which supported civil and religious tyranny in Europe: to be a Papist was to be a partisan of the ambition of Louis XIV." '

There is, in the Bombay Journal of the same year, a beautiful essay on novels, and the *moral* effect of fiction in general, the whole of which we should like to extract; but it is far too long. It proceeds on the assumption, that as all fiction must seek to interest by representing admired qualities in an exaggerated form, and in striking aspects, it must tend to raise the standard, and increase the admiration of excellence. In answer to an obvious objection, he proceeds—

'"A man who should feel all the various sentiments of morality, in the proportions in which they are inspired by the Iliad, would certainly be far from a perfectly good man. But it does not follow that the Iliad did not produce great moral benefit. To determine that point, we must ascertain whether a man, formed by the Iliad, would be better than the ordinary man of the country at the time in which it appeared. It is true that it too much inspires an admiration for ferocious courage. That admiration was then prevalent, and every circumstance served to strengthen it. But the Iliad breathes many other sentiments less prevalent, less favoured by the state of society, and calculated gradually to mitigate the predominant passion. The friendship and sorrow of Achilles for Patroclus, the patriotic valour of Hector, the paternal affliction of Priam, would slowly introduce more humane affections. If they had not been combined with the admiration of barbarous courage they would not have been popular, and consequently they would have found no entry into those savage hearts which they were destined (I do not say *intended*) to soften. It is therefore clear, from the very nature of poetry, that the poet must inspire somewhat better morals than those around him, though, to be effectual and useful, his morals must not be totally unlike those of his contemporaries. If the Iliad should, in a long course of ages, have inflamed the ambition and ferocity of a few individuals, even that evil, great as it is, will be far from balancing all the generous sentiments which, for three thousand years, it has been pouring into the hearts of youth, and which it now continues to infuse, aided by the dignity of antiquity, and

by all the fire and splendour of poetry. Every succeeding generation, as it refines, requires the standard to be proportionably raised.

'"Apply these remarks, with the necessary modifications, to those fictions copied from common life, called novels, which are not above a century old, and of which the multiplication and the importance, as well literary as moral, are characteristic features of England. There may be persons now alive who may recollect the publication of 'Tom Jones,' at least, if not of 'Clarissa.' In that time, probably twelve novels have appeared, of the first rank—a prodigious number, of such a kind, in any department of literature; (by the help of Sir Walter Scott and Miss Edgeworth we may now at least double the number)—and the whole class of novels must have had more influence on the public, than all other sorts of books combined. Nothing popular can be frivolous; whatever influences multitudes, must be of proportionable importance. Bacon and Turgot would have contemplated with inquisitive admiration this literary revolution."'

And soon after, while admitting that Tom Jones (for example) is so far from being a moral book, as to be deserving of the severest reprobation, he adds—

'"Yet even in this extreme case I must observe that the same book inspires the greatest abhorrence of the duplicity of Blifil, of the hypocrisy of Thwackum and Square; that Jones himself is interesting by his frankness, spirit, kindness, and fidelity—all virtues of the first class. The objection is the same in its principle with that to the Iliad. The ancient epic exclusively presents war—the modern novel love; the one what was most interesting in public life, and the other what is most brilliant in private—and both with an unfortunate disregard of moral restraint."'

He makes a still better answer to Mr Stewart's more refined and formidable objection, that novels blunt our natural sympathies by the too-frequent exhibition of aggravated distress, and at the same time dissociate them from the active habit of beneficence, for the exercise of which they of course afford no occasion. To this the main answer is, that fictitious suffering is never exhibited but for the purpose of exciting Pity (while the misery of real life frequently appears under very different relations), and that this association, which is the true root of compassion, is strengthened and not weakened by repetition; at the same time that pity necessarily implies so much of an effort towards actual relief, as to follow the law of active habits in general, and to give force to the beneficent propensity. 'If this were not so,' he concludes, 'what would be the case of those good men who see misery often, 'and seldom, or perhaps never, may have the means of relieving 'it? Mr Stewart will not suppose that their hearts will be hardened, or that their pity will not be in many respects more 'lively and eager than that of those who have relieved themselves 'by beneficence. On the contrary, he will acknowledge that the 'facility of relieving the coarser distresses is one of the circum-

'stances which corrupt and harden the rich, and fills them with 'the insolent conceit, that all the wounds of the human heart can 'be healed by their wealth.'

There is a very curious entry in the Journal for August 1811. On Sunday the 18th, he attends the funeral of Governor Duncan, and hears a very poor discourse on the immortality of the soul. 'Contemplations,' he adds, 'passed in my mind which I should 'be almost afraid to communicate to any creature!' On the day following, however, he seems to have taken courage to set down at least a part of them, in one of the most subtle and fine drawn speculations that have any where been produced on the subject. The object is to show how near the sentiments of a speculative atheist may approach to those of a true believer, on the two great points of the being of a God, and the immortality of his rational creatures. As to the first, he observes that such a person may very well have the warmest love and reverence for perfect virtue, and if so, can scarcely avoid personifying this conception, in the course of his lofty meditations—and then 'How small 'is the difference between the evanescent individuality to which the 'reasonings of the philosophical theist reduce or exalt the divinity, 'and the mental reality into which the imagination of him who 'is called an atheist may brighten his personification of virtue!' As to immortality, again, the process is as summary; and the assumptions still bolder. He holds it to be clear, that the only sound foundation for this belief (independent of revelation), is the feeling that beings capable of an indefinite progress in virtue and happiness, should not be cut short in that progress by such an accident as death, but that fear of punishment or hope of reward, in its future stages, are altogether unworthy of being taken into consideration. But

'"When the mind is purified from these gross notions, it is evident that the belief of a future state can no longer rest on the merely selfish idea of preserving its own individuality. When we make a farther progress, it becomes indifferent whether *the same individuals* who now inhabit the universe, or *others* who do not yet exist, are to reach that superior degree of virtue and happiness of which human nature seems to be capable. The object of desire is the quantity of virtue and happiness—not the identical beings who are to act and to enjoy. Even those who distinctly believe in the continued existence of their fellow-men, are unable to pursue their opinion through any considerable part of its consequences. The dissimilarity between Socrates at his death, and Socrates in a future state, ten thousand years after death, and ten thousand times wiser and better, is so very great, that to call these two beings by the same name, is rather a consequence of the imperfection of language, than of exact views in philosophy. There is no practical identity. The Socrates of Elysium can feel no interest in recollecting what befel the Socrates of Athens. He is infinitely more re-

moved from his former state than Newton was in this world from his infancy.

' " Now the philosopher, who for his doubts is called an Atheist, may desire *and believe* the future progress of intelligent beings, though he may doubt whether the progress being made by the same individuals, be either proved or very important. His feelings will scarcely differ at all, and his opinions very little, from him who is called a Theist." '

Ingenious as this is, we do not hesitate to say that it is unsound: the obvious defect being, that this refined atheistical creed entirely excludes any belief in *the moral government* of the world—and though founded on a supposed enthusiasm for moral excellence, necessarily denies all moral agency, and refuses all moral influence to its poetical personification. It seems to us also, that without the feeling of *identity*, there can be no proper conception either of a progress or of immortality, and, in truth, no equivalent conception. The whole speculation, indeed, appears to us to be curious, principally as affording one of the few examples which his life ever afforded, of notions thrown out merely as exercitations of the intellect and materials for farther reflection, without much belief in their truth, or much concern for their tendency. It is but justice, however, to the author to observe, that he concludes by a strong statement of the practical advantages of the theistic scheme; and assigns a very amiable and characteristic reason for looking with some favour upon these very questionable suggestions. ' I am pleased,' he says, ' with these ' contemplations, as showing that good men have not been able ' to differ so much from each other as they imagine; and that ' amidst all the deviations of the understanding, the beneficent ' necessity of their nature keeps alive the same sacred feelings.'

To the theological decision which occurs in the succeeding page, we give, however, our unqualified concurrence.

' " Read this morning a sermon by Atterbury, which gave rise to one of his controversies with Hoadley. It is on 1 Corinthians, xv. 19: ' If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.' To seek precise propositions in the ardent phrases of a writer like Paul, full of uncultivated eloquence, and destitute of exactness and order, is a very vain attempt; but the general sense of this text seems to me to depend on the words ' in Christ;' and to be, If you, Converts, hope for temporal and outward advantages from your conversion to Christianity, your disappointment will be complete. Atterbury, on the contrary, gives it a construction which *tends* to persuade the reader that, without a future state, the practice of morality would lead to misery,—a doctrine more immoral than any thing in Mandeville; and of which the destructive tendency would justify the interference of the magistrate more than most other principles published among men, if the danger were not prevented by its monstrous absurdity." '

But we must now turn to matters of secular interest. How

masterly and honest is this short summary of the Regency question of 1789 :—

' " On calmly reviewing the subject, the difference between both parties becomes so small as to be scarcely perceptible. Those who contended for the right of Parliament, allowed the Prince of Wales to have an irresistible claim. Why? Not surely, for his superior personal merits, as if it had been an elective office; but because there was a parity of expediency, and an analogy of law, in his favour; because recourse to the next heir, as a regent, prevented contest, as hereditary succession to the crown does. The dispute is, therefore, reduced to this very nice and subtle question of legal metaphysics—whether the parity of reason was such as amounted to a ground for the judgment of a court, or only such as irresistibly determined the conscience of a body on whom necessity had conferred a right of election? A right of election irresistibly confined by conscience to one individual, differs very little from a mere power of recognition. This is such an evanescent question, that it would be difficult for a legal Aquinas or Windham to determine; yet how wide does the difference appear, when it is looked at with the eyes of faction, and displayed with all the exaggerations of eloquence!" '

There are some excellent remarks on Rulhière's History of Poland. We can only give the summary, which is sufficiently decided.

' " This is a book which will not let a reader stop, and which it requires considerable powers of oblivion to forget. The facts are not only new, but they are unlike those with which we are familiar; they supply a chapter in the history of manners and national character. The Sclavonic race appears in action with its two chief nations, the Russians and Poles; the first under a single tyrant; the second under a tumultuary assembly of a hundred thousand gentlemen. Probity and courage give some interest to the falling Turks, and the great name of Greece sheds somewhat of the lustre of heroism on the wild adventure of such a ruffian as Alexis Orloff in favour of those wretched Greeks (but Greeks still!) whom he seduced to revolt, and abandoned to their fate. These very singular nations are not merely described, but exhibited with lively and dramatic particularity, through all the varieties of war and peace. Even the bluntness of the English seamen, to whom Orloff owed his undeserved fame, though so familiar to us, becomes very striking in the new combination. Liberty—even the most imperfect and lawless liberty, produces energy and dignity in Poland. The old General Bramicki, Mohranowski, the Pulawskis, were worthy of having fought against Cæsar at Pharsalia. Universal slavery produces its usual fruits in Russia; not one native Muscovite shows a glimpse of genius or virtue; the words, 'slave' and 'man,' are, it seems, the same in the language of these wretches. There would surely be a greater destruction of understanding and virtue in the loss of one Swiss canton, or English parish, than in that of fifty planet loads of Muscovites!" '

The following short reflection on the character of Eastern art, is worth transcribing ;—

' " Their superstition seems to have thought human beauty too mean an ornament for a god. Human beauty requires the human form; but the Eastern religion and art, unable to show superior strength by Herculean muscles, recurred to the rude expedient of indicating it by gigantic size, or by many hands: and the sculptor who could not represent divine intelligence in a face, attempted to express it by four heads. There are traces of these notions in the Grecian mythology sufficient to show its descent; but, at last, after art had been toiling in India, in Persia, and in Egypt, to produce monsters, beauty and grace were discovered in Greece.

' " It is probable that the quantity of labour employed in England on docks, canals, and other useful works during the last fifty years, is greater than that employed on all the boasted works of Asia, from the wall of China to the Pyramids. To pierce a country in all directions with canals, is, in truth, a greater work than any of them. But our public works being dispersed, unornamented, and for purposes of obvious use, want the qualities that impose on the vulgar imagination." '

The following remark could only have occurred to a man of profound thought, and large observation.

' " Talents are, in my sense, habitual powers of execution; and they may be often very disproportioned to the understanding. Those who content themselves with the common speculations of their age, generally possess the talent of expressing them, which must have become pretty widely diffused before the speculations become common: But there are times when there is a general tendency towards something higher, and when no man has quite reached the objects, still less the subsequent and auxiliary powers of expression. In these intervals, between one mode of thinking and another, literature seems to decline, while mind is really progressive; because no one has acquired the talent of the new manner of thinking. This observation appears to me very extensively applicable to the past history of literature, and to be likely to be more extensively applicable to its future history." '

And this also: ' The philosophy of this age has weakened *the* ' *prejudice* of Nationality; but it has reached the further stage of ' estimating the great value of *the principle.*'

What can be more wise and true than this apparently simple remark?—

' " A benevolent man estimates others by the degree in which he can make them happy; a selfish man, by the degree in which he can make them subservient to his own interest. To estimate human beings merely or chiefly by their intrinsic merits, and to act towards them on that principle, is a proud pretension; but evidently inconsistent with the condition of human nature. It would be natural in mere spectators, but not in those who are themselves engaged in the race of life. The evident effect of it is, after all, to cheat ourselves. When we suppose that we are estimating others on principles of severe justice, we may be giving judgment on them, under the influence of dislike, disgust, or anger." '

The following, not very sanguine, anticipations of the fortunes of Spanish America in 1811, have been receiving confirmation almost ever since :—

'"Spanish America seems destined to wade through blood to independence—whether to liberty is another question. The mixture and mutual hostility of races, Europeans, creoles, mulattoes, Americans, and negroes; the animosities founded on physical and sensible differences, strengthened by contempt on one side, and by envy and resentment on the other; the struggle of the new principles that naturally follow independence, with the power of the church and the nobility; the natural tendency of a new government towards democracy, and the peculiar unfitness of such a community as that of Spanish America for popular institutions; the vast distance, and the barriers of mountains and deserts between the various provinces; their long habits of being administered by governments independent of each other;—all these causes seem to promise a long series of bloody commotions. If the issue was certainly a good government, it might seem a matter of small moment to a distant observer, whether the insignificant and insipid lives of a hundred thousand creoles were twenty years shorter or longer; but, unhappily, there is no such certainty. On the contrary, the more blood is spilt by assassination and massacre, the less chance there is of establishing a free government. The evil is, that the survivors are trained to inhumanity and dishonesty; and thereby rendered incapable of liberty. A civil war is better than assassination and massacre; it has a system of discipline; it has laws, duties, and virtues; but it must end in military despotism. The example of Washington is solitary."'

The entry under 6th March, 1817, has, to the writer of this article, a melancholy interest, even at this distance of time. It refers to the motion recently made in the House of Commons for a new writ, on the death of Mr Horner. The reflections with which it closes must, we think, be interesting always.

'"March 6th.—The only event which now appears interesting to me, is the scene in the House of Commons on Monday. Lord Morpeth opened it in a speech so perfect, that it might have been well placed as a passage in the most elegant English writer; it was full of feeling; every topic was skilfully presented, and contained, by a sort of prudence which is a part of taste, within safe limits; he slid over the thinnest ice without cracking it. Canning filled well, what would have been the vacant place of a calm observer of Horner's public life and talents. Manners Sutton's most affecting speech was a tribute of affection from a private friend become a political enemy; Lord Lascelles, at the head of the country gentlemen of England, closing this affecting, improving, and most memorable scene by declaring, 'that if the sense of the House could have been taken on this occasion, it would have been unanimous.' I may say without exaggeration, that never were so many words uttered without the least suspicion of exaggeration; and that never was so much honour paid in any age or nation to intrinsic claims alone. A Howard intro-

duced, and an English House of Commons adopted, the proposition of thus honouring the memory of a man of thirty-eight, the son of a shopkeeper, who never filled an office, or had the power of obliging a living creature, and whose grand title to this distinction was the belief of his virtue. How honourable to the age and to the House! A country where such sentiments prevail is not ripe for destruction." '

But we must draw to a conclusion; though the infinite variety which the book presents of profound remarks, ingenious discussions, and acute observations on so great a diversity of subjects, has made even these copious extracts but an inadequate specimen of its merits. There is a great deal about Madame de Staël, and her writings; and about Burke, and his transcendent, though often misunderstood, excellence. There are admirable characters of Fox, Windham, and Nelson—much profound discussion on European politics with Gentz and B. Constant—and a profusion of most candid, refined, and original criticism on Spenser, Pope, Richardson, Fielding, and Addison, as well as upon Kant, Schelling, and the other German philosophers with whom he is familiar. There are many lively and entertaining narratives of various tours performed by him in India, enriched with the reflections of a most vigilant and comprehensive mind on the state of Indian Society, and most interesting speculations on Indian literature and philosophy. There are journals of various excursions to Paris, with anecdotes of almost all the distinguished persons who figured upon that busy scene. There are beautiful letters, on topics of the deepest interest, between him and his gifted but unfortunate friend, the late Rev. Robert Hall; and discussions upon history and ethical philosophy, with reference to the two great works he had meditated in those departments, which have now acquired an additional interest from the imperfect state in which he was destined to leave those magnificent designs. We have not space to give more than a catalogue of these treasures; and scarcely know where to select the very few additional specimens on which we can venture. The following short sketch of Horne Tooke we give, chiefly as an example of his most rare manner—that of severity. After very high praise of his style and vigorous perspicuity, he says,—

' " As to praise, he confines it to a few of his own sycophants. He praises nobody that deserves it, except Rogers. His invectives against his age, his country, and his literary contemporaries, are not worthy of a wise or good man; his temper is soured, and his character corrupted by philology and disappointed ambition. With an admirable simplicity of style, his book shows no simplicity of character; he is full of petty tricks, to entangle and surprise his reader; he prepares for every statement by exciting wonder; he never makes it plainly, but always tri-

umphs over the blindness of the whole human race, who left him the discovery." '

What he says of Hogarth is excellent; though he denies that his is the only school of painting which strengthens moral impressions. ' Have not dying Christs,' he asks, ' taught fortitude ' to the virtuous sufferer? Have not Holy Families cherished ' and ennobled the domestic affections? The tender genius of ' the Christian morality, even in its most corrupt state, has made ' a mother and her child the highest object of affectionate super- ' stition.' This is beautiful; but the characteristic and generalizing part is what follows :—

' " The same circumstances at the same time directed both the pencil and the pen to common life. Hogarth arose with Richardson and Fielding. The ' Rake's Progress' is a novel on canvass. The Dutch painters had before painted familiar and low scenes; but they were without any particular moral tendency; and it was scenery, rather than the history of ordinary life, which they represented. They were masters of the mechanism of their art, in which Hogarth was totally deficient.

' " Hogarth had extraordinary vigour of sense, and a quick perception of the ridiculous, with somewhat of that coarseness and prejudice against sensibility or refinement, which men of that character are apt to entertain. Horace Walpole brought him to dine with Gray; and complained that he was seated between Tragedy and Comedy. They did not talk to each other; which he ought to have foreseen. Gray must have shrunk from Hogarth, and Hogarth must have laughed at Gray. Hogarth and Johnson suited each other better. Both had most powerful and independent understandings; neither had poetical sensibility. Both endeavonred to spare themselves the pain of knowing, and the shame of owning, that they were inferior to others in sensibility to the higher productions of art, by professing a contempt for such of them, as were not too formidably guarded by ancient fame and general reverence." '

The following is just and striking; and also remarkable as the germ of one of the most instructive and touching pieces of biography that has ever been given to the world.

' " Sir T. More set out as a philosopher and reformer; but the coarseness, turbulence, and bloody contests of Lutheranism having frightened him, this most upright and merciful man became a persecutor of men as innocent, though not of such great minds, as himself. He predicted that the Reformation would produce universal vice, ignorance, and barbarism. The events of a few years seemed to countenance his prophecy—but those of three centuries have belied it. His character is a most important example of the best man espousing the worst cause, and supporting it even by bad actions—which is the greatest lesson of charity that can be taught." '

We give the following as a short example of that rare talent of exhausting an argument by lucid arrangement, and compressing its whole substance into a few plain propositions. Southey, in

his specimens of English poetry, had proposed to estimate the poetical taste of each age, by *the number of bad poems* published in the course of it. But this, Sir James justly remarks, is most unfair to the more polished and literary eras, for the following plain considerations :—

' " I. The whole number of poems published in a polished age being greater, it is only *the proportion* of bad poems which ought to enter into the account. II. There are many poems written, but not published, in rude ages; in a refined period, the demand and the facility of publication cause a much larger proportion of the poems written to be published. III. There being many more readers in a lettered age, among whom are many incompetent judges, there will be a demand, and even a temporary reputation for bad poems, till it is checked by the decision of the *judging few*, which always ultimately prevails. IV. There is another cause of the temporary reputation of bad poems [in a lettered age]. A book is sooner known, and consequently sooner ceases to be a novelty. The public appetite longs for something newer, though it should be worse." '

Sir James could not but feel, in the narrow circles of Bombay, the great superiority of London society; and he has thus recorded his sense of it :—

' " In great capitals, men of different provinces, professions, and pursuits, are brought together in society, and are obliged to acquire a habit, a matter, and manner, mutually perspicuous and agreeable ; hence they are raised above frivolity, and are divested of pedantry. In small societies this habit is not imposed by necessity ; they have lower, but more urgent subjects, which are interesting to all, level to all capacities, and require no effort or preparation of mind." '

He might have added, that in a great capital the best of all sorts is to be met with ; and that the adherents even of the most extreme or fantastic opinions are there so numerous, and generally so respectably headed, as to command a deference and regard that would scarcely be shown to them when appearing as insulated individuals; and thus it happens that real toleration, and true modesty, as well as their polite simulars, are rarely to be met with out of great cities. This, however, is true only of those who mix largely in the general society of such places. For bigots and exclusives of all sorts, they are hot-beds and seats of corruption ; since, however absurd or revolting their tenets may be, such persons are sure to meet enough of their fellows to encourage each other. In the provinces, a believer in animal magnetism or German metaphysics has few listeners and no encouragement; but in a place like London they make a little coterie ; who herd together, exchange flatteries, and take themselves for the apostles of a new gospel.

We fear we must stop here. In so great and miscellaneous a

collection we have been bewildered in our choice of specimens, and do not think, on looking back to them, that we have been very happy in our selection. Enough, however, has probably been shown to give those who have not seen the book a notion of the entertainment it may afford them; and this, of course, is our main object.

In such selections as we have made, the reader will not fail to observe that we have followed out the view which we ventured to take at the outset, as to the true character and interest of this publication;—regarding it rather as a repository of the author's thoughts and reasonings, than an account of his fortunes or conduct—as a supplement, in short, to his published writings, and not a record of his personal experiences. In going over it, indeed, we feel that we should have been inexcusable in taking any other view. By far the greater part of it is of Sir James's own writing; and it would perhaps have been more rightly entitled 'Journals and Letters of Sir James Mackintosh, with a short 'Account of his Life.' When his works accordingly come to be collected, we have no doubt that most of what is now before us will go into the collection; and be read with delight and admiration, long after it has become a matter of indifference where he was born and educated—what places he represented in Parliament—what offices he filled, or should have filled,—or with whom he most delighted to associate.

There are some fragments of conversation and some lively anecdotes in the London Journal. But it has evidently been kept with little diligence; and the greater part of it is, for the present, withheld—and probably for good reasons. Though a most candid and even indulgent judge of the conduct and character of other men, he had a keen sense of the ridiculous, and a sovereign contempt for baseness. We can well understand, therefore, that it may have been prudent not yet to make public his private notices of some of his contemporaries: But we earnestly hope that they will be carefully preserved; and in due time brought forward, to assist in adjusting the sentence which another generation will assuredly pronounce on the merits of that which is now passing away. If much of what has been suppressed is like the following, we cannot much wonder at the suppression. But we rather think that this little ebullition is *unique;* and are inclined to ascribe it to some small dyspeptical sequel of the dinner to which it refers:—'At dinner ——, a tiresome good-na-'tured scamp, —— the most vulgar fool ever talked of in a 'capital, and ——, just kept alive by spite, but rather more 'cheerful of late, and pouring himself out in hackneyed stories, at 'which the duke laughed, and —— frowned.' For the sake of

the editor, we hope these blanks are as impenetrable in London, as in our Northern Bœotia.

The editor has incorporated with his work some letters addressed to him by friends of his father, containing either anecdotes of his earlier life, or observations on his character and merits. It was natural for a person whose age precluded him from speaking on his own authority of any but recent transactions, to seek for this assistance; and the information contributed by Lord Abinger and Mr Basil Montague (the former especially) is very interesting. The other letters present us with little more than the opinion of the writers as to his character. If these should be thought too laudatory, there is another character which has lately fallen under our eye, which certainly is not liable to that objection. In the 'Table-Talk' of the late Mr Coleridge, we find these words, 'I doubt if Mackintosh ever heartily appre-'ciated an eminently original man. After all his fluency and 'brilliant erudition, you can rarely carry off any thing worth 'preserving. You might not improperly write upon his fore-'head, "Warehouse to let."' We wish to speak tenderly of a man of genius, and we believe of amiable dispositions, who has been so recently removed from his friends and admirers. But so portentous a misjudgment as this, and coming from such a quarter, cannot be passed over without notice. If Sir James Mackintosh had any talent more conspicuous and indisputable than another, it was that of appreciating the merits of eminent and original men. His great learning and singular soundness of judgment enabled him to do this truly; while his kindness of nature, his zeal for human happiness, and his perfect freedom from prejudice or vanity, prompted him, above most other men, to do it heartily. As a proof, we would merely refer our readers to his admirable character of Lord Bacon in this Journal (see No. 53, vol. xxvii.) And then, as to his being a person from whose conversation little could be carried away, why the most characteristic and remarkable thing about it, was that the whole of it might be carried away—it was so lucid, precise, and brilliantly perspicuous! The joke of the 'Warehouse to let' is not, we confess, quite level to our capacities. It can scarcely mean (though that is the most obvious sense) that the head was empty—as that is inconsistent with the rest even of this splenetic delineation. If it was intended to insinuate that it was ready for the indiscriminate reception of any thing which any one might choose to put into it, there could not be a more gross misconception; as we have no doubt Mr Coleridge must often have sufficiently experienced. And by whom is this discovery, that Mackintosh's conversation presented nothing that could be carried away, thus confidently an-

nounced? Why, by the very individual against whose own oracular and interminable talk the same complaint has been made, by friends and by foes, and with an unanimity unprecedented, for the last forty years. The admiring, or rather idolizing, nephew, who has lately put forth this hopeful specimen of his relics, has recorded in the preface, that 'his conversation at all times required attention; and that the demand on the intellect of the hearer was often very great; and that, when he got into his "huge circuit" and large illustrations, most people had lost him, and naturally enough supposed that he had lost himself.' Nay, speaking to this very point, of the ease or difficulty of carrying away any definite notions from what he said, the partial kinsman is pleased to inform us, that, with all his familiarity with the inspired style of his relative, he himself has often gone away, after listening to him for several delightful hours, with divers masses of reasoning in his head, but without being able to perceive what connexion they had with each other. 'In such cases,' he adds, 'I have mused, *sometimes even for days afterwards*, upon the words, till at length, spontaneously as it were, the fire would kindle,' &c. &c. And this is the person who is pleased to denounce Sir James Mackintosh as an ordinary man; and especially to object to his conversation, that, though brilliant and fluent, there was rarely any thing in it which could be carried away!

An attack so unjust and so arrogant leads naturally to comparisons, which it could be easy to follow out to the signal discomfiture of the party attacking. But without going beyond what is thus forced upon our notice, we shall only say, that nothing could possibly set the work before us in so favourable a point of view as a comparison between it and the volumes of 'Table Talk,' to which we have already made reference—unless, perhaps, it were the contrast of the two minds which are respectively portrayed in these publications.

In these memorials of Sir James Mackintosh we trace throughout, the workings of a powerful and unclouded intellect, nourished by wholesome learning, raised and instructed by fearless though reverent questionings of the sages of other times (which is the permitted Necromancy of the wise), exercised by free discussion with the most distinguished among the living, and made acquainted with its own strength and weakness, not only by a constant intercourse with other powerful minds, but by mixing, with energy and deliberation, in practical business and affairs; and here pouring itself out in a delightful miscellany of elegant criticism, original speculation, and profound practical suggestions on politics, religion, history, and all the greater and the lesser duties, the arts and the elegancies of life—all

expressed with a beautiful clearness and tempered dignity—breathing the purest spirit of good-will to mankind—and brightened not merely by an ardent hope, but an assured faith in their constant advancement in freedom, intelligence, and virtue.

On all these points, the 'Table Talk' of his poetical contemporary appears to us to present a most mortifying contrast; and to render back merely the image of a moody mind, incapable of mastering its own imaginings, and constantly seduced by them, or by a misdirected ambition, to attempt impracticable things—naturally attracted by dim paradoxes rather than lucid truth, and preferring, for the most part, the obscure and neglected parts of learning to those that are useful and clear—marching, in short, at all times, under the exclusive guidance of the Pillar of Smoke—and, like the body of its original followers, wandering all his days in the desert, without ever coming in sight of the promised land.

Consulting little at any time with any thing but his own prejudices and fancies, he seems, in his later days, to have withdrawn altogether from the correction of equal minds, and to have nourished the assurance of his own infallibility, by delivering mystical oracles from his cloudy shrine, all day long, to a small set of disciples, from whom neither question nor interruption was allowed. The result of this necessarily was, an exacerbation of all the morbid tendencies of the mind, a daily increasing ignorance of the course of opinions and affairs in the world, and a proportional confidence in his own dogmas and dreams, which must have been shaken, at least, if not entirely subverted, by a closer contact with the general mass of intelligence. Unfortunately this unhealthful training (peculiarly unhealthful for such a constitution) produced not merely a great eruption of ridiculous blunders and pitiable prejudices, but seems at last to have brought on a confirmed and thoroughly diseased habit of uncharitableness, and misanthropic anticipations of corruption and misery throughout the civilized world. The indiscreet revelations of the work to which we have alluded have now brought to light instances, not only of intemperate abuse of men of the highest intellect and most unquestioned purity, but such predictions of evil from what the rest of the world has been contented to receive as improvements, and such suggestions of intolerant and tyrannical remedies, as no man would believe could proceed from a cultivated intellect of the present age; if the early history of this particular intellect had not indicated an inherent aptitude for all extreme opinions, and prepared us for the usual conversion of one extreme into another.

And it is worth while to mark here also, and in respect merely of consistency and ultimate authority with mankind, the advantage which a sober and well-regulated understanding will always have over one which claims to be above ordinances; and trusting either to an unerring opinion of its own strength, or even to a true sense of it, gives itself up to its first strong impression, and sets at defiance all other reason and authority. Sir James Mackintosh had, in his youth, as much ambition and as much consciousness of power as Mr Coleridge could have; but the utmost extent of *his* early aberrations (in his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*) was an over-estimate of the probabilities of good from a revolution of violence; and a much greater under-estimate of the mischiefs with which such experiments are sure to be attended, and the value of settled institutions and long familiar forms. Yet, though in his philanthropic enthusiasm he did miscalculate the relative value of their opposite forces (and speedily admitted and rectified the error), he never for an instant disputed the existence of both elements in the equation, or affected to throw a doubt upon any of the great principles on which civil society reposes. On the contrary, in his earliest as well as his latest writings, he pointed steadily to the great institutions of Property and Marriage, and to the necessary authority of Law and Religion as essential to the being of a state, and the well-being of any human society. It followed, therefore, that when disappointed in his too-sanguine expectations from the French Revolution, he had nothing to retract in the substance and scope of his opinions; and merely tempering their announcement with the gravity and caution of maturer years, he gave them out again in his later days to the world, with the accumulated authority of a whole life of consistency and study. At no period of that life, did he fail to assert the right of the people to political and religious freedom, and to the protection of just and equal laws, enacted by representatives truly chosen by themselves; and he never uttered a syllable that could be construed into an approval or even an acquiescence in, persecution and intolerance, or in the maintenance of authority for any other purpose than to give effect to the enlightened and deliberate will of the community. To enforce these doctrines his whole life was devoted; and though not permitted to complete either of the great works he had projected, he was enabled to finish detached portions of each, sufficient not only fully to develope his principles, but to give a clear view of the whole design, and to put it in the power of any succeeding artist to proceed with the execution.

Mr Coleridge, too, was an early and most ardent admirer of the French Revolution; but the fruits of that admiration in him

were, not a reasoned and statesmanlike apology for some of its faults and excesses, but a resolution to advance the regeneration of mankind at a still quicker rate, by setting before their eyes the pattern of a yet more exquisite form of society: And accordingly, when a full grown man, he actually gave into, if he did not originate, the scheme of what he and his friends called a Pantisocracy --a form of society in which there was to be neither law nor government, neither priest, judge, nor magistrate—in which all property was to be in common, and every man left to act upon his own sense of duty and affection! This fact is enough—and whether he afterwards passed through the stages of a Jacobin, which he seems to deny—or a hotheaded Moravian, which he seems to admit,—is really of no consequence. The character of his understanding is settled with all reasonable men; as well as the authority that is due to the anti-reform and anti-toleration maxims which he seems to have spent his latter years in venting. Till we saw this posthumous publication, we had, to be sure, no conception of the extent to which these maxims were carried; and we now think that few of the Conservatives (who were not originally Pantisocratists) will venture to adopt them. Not only is the Reform Bill denounced as the spawn of mere wickedness, injustice, and ignorance, and the reformed House of Commons as 'low, vulgar, 'meddling, and sneering at every thing noble and refined,' but the wise and the good, we are assured, will, in every country, 'speedily become disgusted with *the representative form of govern-* 'ment, *brutalized as it is* by the predominance of democracy in 'England, France, and Belgium;' and then the remedy is, that they will recur to a new, though, we confess, not very comprehensible form of 'Pure Monarchy, in which the reason of the 'people shall become efficient in the apparent will of the King!' Moreover, he is for a total dissolution of the union with Ireland, and its erection into a separate and independent kingdom. He is against Negro emancipation—sees no use in reducing taxation—and designates Malthus's demonstration of a mere matter of fact by a redundant accumulation of evidence, by the polite and appropriate appellation of 'a lie;' and represents it as more disgraceful and abominable than any thing that the weakness and wickedness of man have ever before given birth to.

Such as his temperance and candour are in politics, they are also in religion; and recommended and excused by the same flagrant contradiction to his early tenets. Whether he ever was a proper Moravian or not we care not to enquire. It is admitted, and even stated somewhat boastingly in this book, that he was a bold Dissenter from the church. He thanks heaven, indeed, that he 'had gone much farther than the Unitarians.' And to make

his boldness still more engaging, he had gone these lengths, not only against the authority of our Doctors, but against the clear and admitted doctrine and teaching of the Apostles themselves. 'What care I,' I said, 'for the Platonisms of John, or the Rabbin-'isms of Paul? *My conscience revolts—that* was the ground of '*my* Unitarianism.' And by and by, this infallible and oracular person does not hesitate to declare, that others, indeed, may do as they choose, but he, for his part, can never allow that Unitarians are Christians! and, giving no credit for 'revolting consciences' to any one but himself, charges all Dissenters in the lump, with hating the Church much more than they love religion—is furious against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the Catholic Emancipation,—and at last actually, and in good set terms, denies that any Dissenter has a *right to toleration!* and, in perfect consistence, maintains that it is the duty of the magistrate to stop heresy and schism *by persecution*—if he only has reason to think that in this way the evil may be arrested; adding, by way of example, that he would be ready 'to ship off—*any where*,' any missionaries who might attempt to disturb the undoubting Lutheranism of certain exemplary Norwegians, whom he takes under his special protection.

We are tempted to say more. But we desist; and shall pursue this parallel no farther. Perhaps we have already been betrayed into feelings and expressions that may be objected to. We should be sorry if this could be done justly. But we do not question Mr Coleridge's sincerity. We admit, too, that he was a man of much poetical sensibility, and had visions of intellectual sublimity, and glimpses of comprehensive truths, which he could neither reduce into order nor combine into system. But out of poetry and metaphysics, we think he was nothing; and eminently disqualified, not only by the defects, but by the best parts of his genius, as well as by his temper and habits, for forming any sound judgment on the business and affairs of our actual world. And yet it is for his preposterous judgments on such subjects that his memory is now held in affected reverence by those who laughed at him, all through his life, for what gave him his only claim to admiration; and who now magnify his genius for no other purpose but to give them an opportunity to quote, as of grave authority, his mere delirations, on reform, dissent, and toleration—his cheering predictions of the approaching millennium of pure monarchy—or his demonstrations of the absolute harmlessness of taxation, and the sacred duty of all sorts of *efficient* persecution. We are sure we treat Mr Coleridge with all possible respect, when we say, that *his* name can lend no more plausibility to absurdities like these, than the far greater names

of Bacon or Hobbes could do, to the belief in sympathetic medicines, or in churchyard apparitions.

We fear we have already transgressed our just limits. But before concluding, we wish to say a word on a notion which we find pretty generally entertained, that Sir James Mackintosh did not sufficiently turn to profit the talent which was committed to him; and did much less than, with his gifts and opportunities, he ought to have done. He himself seems, no doubt, to have been occasionally of that opinion; and yet we cannot but think it in a great degree erroneous. If he had not, in early life, conceived the ambitious design of executing two great works, one on the principles of Morals and Legislation, and one on English History; or had not let it be understood, for many years before his death, that he was actually employed on the latter, we do not imagine that, with all the knowledge his friends had (and all the world now has) of his qualifications, any one would have thought of visiting his memory with such a reproach. We know of no code of morality which makes it imperative on every man of extraordinary talent or learning to write a large book—and could readily point to instances where such persons have gone with unquestioned honour to their graves, without leaving any such memorial—and been judged to have acted up to the last article of their duty, merely by enlightening society by their lives and conversation, and discharging with ability and integrity the offices of magistracy or legislation, to which they may have been called. But looking even to the sort of debt which may be thought (though we can admit no such construction) to have been contracted by the announcement of these works, we cannot but think that the public has received a very respectable dividend—and, being at the best but a gratuitous creditor—ought not now to withhold a thankful discharge and acquittance. The discourse on Ethical Philosophy is full payment, we conceive, of one moiety of the first engagement,—and we are persuaded will be so received by all who can judge of its value; and though the other moiety, which relates to Legislation, has not yet been tendered in form, there is reason to believe that there are assets in the hands of the executors from which this also may soon be liquidated. That great subject was certainly fully treated of in the Lectures of 1799—and as it appears from some citations in these Memoirs, that, though for the most part delivered extempore, various notes and manuscripts relating to them have been preserved, we think it not unlikely that, with due diligence, the outline at least and main features of that interesting disquisition may still be recovered. On the bill for History, too, it cannot be denied that a large payment has been made to account—and as it was only

due for the period of the Revolution, any shortcoming that may appear upon that score, may be fairly held as compensated by the voluntary advances of value to a much greater extent, though referring to an earlier period.

But, in truth, there never was any such debt or engagement on the part of Sir James; and the public was, and continues, the only debtor on the transaction, for whatever it may have received of service or instruction at his hand. We have expressed elsewhere our estimate of the greatness of this debt; and of the value especially of the Histories he has left behind him. We have, to be sure, seen some sneering remarks on the dulness and uselessness of these works; and an attempt made to hold them up to ridicule, under the appellation of *Philosophical* histories. We are not aware that such a name was ever applied to them by their author or their admirers. If they really deserve it, we are at a loss to conceive how it should be taken for a name of reproach; and it will scarcely be pretended that their execution is such as to justify its application in the way of derision. We do not perceive, indeed, that this *is* pretended; and, strange as it may appear, the objection seems really to be, rather to the kind of writing in general, than to the defects of its execution in this particular instance—the objector having a singular notion that history should consist of narrative only; and that nothing can be so tiresome and useless as any addition of explanation or remark. We have no longer room to expose, as it deserves, the strange misconception of the objects and uses of history, which we humbly conceive to be implied in such an opinion; and shall therefore content ourselves with asking, whether any man really imagines that the modern history of any considerable state, with its complicated system of foreign relations, and the play of its domestic parties, *could* be written in the manner of Herodotus?—or be made intelligible (much less instructive) by the naked recital of transactions and occurrences? These, in fact, are but the crude materials from which history should be constructed; the mere alphabet out of which its lessons are afterwards to be spelled. If every reader had indeed the talents of an accomplished historian,—that knowledge of human nature, that large acquaintance with all collateral facts, and that force of understanding which are implied in such a name—and, at the same time, that leisure and love for the subject which would be necessary for this particular application of such gifts, the mere detail of facts, if full and impartial, might be sufficient for *his* purposes. But to every other class of readers, we will venture to say, that one half of such a history would be an insoluble enigma; and the other half a source of the most gross misconceptions. Without some explanation of the views and

motives of the prime agents in great transactions—of the origin and state of opposite interests and opinions in large bodies of the people—and of their tendencies respectively to ascendency or decline—what intelligible account could be given, of any thing worth knowing in the history of the world for the last two hundred years? above all, what useful lessons could be learned, for people or for rulers, from a mere series of events presented in detail, without any other information as to their causes or consequences than might be inferred from the sequence in which they appeared? To us it appears that a mere record of the different places of the stars, and their successive changes of position, would be as good a system of Astronomy, as such a set of annals would be of History; and that it would be about as reasonable to sneer at Newton and La Place for seeking to supersede the honest old star-gazers, by their *philosophical histories* of the heavens, as to speak in the same tone, of what Voltaire and Montesquieu and Mackintosh have attempted to do for our lower world. We have named these three, as having attended more peculiarly, and *more impartially*, than any others, at least in modern times, to this highest part of their duty. But, in truth, all eminent historians have attended to it—from the time of Thucydides downwards—the ancients putting the necessary explanations more frequently into the shape of imaginary orations—and the moderns into that of remark and dissertation. The very first, perhaps, of Hume's many excellences consists in these *philosophical* summaries of the reasons and considerations by which he supposes parties to have been actuated in great political movements; which are fully more abstracted from the mere story, and very frequently less careful and complete than the parallel explanations of Sir James Mackintosh. For, with all his unrivalled sagacity, it is true, as Sir James has himself somewhere remarked, that Hume was too little of an antiquary to be always able to estimate the effect of motives in distant ages; and by referring too confidently to the principles of human nature, as developed in our own times, has often represented our ancestors as more reasonable, and much more argumentative, than they really were.

That there may be, and have often been, abuses of this best part of history, is a reason only for valuing more highly what is exempt from such abuses; and those who feel most veneration and gratitude for the lights afforded by a truly philosophical historian, will be sure to look with most aversion on a counterfeit. No one, we suppose, will stand up for the introduction of ignorant conjecture, shallow dogmatism, mawkish morality, or factious injustice into the pages of history—or deny that the shortest and simplest annals are greatly preferable to such a per-

version. As to political partiality, however, it is a great mistake to suppose that it could be in any degree excluded by confining history to a mere chronicle of facts—the truth being, that it is chiefly in the statement of facts that this partiality displays itself; and that it is more frequently exposed to detection than assisted, by the arguments and explanations, which are supposed to be its best resources. We shall not resume what we have said in another place as to the merit of the Histories which are now in question; but we fear not to put this on record, as our deliberate, and we think impartial, judgment—that they are the most candid, the most judicious, and the most pregnant with thought, and moral and political wisdom, of any in which our domestic story has ever yet been recorded.

But even if we should discount his Histories, and his Ethical Dissertation, we should still be of opinion, that Sir James Mackintosh had not died indebted to his country for the use he had made of his talents. In the volumes before us, he seems to us to have left them a rich legacy, and given abundant proofs of the industry with which he sought to the last to qualify himself for their instruction,—and the honourable place which his name must ever hold, as the associate of Romilly in the great and humane work of ameliorating our criminal law, might alone suffice to protect him from the imputation of having done less than was required of him, in the course of his unsettled life. But, without dwelling upon the part he took in Parliament, on these and many other important questions both of domestic and foreign policy, we must be permitted to say, that they judge ill of the relative value of men's contributions to the cause of general improvement, who make small account of the influence which one of high reputation for judgment and honesty may exercise, by his mere presence and conversation, in the higher classes of society,—and still more by such occasional publications as he may find leisure to make, in Journals of wide circulation, like this on which the reader is now looking—we trust with his accustomed indulgence.

It is now admitted, that the mature and enlightened opinion of the public must ultimately rule the country; and we really know no other way in which this opinion can be so effectually matured and enlightened. It is not by every man studying elaborate treatises and systems for himself, that the face of the world is changed, with the change of opinion, and the progress of conviction in those who must lead it. It is by the mastery which strong minds have over weak, in the daily intercourse of society, and by the gradual and almost imperceptible infusion which such minds are constantly effecting, of the practical results and manageable sum-

maries of their preceding studies, into the minds immediately below them, that this great process is carried on. The first discovery of a great truth, or practical principle, may often require great labour; but when once discovered, it is generally easy not only to convince others of its importance, but to enable them to defend and maintain it, by plain and irrefragable arguments; and this conviction, and this practical knowledge, it will generally be most easy to communicate, when men's minds are excited to enquiry, by the pursuit of some immediate interest, to which such general truths may appear to be subservient. It is at such times that important principles are familiarly started in conversation; and disquisitions eagerly pursued, in societies, where, in more tranquil periods, they would be listened to with impatience. It is at such times, too, that the intelligent part of the lower and middling classes look anxiously through such publications as treat intelligibly of the subjects to which their attention is directed; and are thus led, while seeking only for reasons to justify their previous inclinings, to imbibe principles and digest arguments which are impressed on their understandings for ever, and fructify in the end to far more important conclusions. It is, no doubt, true, that in this way, the full exposition of the truth will often be sacrificed for the sake of its temporary application; and it will not unfrequently happen that, in order to favour that application, the exposition will not be made with absolute fairness. But still the principle is brought into view; the criterion of true judgment is laid before the public; and the disputes of adverse parties will speedily settle the correct or debateable rule of its application.

For our own parts we have long been of opinion, that a man of powerful understanding and popular talents, who should, at such a season, devote himself to the task of announcing such principles, and rendering such discussions familiar, in the way and by the means we have mentioned, would probably do more to direct and accelerate the rectification of public opinion upon all practical questions, than by any other use he could possibly make of his faculties. His name, indeed, might not go down to posterity in connexion with any work of celebrity, and the greater part even of his contemporaries might be ignorant of the very existence of their benefactor. But the benefits conferred would not be the less real; nor the consciousness of conferring them less delightful; nor the gratitude of the judicious less ardent and sincere. So far, then, from regretting that Sir James Mackintosh did not forego all other occupations, and devote himself exclusively to the compilation of the two great works he had projected, or from thinking that his country has been

deprived of any services it might otherwise have received from him, by the course which he actually pursued, we firmly believe that, by constantly maintaining humane and generous opinions in the most engaging manner and with the greatest possible ability, in the highest and most influencing circles of society,—by acting as the respected adviser of many youths of great promise and ambition, and as the bosom counsellor of many practical statesmen, as well as by the timely publication of many admirable papers, in this and in other Journals, on such branches of politics, history, or philosophy as the course of events had rendered peculiarly interesting or important,—he did far more to enlighten the public mind in his own day, and to ensure its farther improvement in the days that are to follow, than could possibly have been effected by the most successful completion of the works he had undertaken. Such great works acquire for their authors a deserved reputation with the studious few; and are the treasuries and armories from which the actual apostles of the truth derive the means of propagating and defending it. But, in order to be so effective, the arms and the treasures must be taken forth from their well-ordered repositories, and disseminated and applied where they are needed and required. It is by the tongue, and not by the pen, that multitudes, or the individuals composing multitudes, are ever persuaded or converted,—by conversation and not by harangues —or by such short and occasional writings as come in aid of conversation, and require little more study or continued attention than men capable of conversation are generally willing to bestow. If a man, therefore, who is capable of writing such a book, is also eminently qualified to disseminate and render popular its most important doctrines, by conversation and by such lighter publications, is he to be blamed if, when the times are urgent, he intermits the severer study, and applies himself, with caution and candour, to give an earlier popularity to that which can never be useful till it is truly popular? To us it appears, that he fulfils the higher duty; and that to act otherwise would be to act like a general who should starve his troops on the eve of battle, in order to replenish his magazines for a future campaign—or like a farmer who should cut off the rills from his parching crops, that he may have a fuller reservoir against the possible drought of another year.

But we must cut this short. If we are at all right in the views we have now taken, Sir James Mackintosh must have been wrong in the regret and self-reproach with which he certainly seems to have looked back on the unaccomplished projects of his earlier years,—and we humbly think that he was wrong. He had failed, no doubt, to perform all that he had once intended, and had been

drawn aside from the task he had set himself by other pursuits. But he had performed things as important, which were not originally intended; and been drawn aside by pursuits not less worthy than those to which he had tasked himself. In blaming himself—not for this idleness, but for this change of occupation—we think he was misled, in part at least, by one very common error—we mean that of thinking, that, because the use he actually made of his intellect was *more agreeable* than that which he had intended to make, it was therefore less meritorious. We need not say, that there cannot be a worse criterion of merit; but tender consciences are apt to fall into such an illusion. Another cause of regret may have been a little, though we really think but a little, more substantial. By the course he followed, he probably felt, that his name would be less illustrious, and his reputation less enduring, than if he had fairly taken his place as the author of some finished work of great interest and importance. If he got over the first illusion, however, and took the view we have done of the real utility of his exertions, we cannot believe that this would have weighed very heavily on a mind like Sir James Mackintosh's; and while we cannot but regret that his declining years should have been occasionally darkened by these shadows of a self-reproach for which we think there was no real foundation, we trust that he is not to be added to the many instances of men who have embittered their existence by a mistaken sense of the obligation of some rash vow made in early life, for the performance of some laborious and perhaps impracticable task. Cases of this kind we believe to be more common than is generally imagined. An ambitious young man is dazzled with the notion of filling up some blank in the literature of his country, by the execution of a great and important work—reads with a view to it, and allows himself to be referred to as engaged in its preparation. By degrees he finds it more irksome than he had expected, and is tempted by other studies altogether as suitable, and less charged with responsibility, into long fits of intermission. Then the very expectation that has been excited by this protracted incubation makes him more ashamed of having done so little, and more dissatisfied with the little he has done; and so his life is passed in a melancholy alternation of distasteful, and of course unsuccessful, attempts; and long fits of bitter, but really groundless, self-reproach, for not having made these attempts with more energy and perseverance: and at last he dies, not only without doing what he could not attempt without pain and mortification, but prevented by this imaginary engagement from doing many other things which he could have done with success and alacrity—some one of which it is probable, and all of which

it is nearly certain, would have done him more credit, and been of more service to the world, than any constrained and distressful completion he could in any case have given to the other. For our own part we have already said that we do not think that any man, whatever his gifts and attainments may be, is really bound in duty to leave an excellent book to posterity; or is liable to any reproach for not choosing to be an author. But, at all events, we are quite confident that he can be under no obligation to make himself unhappy in trying to make such a book; and that as soon as he finds the endeavour painful and depressing, he will do well, both for himself and for others, to give up the undertaking, and let his talents and sense of duty take a course more likely to promote both his own enjoyment and their ultimate reputation.

And now we conclude. When the book comes to a new edition we would recommend the suppression of part of the Indian Tours, and of some of the details of the early life; and should be glad to see their room occupied with the Characters which seem to have been written during the home voyage besides those already printed; and also with such parts of the Lectures in 1799 as can be restored from the notes, and are not directed to temporary objects,—unless indeed some publication of Sir James's whole works is in preparation, in which these will be included. We also hope that, on a careful review, some farther parts of the London Journal may be found fit for present publication.

The Editor's part of the work, we think, is very sensibly done—with a manly clearness and directness, and with the delicacy and reserve that belonged to his relation. That it is the shortest and least interesting part, only shows that he agrees with us as to what should constitute the bulk and the interest of such a publication.

ERRATUM.

In page 31, line 4, for *Oxford* read *Orford.*

No. CXXVI. will be published in January.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1836.

No. CXXVI.

ART. I.—1. *Memoirs of Baron Cuvier.* By MRS R. LEE. 8vo, London: 1833.

2. *Eloge of Baron Cuvier, delivered in the Chamber of Peers on the 17th December*, 1832. By BARON PASQUIER, President of the Chamber of Peers. (Translated in Professor JAMESON's *Philosophical Journal.*)

3. *Cuvier as a Naturalist.* By C. L. LAURILLARD, Conservator of the Cabinet of Anatomy in the Museum of Natural History of Paris. (Ibid.)

4. *Death of Cuvier.* By M. DECANDOLLE. (Ibid.)

THERE is no task beset with greater difficulties than that of forming a just estimate of the talents of great men, who derive their reputation from the exercise of different faculties of the mind, or from the study of different departments of knowledge. The naturalist, who arranges the objects of his research in splendid halls, and displays at one view the wonders of the remotest ages, and the most distant kingdoms, is justly honoured with a high degree of contemporary fame; the public lecturer, who delights his audience by the variety of his illustrations, the vividness of his descriptions, and the fascination of his eloquence, acquires among his hearers a still more dazzling reputation; the philosophical writer, whose powers of combination and analysis enable him to classify what is insulated, and to give unity and system to the fragments of desultory knowledge, lays the basis of a high and durable reputation; while the philosopher, who establishes new laws, who lays open new fields of research, and who throws the light of his genius over the darkest passages of na-

ture, earns a name which can perish only with the records of his achievements. But the chaplet of immortality is not restricted to the students of natural phenomena, or the promoters of abstract knowledge. The statesman, who governs mankind by mild and equal laws, and blends into harmony the conflicting elements of society; and the philanthropist, who blesses the poor with education and knowledge, and assuages the moral and physical evils of humanity, will receive from a wider circle the homage of a higher and more affectionate admiration.

We have not mentioned these various claims of great men in order to weigh their intellectual merits, or to determine the tribute of glory which they will each levy from their contemporaries or from posterity,—and still less to decide in which, or in how many of them, the celebrated man who forms the subject of this article may be justly ranked. Those who have known this great man, and have followed him throughout his brilliant and diversified career, will not charge us with overstrained panegyric, when we say that, in all the lists of fame which we have enumerated, he not only attained a pre-eminent distinction, but acquired a reputation in each, which might have gratified the ambition of any common aspirant for fame.

In the splendid museum of natural history and comparative anatomy, which he almost created, we shall see him in the character of an indefatigable collector, a judicious classifier, and a skilful anatomist. As a lecturer on the same subject in the *Jardin des Plantes*, and in the College of France, he shone as a successful teacher, and enchanted crowded audiences by the magic of his eloquence. As a secretary to the Institute, he acquired, by his *Eloges*, the reputation of the most learned, and eloquent, and powerful writer of the day. As a systematic author, his unwearied research, his lucid arrangement, and his pleasing, his perspicuous, and his nervous style, placed him above the philosophical naturalists of every age. As an original enquirer, his discoveries in fossil geology have raised him to the highest distinction, and given birth to new trains of research, which are fast disclosing to us the structure of our planet, and the nature of the convulsions with which it has been so often shaken. As Minister of Public Instruction, as Chancellor of the University, and Inspector-General of Education, he conferred on the colleges of France, on her schools, on her religious and charitable establishments, the richest and most enduring benefits; and, as a statesman charged with high legislative functions, he obtained for the French people many valuable ameliorations in their laws, and many solid improvements in their political institutions.

The history of such a man possesses an interest not only in

his own country, but throughout the habitable world; and the philosopher, and the philanthropist, and even the humblest admirer of nature's works may derive intellectual and moral benefit from the study of the life and labours of Cuvier.

The 'Memoirs of Baron Cuvier,' which we have placed at the head of this article, is the production of a lady of superior acquirements. It is written in a spirit of genuine modesty; and, from the personal acquaintance which Mrs Lee enjoyed not only with the illustrious naturalist, but with the different members of his family, she has been able to produce a very pleasing and instructive volume. The powerful Eloge of Baron Pasquier, delivered in his capacity of President of the Chamber of Peers, to which his friend had been recently called, supplies us with a valuable estimate of his powers for legislation and debate. The sketch, by his assistant M. Laurillard, affords a more copious view of his scientific labours; and, in the warm and just panegyric of Decandolle, we recognise the affectionate enthusiasm of a congenial mind. Notwithstanding the value, however, of these various productions, we still require a biography of our author, such as he himself has so often composed, in which a kindred spirit of science and of patriotism shall appreciate his intellectual endowments, and emblazon the glories of a name which France will never cease to honour, nor Europe to admire.*

It would be to us a pleasing task, and one neither uninteresting nor uninstructive to our readers, to delineate at full length the peculiar character of a mind like Cuvier's—so richly gifted by nature—so nicely adjusted in its faculties—so abundant in its resources—so energetic in its actings—and so lofty in its aspirations for the diffusion and triumph of knowledge; nor would it be less pleasing to contemplate in the same person the calm serenity of the man—the simple and modest demeanour of the sage—the unflinching resolution of the patriot—and the benevolence and piety of the Christian. These remarkable features of his disposition have not been inferred from his conversation or his writings, or the partial judgment of his friends. They were fixed and prominent lights in his character, and they shone forth in the daily routine of active duty—in the bitterness of domestic affliction—in the strife and collision of political struggle—and amid the convulsions, and humiliations, and triumphs of his

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* Such an eloge is impatiently expected from the eloquent pen of M. Arago, who, like his deceased colleague, has been forced from the tranquillity of science to defend the liberties and ameliorate the condition of his country.

country. Our limits, however, will not permit us to dwell upon such agreeable topics; and we must hasten to the main object which we have in view—to give a rapid and condensed sketch of the life of Cuvier, a brief analysis of his discoveries, and such extracts from his more popular writings as are calculated to exhibit his powers as an author, and to afford amusement and instruction to the general reader.

George Cuvier was born on the 23d August, 1769, at Montbeliard, a town which, though now belonging to France, was then a principality of Switzerland, dependent on the Duke of Wirtemberg. His father, whose family came originally from a village of the Jura, which still bears the name of Cuvier, had entered a Swiss regiment in the service of France, and, after forty years' service, was appointed to the command of the artillery in the town of Montbeliard. His second son, George, was educated in the Protestant faith, under the care of a mother of uncommon attainments, who watched over the earliest dawn of his reason, and fostered with parental anxiety the first efforts of his almost premature genius. The sight of a copy of Gesner's history of four-footed beasts, and of a complete edition of Buffon, belonging to a relation, decided his taste for natural history; and as he possessed an extraordinary power of recollecting and delineating animal forms, and enjoyed the blessing of a memory which retained facts and ideas of every kind, he made a rapid progress in his favourite science. At the gymnasium of his native town, he acquired an accurate knowledge of Greek and Latin, and he stood at the head of the classes of rhetoric, geography, history, and mathematics. At the age of fourteen, he instituted an academy among his schoolfellows, drew up rules for its guidance, and presided over its meetings. Occupying the president's chair, which was the foot of his own bed, the juvenile academicians perused and discussed books of travels and natural history, and their opinions were summed up in a concluding speech by the president, which was generally received as law by his auditors. At this early period, his powers of declamation were unexpectedly displayed at the anniversary fête of the Duke of Wirtemberg, when he delivered, to the surprise of the audience, a poetical oration, of his own composition, on the prosperous condition of the principality.

The sovereign prince soon heard of the celebrity of young Cuvier, and, on the occasion of his next visit to Montbeliard, he inspected his drawings; and, in 1784, he sent him to the Caroline Academy at Stuttgard, to be educated free of expense. Here he studied in five different faculties, one of which was exclusively limited to the study of government, comprehending the

elementary and practical departments of law, and the details of finance, police, and agriculture. To this branch of study he devoted himself with ardour; and though his natural history pursuits were steadily carried on, he attained such distinction in all the studies prescribed by the academy, that he received one of the five or six orders of *Chevalierie*, which were conferred by the Duke on the most distinguished pupils.

The pecuniary embarrassments of his family compelled our young philosopher, at the close of his academical career, to commence the active business of life. In 1788, he was selected by Count D'Hericy to superintend the education of his only son; and, at the chateau of Fiquainville, in Normandy, where the family resided, he found himself in a most favourable position for the prosecution of his studies. Situated near the English channel, he was able to pursue his ichthyological enquiries; and, by the accidental dissection of a cuttle-fish, he was led to examine the anatomy of the mollusca, while the comparison of some fossil terebratulæ with the recent species, formed the germ of those noble speculations which were destined to excite the admiration of the scientific world.

A citizen of Caen, devoted to natural history, possessed a magnificent collection of the fishes of the Mediterranean; and no sooner did Cuvier hear of this valuable treasure than he hastened to examine it, and, by the aid of his powerful and rapid pencil, he obtained faithful representations of its most interesting specimens. In the town of Fecamp, in the vicinity of Fiquainville, a small society * met every evening to discuss the provincial subjects of agricultural economy. Cuvier became its secretary, and, in the humble guise of the surgeon of a regiment, quartered at Valmont, he found an individual versed in all the theories and details of rural knowledge. The sentiments and views of the philosophical stranger fixed the special attention of his ardent *confrère*, and Cuvier at last recognised him as

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* The origin of this society is curious, and affords a striking example of the political sagacity of Cuvier. The revolutionary clubs which had sprung up in the metropolis had begun to extend themselves through the provinces. One of these was about to be formed at Fecamp, but Cuvier, seeing the danger of thus arming the people, represented to Count Hericy and the neighbouring gentry the propriety of constituting this society themselves. His advice was followed. The society was formed; and, instead of discussing politics and the rights of man, it devoted itself solely to the more peaceful topics of rural economy.

the author of the agricultural articles in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*—the celebrated Abbé Tessier, whose ecclesiastical title had forced him to escape from the Reign of Terror in Paris, and seek for safety in an obscure district, and under a feigned name. When Cuvier, in the ardour of his recognition, saluted the surgeon by his real name, the terrified Abbé exclaimed, 'I am 'known then, and consequently lost.'—'Lost?' replied Cuvier; 'no, you are henceforth the object of our most anxious care.' This incident united the two naturalists by a still more affectionate tie than that of science; and while Cuvier contributed to the comfort and security of his friend, the Abbé made the merits of his protector known in the capital, and brought him into communication with Delametherie, Lacepede, Geoffroy St Hilaire, and Millin de Grand Maison. He wrote to Parmentier that he had 'found a pearl in the dunghill of Normandy;' and its 'great 'price' was soon recognised by the public as well as by his correspondents. When the institutions of Paris, overwhelmed by the Revolution, were about to be re-established, Cuvier was invited to the capital in the spring of 1795; and, by the influence of M. Millin and M. Tessier, he was almost immediately appointed member of the Commission of Arts, and professor at the central school of the Pantheon; for the pupils of which he composed the *Tableaux Elémentaire de l'Histoire Naturelle des Animaux*, his earliest work, and one which contained the first systematic arrangement of the class Vermes. In the same year he was appointed assistant to M. Mertrud, who occupied the newly created chair of comparative anatomy, in the 'Jardin des Plantes;' and upon the basis of five old skeletons, prepared by Daubenton, and piled up by Buffon, he began the magnificent collection of comparative anatomy which now fills and adorns the galleries of the Museum. At the establishment of the National Institute, in 1796, he was elected a member, and one of its three temporary secretaries; and in 1800 he succeeded Daubenton in the chair of natural history in the College of France.

On the return of Napoleon from Egypt in 1800, when he was made First Consul, and was ambitious of every variety of fame, he placed himself at the head of the Institute, and had thus occasion to witness the talents and sagacity of Cuvier. He was hence induced, in 1802, to appoint him one of the six Inspectors-General for establishing lyceums in thirty towns of France; and it fell to the lot of Cuvier to found those of Marseilles, Nice and Bourdeaux, which are at present Royal Colleges. During his absence from Paris, the Institute was remodelled, and he was elected one of the two perpetual secretaries, viz. that for the natural sciences, on a salary of 6000 francs.

On the death of his father, and also of his brother's wife, who had managed the domestic affairs of the family, he married, in 1803, the widow of M. Duvaucel, one of the farmers-general who had perished on the scaffold in 1794. Without fortune, and with the burden, or, as Cuvier found it, the blessing, of four children by her first husband, this lady contributed largely to his happiness. She brought him other four children, all of whom he was fated to survive; but these afflictions were the darkest, if not the only clouds, which interrupted the sunshine of his felicity. The balance of good and evil with which his lot was cast was thus bitterly destroyed; but Providence heaped wealth and honours into the uplifted scale, and weighed it down with the consciousness that they were the rewards of virtue and of knowledge.

At the creation of the Imperial University, in 1818, Cuvier was appointed one of the Life Counsellors of that body;—an office in which he was charged with the organization of the academies of those Italian states which had been annexed to the empire. Under the same authority, he established academies in Holland and the Hanseatic towns; and, though not within the immediate scope of his duties, the erection of schools for the instruction of the people was the object of his unceasing solicitude. While Cuvier was at Hamburgh, the Emperor conferred upon him the title of *Chevalier*, with hereditary rank; but the loss of his only surviving son, in 1813, when he was organizing the University at Rome, disappointed the hope of transmitting his secular honours to posterity, and left behind a bitterness of grief which time seems never to have soothed.

During his sojourn at Rome, Napoleon, from his own personal feeling, appointed him Master of Requests, in the Council of State; and, before the year had closed, he appointed him *Commissionaire Imperial Extraordinaire*, and sent him to Mayence, to rouse the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine against the allied troops, that were in full march upon their territory. The rapid advance, however, of the enemy, compelled him to return; and his zeal in the cause of his country was rewarded, early in 1814, by the rank of Counsellor of State. Louis XVIII. not only continued our philosopher in this honourable office, but appointed him to the temporary situation of *Commissionaire du Roi*, in which it became his duty to defend all new and improved laws before the two Chambers. The tornado of the Hundred Days, though it hurled Cuvier from the Council of State, left him in possession of his office in the university; and after the Second Revolution, he was elevated to the rank of its Chancellor.

In the summer of 1818, Cuvier paid a visit to England, accompanied by his family and his secretary, M. Laurillard. Our political and scientific institutions had long been objects of deep interest to him, and he received every facility for studying the one and exploring the other. Under the guidance of Dr Leach, every private collection was thrown open to his inspection, and men of every cast were eager to evince their devotion to the celebrated stranger. The writer of these lines, who had the happiness of sitting down with him at the table of Dr Leach, in the society of Latreille, Pictet, and Abernethy, conducted him to the two steam-printing machines, which were then among the wonders of the metropolis; and also to the East India Company's Museum in Leadenhall Street, where, through the kindness of Mr Thornhill, one of the Directors, the zoological contents of many unexamined boxes were unreservedly submitted to his inspection. These boxes contained principally the skins of Eastern animals, some of which Cuvier mentioned either as new to him, or as having furnished him with new information. His imagination had been strongly impressed with the remarkable constitution and extraordinary powers of the Company; and, when Mr Thornhill was showing the way through the long passages of the India House, Cuvier exclaimed, 'Voila un des Souve-'raines des Indes.'

The kindness and hospitality with which Cuvier and his family were every where received, were remembered with the most grateful feelings; and the favourable impression which this visit had given him of England and her institutions, has been recorded in his excellent *Eloge* of Sir Joseph Banks, where, without any feeling of jealousy, he bears a just and noble testimony to our national greatness. 'The philosophers of England,' says he, 'have taken an equally glorious part in those intellectual labours 'common to all civilized nations. They have confronted the 'eternal frosts of either pole. They have not left a corner of 'the two oceans unvisited. They have increased tenfold the 'catalogue of nature. They have peopled the heavens with 'planets, satellites, and phenomena hitherto unknown—we may 'almost say that they have counted the stars of the milky way. 'If chemistry has assumed a new aspect, the facts they have fur-'nished have essentially contributed to the metamorphosis. In-'flammable air, pure air, phlogistic air, are due to them. They 'have discovered the decomposition of water, and a number of 'new metals have been produced by their analyses. The nature 'of fixed alkalies has also been demonstrated by them—mechan-'ism at their voice has given birth to miracles, and elevated their

'country above all others in almost every species of manufac-
'ture.'

In studying the workings of our constitutional government, which he had known only from theory, he was particularly struck with the 'humours' of a Westminster election; and Mrs Lee informs us that the impression which they left was never effaced from his memory; and that he was in the habit of describing, with peculiar animation, the scenes which he had there witnessed.

Before Cuvier had quitted England, he was elected a member of the French Academy, an honour which he owed to the eloquent *Eloges* he had read in the Institute; and, in the same year, he was offered the Ministry of the Interior, but upon political conditions to which he could not accede. In 1819, he was appointed president of the *Comité de l'Interieur*, belonging to the Council of State; and he was soon after created a baron by Louis XVIII., who repeatedly summoned him to assist in the Cabinet Councils. He was appointed, in 1822, Grand Master of the Faculties of Protestant Theology in the University; and, in the Cabinet of the Interior, he was soon afterwards charged with the management of the affairs of all the different religions in France, except the Catholic. At the Coronation of Charles X. he officiated as one of the Presidents of the Council of State, and in 1826, he received the decoration of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour.

These, and other trappings of distinction, which now almost overburdened him, were far from being a suitable preparation for the heavy blow which was about to strike him at the heart. His only daughter, Clementine Cuvier, now his only child, after surmounting the dangers of a sickly infancy, had been reinstated in the bloom of health, and had reached the winter of her twenty-second year. Her acquirements in profound studies were adorned with every accomplishment of her sex; and she united, in a singular degree, all the charms of physical, intellectual, and moral beauty. The loveliness of her person and the elegance of her manners were enchased in the fine gold of an ardent yet humble piety, and encircled with all the graces of a charitable and sympathizing spirit; and, amid the universal admiration which such a character commanded, she courted and she earned the blessings of the poor, the ignorant, and the afflicted. About the close of 1826, the first symptoms of a fatal disease showed themselves in her delicate constitution. Her health, however, was so completely re-established, that, in the beginning of 1828, arrangements were made for her marriage with an individual of her own choice, who was in every respect worthy of her love. The

ceremony was fixed for the 25th of August; but, before the end of July her former disorder returned with redoubled force, and terminated fatally on the 28th of September.* Her parents were overwhelmed with grief, and her bridal chaplet withering in the embrace of her funereal wreath, was to one disconsolate heart an image of still deeper agony. Distracted with his loss, Cuvier sought and found in the most absorbing studies some alleviation of his sorrows; but, though with this view he imposed upon himself the most intense and continued labour, yet, on the occasion of his first discharge of a public duty, when this high pressure of his mental power was for a time removed, his feelings burst forth in uncontrollable grief. 'It has been related by an eyewitness,' says Mrs Lee, 'that at the first sitting of the Comité de l'Interieur, at which M. Cuvier presided, after this event, and from which he had absented himself two months, he resumed the chair with a firm and placid expression of countenance; he listened attentively to all the discussions of those present; but, when it became his turn to speak, and sum up all that had passed, his firmness abandoned him, and his first words were interrupted by tears. The great legislator gave way to the bereaved father; he bowed his head, covered his face with his hands, and was heard to sob bitterly. A respectful and profound silence reigned through the whole assembly; all present had known Clementine, and therefore all could understand and excuse this deep emotion. At length M. Cuvier raised his head, and uttered these few simple words,—"Pardon me, gentlemen, I was a father, and I have lost all." Then with a violent effort, he resumed the business of the day with his usual perspicuity, and pronounced judgment with his ordinary calmness and justice.'

In the year 1830, Baron Cuvier opened a course of lectures on the history and progress of science in all ages, which he continued till the end of his life. In the same year he paid a visit to England, accompanied by his step-daughter, Mademoiselle Duvaucel; and he was in London when the last revolution in France was consummated. Like many others, Cuvier had not anticipated any violent crisis from the obnoxious *ordonnances* of Charles X., and he quitted Paris under the influence of this opinion. Before, however, he had been five hours absent from the barriers, the firing commenced in Paris. The flying English

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* An account of the death of Mademoiselle Cuvier, and of her zealous exertions in the cause of religion, education, and humanity, will be found in a brief memoir of her life, published in the *Archives de Christianisme.*

overtook him near Boulogne; but though anxious to return, he doubted if he should be able to re-enter Paris, or even to retrace his steps with the passports of Charles X. He accordingly awaited at Calais the details of the Three Days, and having received assurances that perfect tranquillity prevailed in Paris, he proceeded on his journey to England, where he remained only two weeks.

Under the government of Louis Philippe, Cuvier retained all his dignities and offices. In 1832, he was made a Peer of France; and his appointment of President to the Entire Council of State only waited for the royal signature, when his career was suddenly terminated by death. The best account of this melancholy event is given in the following extract from Baron Pasquier's Eloge :—

'On the 18th of May, he opened, in the College of France, the course which he had continued for three years with so much success, on the History of the Natural Sciences. Those who were present at the last lecture of this great master, retain an impression which can never be imparted to such as have not experienced it, and of which I can convey but a very feeble notion. Seldom had he risen to such an elevation; but his auditors were particularly struck with the last phrases which he used, to express his intention of taking a view of the actual state of the study of creation—that sublime study, which, while it enlightens and strengthens the human mind, ought to preserve it from the deceptive habit of regarding things apart from their relation to each other, and distorting them, that they may be subjected to the laws of a system; which ought, in short, to lead the thoughts incessantly to that Supreme Intelligence, who governs, enlightens, and vivifies all—who reveals all things, and whom all things reveal.

'At this part of his lecture, he displayed a calmness and justness of perception, combined with a depth and seriousness of thought, which led his auditors to think of that book which speaks of the creation to all mankind. This was the result of his ideas rather than his expressions, for every thing in the free exposition which he made, breathed the feeling of the omnipotence of a supreme cause, and of an infinite wisdom. He seemed as it were, by the examination of the visible world, to be led to the precincts of that which is invisible, and the examination of the creature evoked the Creator. At last these words fell from him, in which it is easy to see a presentiment :—" Such, gentlemen, will be the objects of our investigation, if time, my own strength, and the state of my health, permit me to continue and finish them." The closing scene of M. Cuvier's life as a public teacher, appears to me to be impressed with peculiar beauty. Who could fail to be deeply affected at the last accents of so pure an intelligence, disengaged from the vanities and the interests of systems? Who could remain cold and insensible before the last look thrown on creation by him who had revealed so many of its mysteries? Who could resist the feeling excited by the view of science

revealing eternal wisdom? How noble, how affecting, and how prophetic! So soon to appear before the Supreme tribunal, what conviction could he express, what words could he pronounce, which would have formed a more suitable preparation? After this lecture, the first symptoms appeared of the disorder, which, in less than eight days, brought him to the grave. He presided, notwithstanding, on the following day, in the Committee of the Interior. Soon, however, paralysis of a peculiar kind destroyed in succession the nerves which produce voluntary motion, leaving uninjured those which form the seat of sensation; the members affected thus became completely inert, and yet retained their sensibility. M. Cuvier had, a short time before, read to the Academy of Sciences, a memoir sent by an Italian anatomist on the existence of this little known affection of the nervous system. It may be supposed, that the extent of his labours during the latter years of his life had contributed to produce it. All the assistance of art lavished upon him by men of the greatest skill was ineffectual, and it soon became apparent that his end was drawing near.

'Every one knows with what courage and serenity he saw its approach. The unremitting care and attention which were bestowed on him affected him deeply, but did not diminish his courage. Even to the last he permitted those to approach who had been on terms of intimacy with him, and it was thus that I was a witness of his dying moments. Four hours before his death I was in that memorable cabinet where the happiest hours of his life had been spent, and where I had seen him surrounded with so much homage, enjoying his well-merited success; he caused himself to be carried thither, and wished that his last breath should be drawn there. His countenance was in a state of perfect repose, and never did his noble head appear to me more beautiful, or worthy of admiration. No alteration of a too sensible or painful kind had yet taken place—only a little weakness and difficulty in supporting himself were observable.

'I held the hand which he had extended to me, while he said, in a voice scarcely articulate,—"You see what a difference there is between the man of Tuesday (we had met on that day) and the man of Sunday; yet so many things remain to be done! Three important works to be published, the materials of which are prepared, and nothing remains for me but to write them." I made an effort to find some words to express to him the general interest which he excited. "I love to believe it," he replied; "I have long endeavoured to render myself worthy of it."

'It will be seen that his last thoughts were towards the future, and aspiring after glory—a noble desire of immortality! At nine o'clock on the evening of the 13th May, he had ceased to live, having reached only the age of sixty-two, although belonging to a family remarkable for longevity.'

At his own desire, Cuvier was buried in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, beneath the tombstone which covered the remains of his daughter. His funeral obsequies were attended by men of all ranks and opinions, who, even in the midst of a raging pestilence, were eager to offer upon his tomb their last tribute of affection

and admiration. But it was not among the companions alone of his labours and his glory, that this homage of love and sorrow was paid. In every corner of his native land, teeming with intellectual wealth, and splendid with immortal names, the loss of their naturalist, their legislator, and their instructor, was bewailed as a national calamity. The remotest corners of the civilized world joined in the general lamentation; and, within the Temple of Science itself, it was felt that a high priest had fallen.

From the personal history of Cuvier we must now hasten to give a brief account of his scientific labours. Zoology, and indeed Natural History in general, had been long regarded as a humble department of knowledge, destined for the exercise of the inferior orders of intellect. The mathematician and the natural philosopher had assumed to themselves the highest locality in the temple of science, and had almost expelled the collector and the classifier from its precincts. Presuming that magnitude and distance ennobled material objects, and invested with sublimity the laws by which they are governed; and taking it for granted that the imponderable and invisible agencies of nature presented finer subjects of research than the grosser elements which we can taste and touch, and accumulate, they have long looked down upon the humble and pious naturalist as but a degree superior to the functionary of a bear garden, or the master of ceremonies to a cage of tigers.

This intolerable vanity—this insensibility to the unity and grandeur of nature, to the matchless structure of sublunary bodies, and to the beautiful laws of organic life, was perhaps both the effect and the cause of the low state of natural science during the two preceding centuries. Men of acute and exuberant genius were naturally led to invest their intellectual capital in researches that were likely to return them an usurious interest in reputation; and it must be acknowledged that the richest fields of nature were for a long time left to the cultivation of very humble labourers. Linnæus was the first naturalist who applied the powers of a methodical and sagacious mind to the classification of organic bodies; while Buffon at once threw around natural history the mantle of poetry and philosophy, and by his animated and picturesque descriptions, his bold and original views, and his rich and powerful eloquence, intrenched it in public estimation. There was a wide space, however, still left between the orbits in which these two naturalists moved, and a planet of transition was still wanting to occupy the void. Cuvier was the individual who filled up this important blank. Uniting the patient toil, the minute accuracy, and the methodical habits of Linnæus, with the lofty views, and

the gorgeous eloquence of Buffon; and adding to these resources the treasures of universal knowledge, he succeeded in raising natural history to its true place among the sciences;—in alluring to its cultivation minds of the highest bearing;—in rendering it accessible and instructive to every class of enquirers, and thus making it the support and the handmaid of natural religion.

The subject of comparative anatomy, which under his predecessors had been little more than an object of curiosity and ingenious research, became, in his hands, the basis of natural history and physiology; and the science of geology, which Saussure and others had raised to a high degree of perfection, received from the labours of Cuvier a fresh impulse, and a more extended domain.

The first great work by which he was distinguished as an author, and the one which forms the basis of all his labours, was his *Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée*, the two first volumes of which were published in 1800, and the three last in 1805.* Regarding the natural history of any individual animal, as including a perfect knowledge of its organization, and of all its relations and properties, this organization and these properties must determine its place in any systematic arrangement. Hence the anatomical structure, and the physiological functions of the animal, form the only philosophical basis of zoology. The general and least variable features of organization will necessarily constitute the great divisions of the animal kingdom; while those which are less general and less constant will point out the secondary divisions or orders. The place which any animal holds in a system so constituted will thus furnish a general idea of its structure and relative properties; and classification, in place of being, as hitherto, a mere technical auxiliary, becomes 'science itself reduced to its most simple expressions.' By studying in this way the modifications of structure which distinguish the organs of circulation, respiration, and sensation in animals, Cuvier established *four* leading classes, separated by well-marked distinctions, viz. *Vertebrate*, *Molluscous*, *Articulated*, and *Radiated* animals.

The lectures on comparative anatomy contain all the details on which the preceding classification is founded. In place of treating of the anatomy of each animal apart from that of others, he examines in succession the structure of each organ in the whole series of animals; and from a comparison of the different modifications and changes which they exhibit, he endeavours to deduce the

* This work was honoured with one of the Decennial Prizes established by Napoleon, but never given.

general theory of their physical functions. But Cuvier was not satisfied with the mere formation of a system deduced from his own dissections and those of his predecessors. He conceived the idea of preserving actual proofs of the facts on which it rested, and was thus led to collect the mutilated preparations of Daubenton and of the old Academy of Sciences, and to make them the foundation of that magnificent collection, occupying *fifteen* apartments, which is of itself sufficient to immortalize his name.

While the study of the anatomy of the *Mollusca*, the largest class of invertebrate animals, had thus conducted Cuvier to reform our zoological systems, the examination of the anatomy of vertebrate animals led him to results of still wider application, and still more philosophical bearing. Viewing every living being as created for some express purpose, and as provided with organs by which that purpose was to be accomplished, he considered every animal as forming a complete system within itself; and all the parts of it as so intimately connected together, that none of them could be modified without influencing all the rest, and that each modification indicated every other. Hence he inferred that every bone of a skeleton bore the mark of the class, order, genus, and even species, to which it belonged. This anatomical fact, which formed the foundation of the new science of fossil geology, speedily led him to very curious results. By applying it to the determination of fossil bones, he discovered that these remains of ancient animals belong to races long ago extinct, and differing by marked characters from those which now inhabit our globe. He found, also, that the differences between fossil and recent species increase proportionally with the age of the deposit in which the former are discovered; and that these differences furnish us with a chronological history of the deposits themselves.

These two cardinal facts were pregnant with a series of important consequences. As no traces of plants or animals are found in the primitive rocks, Cuvier inferred that ‘ there was a time ‘ when living beings did not exist upon the earth ;’—when the rocks and the waters were acted upon only by physical forces, and when the materials of organic life were not yet prepared, or their developement not yet effected.

In thus decyphering the handwriting of Nature on her tablets of stone, our author discovered the important fact, that all organized beings were not created at the same period. In the bountiful Commissariat of Providence the stores were provided before the marshalling of the host that was to devour them. Plants were created before animals; the molluscous fishes next appeared; then the reptiles; and, last of all, the mammiferous animals completed the scale of living wonders. In obtaining

these simple deductions, it is not easy to convey an idea of the labour and study which they involved. By means of fragments of bones scattered throughout the strata of the earth he re-established 168 vertebrated animals, which form fifty genera, of which fifteen are new; and when we consider the splendid additions which have lately been made to this branch of our knowledge by Buckland, Mantell, Hibbert, and Agassiz, and also by Brongniart, and the other French geologists, there is reason to believe that the extinct species of animals are more numerous than those which are alive.

But the most curious result of these enquiries is, that these extinct animals belong to genera and species *essentially* distinct from those which now exist; and Cuvier has shown, by unanswerable arguments, that the former could not have been the parent stocks of the present race of animals; and that these differences could not arise from a change of soil or of climate, or any other accidental cause. In this part of his subject he had to combat opinions more specious than solid. It had been asserted by naturalists of no mean name, that an indefinite alteration of forms might take place in organized beings; and that a change of species even, might, in a length of time, be the result of a change of habits and of locality. Cuvier, however, has shown that there is no example of intermediate modifications of form between the extinct and recent species; and he has proved from the skeletons of mummies that the animals which lived in Egypt 2000 or 3000 years ago differ in no material point from those of the present day, and that the same similarity exists even among the wild animals. Hence he is led to the conclusion that the species of animals which formerly inhabited the earth have been destroyed and replaced by others; and that the present race is perhaps the fourth term in the progression.

'When I maintain,' says he, 'that stony strata contain the bones of several genera, and movable earths those of several species, that no longer exist, I do not pretend that a new creation has been necessary to produce the existing species. I merely say that they did not exist in the places where we now see them, and that they have come from elsewhere. For example, let us suppose that a great irruption of the sea shall now cover the continent of New Holland with a mass of sand, or other debris, the bodies of kangaroos, wombats, dasyuri, perameles, flying phalangistæ, echidnæ, and ornithorynchi, will be buried under it; and it will entirely destroy every species of these genera, since none of them now exist in other countries. Let this same revolution dry up the sea which covers the numerous straits between New Holland and the continent of Asia—it will open a way for the elephant, the rhinoceros, the buffalo, the horse, the camel, the tiger, and all other Asiatic quadrupeds, which

will people a country where they have been hitherto unknown. A naturalist afterwards living among them, and by chance searching into the depths of the soil on which this new nature lives, will find the remains of beings wholly different. That which New Holland would be in the above case, Europe, Siberia, and a great part of America, are now; and perhaps when other countries, and New Holland itself, shall be examined, we shall find that they have all undergone similar revolutions. I could almost say a mutual exchange of productions; for, carrying the supposition still farther, after this transportation of Asiatic animals into New Holland, let us imagine a second revolution which shall destroy Asia, their primitive country; those who afterwards see them in New Holland, their second country, will be as embarrassed to know whence they came as we can be now to find the origin of our own.'

In examining, along with the celebrated Brongniart, the formations above the chalk in the neighbourhood of Paris, Cuvier was perplexed with phenomena of which he could not detect the cause. One day when at Fontainbleau, along with M. Brongniart, the truth flashed across his mind. Brongniart, he exclaimed, *J'ai trouvé le nœud de l'affaire.—Et quel est-il?* asked M. Brongniart. *C'est qu'il y a des terrains marins, et des terrains d'eau douce*, replied Cuvier. That is—the stratified deposits on the crust of our globe consist of two classes—one formed in fresh water, and the other in the salt waters of the ocean; so that the phenomena which had perplexed our author in the strata above the chalk near Paris, arose from a successive alternation of fresh and salt water deposits. Hence he concluded that there had been several irruptions and alternate retreats of the sea in the basin of Paris and its vicinity since the period of the chalk formation.

'I think, with MM. de Luc and Dolomieu, that if there be any thing positive in geology it is that the surface of our globe has been the victim of a great and sudden revolution, the date of which cannot be carried back farther than from five to six thousand years—that this revolution has buried and caused the disappearance of countries formerly inhabited by men and animals which are now known; and, on the other hand, has exposed the bottom of the water, and has formed from that the countries now inhabited. . . . But these countries which are now dry had already been inhabited, if not by man, at least by terrestrial animals; consequently one preceding revolution at least must have covered them with water; and, if we may judge by the different orders of animals of which we find the remains, they had perhaps been submitted to two or three irruptions of the sea, and these irruptions, these repeated retreats, have not all been slow or gradual. The greater number of the catastrophes which brought them about have been sudden, a fact easily proved by the last of all, the traces of which are most manifest; and which has still left in the North the bodies of large quadrupeds seized by the ice,

and by it preserved even to our own times, with their skin, their fur, and their flesh. Had they not been frozen as well as killed, putrefaction would have decomposed them, and this eternal frost has only prevailed over the places inhabited by them in consequence of the same catastrophe which has destroyed them: the cause, therefore, has been as sudden as the effect it produced.'

Having thus traced the history of the ancient animal world, and determined the probable number and nature of the catastrophes by which it was overwhelmed, Cuvier was led to enquire into the fate of the human species as evinced by geological phenomena. As the remains of existing animals are nowhere to be found in the strata of the earth, it became highly probable that the remains of the existing human species were equally awanting. The results of an extensive research have now established the fact, that neither human bones, nor those of the quadrumana or apes, are found in any regular deposits.

'In the beds which contain the ancient races,' says Cuvier, 'among the palæotheria, and even amongst elephants and rhinoceroses, not a particle of human bone has ever been found. Yet human bones preserve equally well with those of animals under similar circumstances. There is no difference between the human mummies found in Egypt and those of quadrupeds. We do not find in ancient fields of battle that the skeletons of men are more altered than those of horses, if we allow for the difference of size, and we find, among the fossils, animals as small as rats still very perfectly preserved. All these tend to confirm the assertion that the human race did not exist in the countries where fossil bones are found at the epoch of the revolution which buried their bones.' * * * 'The establishment of man in the countries where we have said that the fossil remains of land animals are found, is necessarily posterior not only to the revolutions which have covered their bones, but even to those which have laid open the strata which envelope them, and which are the last which the globe has been subjected to; whence it is clear that we can neither draw from the bones themselves, nor from the more or less considerable masses of rock or earth which cover them, any argument in favour of the antiquity of the human species in these different countries.'

In support of these geological inferences respecting the recent existence of man upon the surface of the globe, Cuvier adduced arguments of a more positive kind. From a rigorous examination of pretended facts and documents which refer to a very remote period the existence of human societies, he has shown, in a manner that has generally been considered incontrovertible, that historical traditions do not extend farther back than 5000 or 6000 years,—a date which coincides with that of the last revolution; and that if man existed at that revolution, it was not upon

the present soil, but upon one which must have been carried off by a catastrophe which has spared only a few individuals of the different races now scattered over the globe.*

The last systematic work of Cuvier which our limits will permit us to notice is his *Regne Animal*, the first edition of which appeared in 1817, and the second in 1829, in four volumes, 8vo. The origin and nature of the classification adopted in this work have been already briefly explained; but it will doubtless be agreeable, even to the general reader, to have Cuvier's own popular account of the system itself.

'There exist in nature four principal forms, or general plans, according to which all animals seem to have been modelled, and the ulterior divisions of which, whatever name the naturalist may apply to them, are but comparatively slight modifications, founded on the developement or addition of certain parts, which do not change the essence of the plan.' * * * * 'In the first, which is that of man and the animals which most resemble him, the brain, and the principal trunk of the nervous system, are enclosed in a bony envelope, which is composed of the skull and vertebræ: to the sides of this middle column are attached the ribs and bones of the limbs, all of which form the frame-work of the body. The muscles which give action to these bones generally cover them, and the viscera are contained in the head, and the trunk or body. These are styled *vertebrated* animals. They all have red blood, a muscular heart, a mouth with two jaws, one above, or before the other; distinct organs for sight, hearing, smell, and taste, placed in the cavities of the face; never more than four limbs, the axes always separated, and a similar distribution of medullary masses, and of the principal branches of the nervous system. When thoroughly examining each of the parts of this great series of animals, we shall always find some analogy between them all, even in the species the farthest from each other; and we can follow the gradations of the same plan from man to the last of the fishes. In the second form there is no skeleton; the muscles are only attached to the skin, which forms a soft envelope, contractile in various senses, in many species of which are engendered strong plates called shells, the position and production of which are analagous to those of the mucous body to which they belong. Their nervous systems and viscera are contained in this general envelope; the former is composed of several scattered masses, united by nervous threads, the principal of which, placed on the œsophagus, bear the name of brain. In general, they only pos-

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* These views, and the vast collection of facts upon which they are founded, are published in his celebrated work, entitled *Recherches sur les Ossemens Fossiles*, printed, in 1811, in four quarto volumes. The *Discours Preliminaire* was republished in 1825, under the title of '*Discours sur les Révolutions de la Surface du Globe*,' 8vo, and again in 4to in 1826.

sess the senses of taste and sight, and even the last is often wanting. Only one family can boast of the organ of hearing; they have always a complete system of circulation, and organs peculiarly adapted to respiration. Those of digestion and secretion are nearly as complicated as the same organs in vertebrated animals. This second form is called that of *molluscous* animals; and, although the general plan of their organization is not as uniform with regard to their external appearance as that of vertebrated animals, there is still a greater or lesser degree of resemblance in the structure and functions of these parts.

'The third form is that which is to be found in insects, worms, &c. Their nervous system consists of two long cords which traverse the belly lengthwise, and are enlarged, from space to space, into knots or ganglions. The first of these knots is situated above the œsophagus, and is considered as the brain; but it is scarcely larger than those which are in the belly, with which it communicates by threads, which embrace the œsophagus like a collar. The envelope of this structure is divided by transversal folds into a certain number of rings, the teguments of which are some times hard, and at others soft, but to the interior of which the muscles are always attached. The trunk often bears articulated members on its sides, but is as often without them. These are the *articulated* animals; and it is among them that we observe the passage of the circulation in closed vessels, or nutrition by imbibition, and the corresponding passage of respiration in the circumscribed organs called tracheæ, or aerial vessels spread over the whole of the body, by means of which it is performed. Like the second form, there is but one family which possesses the organs of hearing, and those of the taste and sight are chiefly developed. If they have any jaws, they are always lateral. The fourth form embraces all the animals known under the name of zoophytes, and is called that of *radiated* animals. In all the preceding, the organs of movement and the senses are symmetrically disposed on the two sides of an axis. They have a posterior and an anterior face, of dissimilar appearance. Besides those now mentioned, they are as if composed of rays round a centre, even when there are but two series of these rays, for then the faces are alike. They approach the homogeneity of plants: they have no very distinct nervous system, nor particular organs for the senses. In some there are scarcely any vestiges of circulation; their respiratory organs are almost always on the surface of their bodies. The greater number have but one bag, without issue, for an intestine; and the last families only present a sort of homogeneous pulp, movable, and sensible to the touch.'

Pursuing this beautiful arrangement, Cuvier commences with an interesting account of the varieties of the human race. He conducts his readers through the labyrinths of nature by a connected series of descriptive pictures, delineating the structure and forms of living bodies with unerring precision;—marking their affinities and discrepancies with philosophical acuteness;—displaying in eloquent periods their habits, and instincts, and

uses; and impressing upon his readers his own glowing conceptions of the beneficence, the skill, and the majesty of the Creator. To this work, at once profound and popular, M. Latreille contributed the third volume on *Insects* and *Crustacea*, for which his great talents and knowledge so eminently qualified him.

The principles of arrangement upon which the *Regne Animal* was founded were applied by Cuvier in his great work on *Ichthyology*, of which the first and second volumes appeared in 1828, the third and fourth in 1829, and the seventh and eighth in 1832. Since the time of his death, M. Valenciennes, his able coadjutor, has added another; and the whole is to be completed in twenty volumes, forming one of the most splendid national works which has appeared in any age.

From this rapid sketch of the scientific labours of Cuvier, we must now proceed to give the reader some idea of his powers as a philosophical biographer,—a character in which, though he necessarily assumed it as one of the perpetual secretaries of the Institute, he shone without a rival. There is, in our apprehension, none of his works in which the varied character, the unlimited resources, and the noble elevation of his mind, are more brilliantly conspicuous than in his *Eloges* of Eminent Academicians.*

Regarding knowledge as the greatest secular blessing, and as the only imperishable legacy which man can bequeath to his race, his pages glow with enthusiasm while he recounts the achievements of departed genius, and estimates, with nice discrimination, the gifts which it has successively left on the altar of science. Even in questions where he himself or his country are parties, no personal or national jealousy ever chills the ardour of his praise, or stains the purity of his decisions. This constitutional admiration of science and its votaries, was more like the idolatry of a secluded worshipper, than the deliberate offering of a man of the world, who was able to appreciate every other variety of greatness, and who owed his honours and his rank to his political and legislative talents; and it is to this vivid impression of the dignity of intellectual studies, and to the influence which it exercised over his mind, that we must ascribe the vigorous and successful prosecution of his scientific researches; whilst a large portion of his time, as well as of his mental vigour, was necessarily devoted to the discharge of his official duties to the state.

Did our space permit us, we should have indulged our readers

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* With the exception of the recent ones of Sir H. Davy, Vauquelin, and Lamarck, his eloges have been published in three volumes, 8vo.

with several extracts from these *Eloges*, especially from those of men whose lives were rendered almost romantic by the events of the Revolution; but we must confine our extracts within a narrower range. The following account of Fourcroy's lectures is a piece of powerful composition, and is said to contain an accurate picture of those of Cuvier himself:—

'For twenty-five years, the amphitheatre of the Jardin des Plantes was the centre of M. Fourcroy's glory. The great scientific establishments of this capital, where celebrated masters expound to a numerous public capable of passing judgment on them, the most profound doctrines of modern times, recall to our memory that which was noblest in antiquity. We fancy we again find in these assemblies a whole people animated by the voice of a single orator; and again see those schools where chosen disciples came to penetrate the oracles of a sage. The lectures of M. Fourcroy corresponded to this twofold picture. Plato and Demosthenes seemed to be united in him; and it is almost necessary to be one or the other, to give an idea of them. Connexion of method, abundance of elocution, elevation, precision, elegance of terms, as if they had been selected long before-hand; rapidity, brilliancy, novelty, as if suddenly inspired; a flexible, sonorous, and silvery voice, yielding to every motion, penetrating into the corners of the largest audience-room. Nature had bestowed every thing on him. Sometimes his discourse flowed smoothly and majestically; the grandeur of his metaphors, and the pomp of his style, were all imposing; then, varying his accents, he passed insensibly to the most ingenuous familiarity, and fixed attention by sallies of the most fascinating gaiety. Hundreds of auditors, of all classes, all nations, were to be seen passing whole hours, closely pressed against each other, almost fearing to breathe, their eyes fixed on his, suspended to his mouth, as the poet says (*pendens ab ore loquentis*). His look of fire darted over the crowd; in the farthest rows he distinguished that mind which was difficult to convince, and still doubted, or the slow comprehension, which did not completely understand; for these he redoubled his arguments and his similes, and varied his expressions until he found those which would convince; language seemed to multiply its riches for him, and he did not quit his subject till he saw all his numerous audience equally satisfied.'

The *Eloge* of this unfortunate chemist, which is, throughout, a piece of powerful and interesting biography, is followed by that of our distinguished countryman, the Honourable Henry Cavendish, who first determined the density of the earth, and discovered the composition of water, and whose labours are thus beautifully appreciated:—

'All that science revealed to him seemed to be tinctured with the sublime and the marvellous; he weighed the earth, he prepared the means of navigating through the air, he deprived water of its elementary quality; and these doctrines, so new, and so opposed to received

opinions, were demonstrated by him in a manner still more extraordinary than the discovery itself.

'The writings, where he lays them before others, are so many *chefs-d'œuvre* of wisdom and method; perfect in their whole, and perfect in their details, in which no other hand has found any thing to reform, and the splendour of which has only increased with time. . . . . So that there can be no temerity in predicting that he will reflect back upon his house much greater lustre than he has received from it; and that these researches, which, perhaps, excited the pity and contempt of some of his contemporaries, will make his name resound, in an age to which his rank and his ancestry alone would not have transmitted it. The history of thirty centuries clearly teaches us, that great and useful truths are the sole durable inheritance which man can leave behind him.'

We cannot pass unnoticed the *Eloge* of Dr Priestley, which brought his biographer into the field of theological discussion, and which deserves to be studied in a country where the character of that extraordinary man, both as a philosopher and a Christian, has been so greatly misrepresented. The conclusion of the following extract is earnestly recommended to the consideration of those pious men who have been misled by the intolerant spirit of the day; and who are lending their aid, without being conscious of what they are doing, to break the cords of affection which ought to unite the professors of our common Christianity.

'Priestley, loaded with glory, was modest enough to be astonished at his good fortune, and at the multitude of beautiful facts which nature seemed to have revealed to him alone. He forgot that her favours were not gratuitous, and that if she had so well explained herself, it was because he had known how to constrain her to do so by his indefatigable perseverance in questioning her, and by a thousand ingenious means of wresting from her her answers. Others carefully conceal what they owe to accident. Priestley seemed to wish to ascribe to it all his merit. He records, with unexampled candour, how many times he had profited by it without knowing it, how many times he was in possession of new substances without having perceived them; and he never concealed the erroneous views which sometimes directed his efforts, and which he renounced only from experience. These confessions did honour to his modesty, without disarming jealousy. Those whose views and methods had never led them to discovery, called him a mere maker of experiments, without method, and without an object: "It is not astonishing," they added, "that among so many trials and combinations he should find some that were successful." But real natural philosophers were not duped by these selfish criticisms.

'I am now arrived at the most painful part of my task. You have just seen Priestley successfully advancing in the study of human science, to which he nevertheless consecrated but a few of his leisure moments.

I must now present him to you in another light, wrestling against the nature of things which are hidden from our reason by an impenetrable veil, trying to submit the world to his conjectures, spending almost all his life in these vain efforts, and at last plunging himself into an abyss of misery. Here, like himself, I have need of all your indulgence; perhaps the details into which I am about to enter will to some appear foreign to the place in which I speak; but it is here, I think, that the terrible example they afford ought to be heard with the greatest interest. I have already told you that Priestley was a minister of religion, and I am obliged to add, that he professed four different creeds before he could decide on teaching one of them in his public capacity. Brought up in all the severity of the Presbyterian faith, which we call Calvinistic, and in all the bitterness of predestination, such as Gomar taught it, he scarcely began to reflect, before he turned to the milder doctrine of Arminius. But as he advanced, he always seemed to find too much to believe; he, therefore, adopted the tenets of the Arians, who, after having invaded Christianity from the time of the successors of Constantine, have now no other asylum than in England, but whose faith is decorated by the names of Milton, Clarke, and Locke, and even, as report says, that of Newton, and whose reputations, in some measure, repair the loss of former power.

'Arianism, while it declares Christ to be a creature, believes him, nevertheless, to be a being of a superior nature, produced before the world, and the organ of the Creator in the production of other beings. This is the doctrine clothed in the magnificent poetry of the Paradise Lost. After having long professed this, Priestley abandoned it in order to become an Unitarian, or that which we call a Socinian. There are few, perhaps, among those who now hear me, who have ever informed themselves in what these two sects differ. It is, that the Socinians deny the pre-existence of Christ, and only look upon him as a man, though they revere in him the Saviour of the world; and they acknowledge that the divinity was united to him, in order to effect this great work. This subtle shade between two heresies, occupied for thirty years that head which was required for the most important questions of science, and, without comparison, caused Priestley to write more volumes than he ever produced on the different species of air. . . . His last moments were full of those feelings of piety which had animated his whole life, and the improper control of which had been the foundation of all his errors. He caused the gospel to be read to him, and thanked God for having allowed him to lead an useful life, and granted him a peaceful death. Among the list of his principal blessings, he ranked that of having personally known almost all his contemporaries. "I am going to sleep, as you do," said he to his grandchildren, who were brought to him, "but we shall wake again together, and, I hope, to eternal happiness;" thus evincing in what belief he died. These were his last words. Such was the end of that man, whom his enemies accused of wishing to overthrow all morality and religion, and yet whose greatest error was to mistake his vocation, and to attach too much importance to his individual

sentiments, in matters where the most important of all feelings ought to be the love of peace.'

We must now follow Cuvier from the temperate region of science into the torrid zone of politics and public life; and while we admire him in the Tribune, in the Bureau of Public Instruction, in the Council of State, and in the Chamber of Peers, we shall never have occasion to qualify our admiration with the regret that he had put off the demeanour of the philosopher, or faltered in his career of observation and discovery. All the labours of the dissecting-room—all the duties of his university chair—all his functions as a member and a secretary of the Institute, were performed with the same diligence and success; whilst he was reorganizing the universities—regulating the discipline of the schools—superintending the concerns of the Protestant church—managing the affairs of the interior in the Council of State—proposing new laws for the Chambers—defending an unstable government against the rude impulses of popular feeling, and protecting against arbitrary power the just rights and liberties of the people. The history of the human mind does not, we believe, present us with the example of a great man displaying such a diversity of talent, and attaining, at the same time, the highest distinction in each of his pursuits. The phenomenon, indeed, is so unusual, that it requires the evidence of Baron Pasquier, the president of the Chamber of Peers, and the political colleague of Cuvier, to stamp it with credibility among those who have known him only in his scientific character.

In order to understand and appreciate the political principles of Cuvier, we must make our readers acquainted with his vast labours in the field of public education. We have already seen that Napoleon availed himself of his knowledge and sagacity in regulating the higher departments of academical instruction. Cuvier prepared the judicious laws on this subject which have been imitated by foreign nations; and, in the three printed reports which he addressed to the Grand Master of the University, he has embodied the most valuable information respecting the learning and Universities of foreign states, and traced, with a masterly hand, the causes of the decline of literature and science. Though more immediately occupied with the higher institutions for the promotion of knowledge, he devotes much of his consideration to the initiatory schools, where the germ of the infant mind is fostered and developed. In this sacred cause he not only pleaded but laboured. The studies most dear to him were often laid aside, in order to examine the elementary books of the juvenile schools, and to give assistance and advice to those who

were engaged in preparing them. The general education and instruction of the people he regarded as the only sure bulwark of public order and virtue. He was convinced that *primary instruction** would afford to the people the means of exercising their understanding without making them discontented with their lot—that *secondary* instruction would expand the mind, without rendering it insincere and presumptuous—and that *special* instruction would give to the nation magistrates, generals, physicians, clergy, and teachers, distinguished by their professional attainments, and sustaining the judicial, the military, the scientific, and the moral glory of their country.

In 1821, when the University, supported by the government and the people, suggested a plan of primary instruction applicable to the whole of France, the labour of maturing it was intrusted to Cuvier. France owes to him, also, the institution of the provincial committees (*Comités cantoneaux*), by which the education of the poor is placed under the superintendence of the more enlightened classes. He founded, also, an establishment for the support of professors disabled by sickness or age; and, by a special arrangement, this institution was rendered a nursery for candidates to fill the vacant chairs.† In pursuing his views re-

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* *Primary* instruction is confined to reading, writing, and the first rules of arithmetic; *secondary*, to a more extensive education for general purposes; and *special*, to those studies which qualify for a particular profession.

† 'The mode of appointing professors is a complicated question in 'France. Some are partisans for election by vote; some support nomi-'nation by established high authority; and others succession. Each of 'these methods is attended with inconvenience; and voting, which theo-'retically may appear to be the best, has not realized the hopes of those 'who caused it to be adopted. It gives an opportunity for all to enter 'the lists; and men of consummate skill and experience do not like to 'find themselves placed in contact with those just issued from the schools, 'who, with all the fire and confidence of youth, frequently obtain their 'wishes by their brilliancy, while those of much more real merit are left 'far behind. The other methods are particularly open to private feel-'ings, or a liability to place men of inferior merit in the professor's 'chair. To obviate these inconveniences or abuses, M. Cuvier created 'that method, which in France is called aggregation. A defeat is com-'paratively of little consequence to young students; and, therefore, ac-'cording to this institution, as soon as they quit the schools, they under-'go an election, in order to become *Aggregés*—these *Aggregés* are 'assistants to sick or aged professors, during their attendance on whom, 'time and opportunity are given for the developement of their talents,

specting special instruction, Cuvier proposed to the Simeon Ministry to create a new faculty or school of instruction, on the model of those which had long existed in Germany, for teaching those branches of knowledge which have an immediate relation to the art of government, and Baron Pasquier states, 'that 'France has enjoyed for a considerable period' such an institution.

In addition to these duties, Cuvier charged himself with the particular management of the Protestant schools, which received great improvements from his hands; and we cannot resist the satisfaction of quoting what follows from an address delivered by M. Reynal, the rector of the Academy at Bourges, at the distribution of prizes in the Protestant School at Arnieres:—

'My dear Children—The faithful followers of our church have spared sufficient from their own wants to build a school for you, and to afford you all that is desirable. The Academy (of Bourges) has associated itself with them in this work of devotion and self-sacrifice; it has already done much, and will do still more, by appealing in your behalf to the benevolent protection of the University. You see, my dear children, that you have friends and benefactors every where. But, alas! he is no more—he, who held the first rank among them. A premature death has snatched him from science, from literature, from your brethren, from us, from all mankind. The whole of the learned world deplore his loss. You are too young, my children, to have heard him spoken of in your village; but the great man who tried to do you so much good, who unceasingly thought of you, was called GEORGE CUVIER. Recollect this name, and mention it every day in the prayers that you address to heaven. He has often written to me, "Do not lose sight of our school at Arnieres les Bourges. I recommend the scholars of it to you, as my brothers, as my best friends. Instil into them submission to their parents, respect for the property of others, candour, and justice. These are the virtues and duties of all religions. Let benevolence and affection reign between them and the children (the Catholics) who inhabit the same village, and who, like them, live by their labour in the fields. God loves and protects them all with equal goodness—with the same hand he blesses the sweat of their brow, and their harvests,—let them, therefore, behave towards each other like children of the same father."'

But Cuvier was intrusted also with the direction of the Protestant Faculties in France; and, whilst he held this situation, he became one of the Vice-Presidents of the Bible Society, and obtained the erection of fifty new cures, which had long been need-

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'and to make themselves known. At the death of the professor, the 'faculty to which he belonged presents *three* candidate aggregés to 'the minister, whose choice determines the appointment.'—*Memoirs of Cuvier*, p. 248.

ed. He drew up the plan of a new law, regulating the discipline of the Protestant Churches; but he died before the commencement of the session in which it was to be considered. The light in which Cuvier was viewed by the members of his own faith, will appear from the Funeral Discourse pronounced over his grave, by M. Boissard, minister of the Protestant church in the Rue des Billettes:—

'Let us not forget those long abandoned chapels, re-opened to our youth in the Royal Colleges—let us not forget the abundant distribution of religious and moral books under his superintendence. Now that his voice is extinct, let us fervently ask of our God, let us ask in the name of our dearest moral interests, in the name of our eternal farewell, to raise up other voices, which may speak with the same eloquence, the same wisdom, and the same authority. We have lost him, who, with inviolable attachment, honoured the creed of our forefathers; whose great name, whose immortal labours shed so much lustre over our churches; who burdened himself with our ecclesiastical rights, in perfect disinterestedness of spirit, and with the purest and most extensive benevolence. What do we not owe to that penetrating glance, which revealed to him all that was wanting in our institutions, and under which privations we had so long groaned! How many ameliorations took place in a few years—with what wisdom and charity he examined our requests—and what a new order of things would have arisen at his bidding, had the Almighty suffered him to continue among us!'

Influenced by the views which these labours had impressed upon his mind, Cuvier regarded the extension of education and the diffusion of knowledge as the indispensable precursors of political and social amelioration. 'Give schools,' says he, 'before 'political rights; make citizens comprehend the duties which 'the state of society imposes upon them; teach them what are 'political rights, before you offer them for their enjoyment, then 'all ameliorations will be made without causing a shock; then 'each idea, thrown upon good ground, will have time to germinate, to grow, and to ripen, without convulsing the social body. 'Imitate Nature, who, in the developement of beings, acts by 'gradations, and gives time to every member of her most powerful elements. The infant remains nine months in the body of 'its mother—man's physical perfection only takes place at twenty or thirty, and his moral completion from thirty to forty. 'Institutions must have ages to produce all their fruits—witness 'Christianity, the effects of which are not yet accomplished, notwithstanding a thousand years of existence.'

The argument here used by Cuvier had been previously employed by the Marquis Laplace, who founded it on the study of the laws which regulate the movements of the planets; and it

will not admit of a doubt, that amid the progressive ameliorations of our social institutions, which the increasing knowledge and wants of mankind render imperiously necessary, the statesman may draw useful lessons from the study of the order and regulated dependence of the various parts of the natural and planetary worlds. But, in pursuing this analogy as a guide, we must guard against its deceitful application. In the planetary system, a sun enthroned in the centre of its domains (a sovereign without responsible satellites) governs the different classes of its dependents by its enormous mass, and amid their eccentric movements, and mutual perturbations, constrains them into the most perfect obedience. But, in the midst of this universal harmony, the spirit of disorder is not wholly subdued. A comet will still forsake its orbit, a planet will burst, and a star will be struck out of the firmament. In the world of sublunary matter, mechanical and chemical laws retain the material elements in a state of death-like repose; but yet the volcano and the earthquake, the hurricane and the thunderbolt will occasionally break loose from their chains. In the animal world, instinct, neither misled by reason nor controlled by passion, becomes the coercive power over ferocious natures; and civilisation, as it advances into the forests, and among the fastnesses, drives back the tiger into its jungle, and the lion into its den, while it gives a freer and a safer range to their more peaceful occupants.

In the social world—the haunt of cruelty, ambition, selfishness, and all the host of angry passions, there is no regulating power to restrain its unruly elements. When religion and conscience do not issue their stern injunctions, REASON and JUSTICE become the sun—the double star of the social system. Where communities are yet unformed, or where they have been broken down by internal or external causes, their organization must be intrusted to reason alone; and the form of government that is approved of by the majority in number and influence, must and ought to prevail. But in governments which, like our own, have long enjoyed a stable equilibrium, justice must be the chief guide of the statesman. Among the honest improvers of society, there are many who despise all the suggestions which reason gathers from experience. Intent upon some ideal good, beyond or at least far from their reach, they overlook, and are even willing to surrender, advantages already in their hands. Those, for example, who, under a limited monarchy, speculate upon the advantages of a republic, or of an elective sovereign, or of a voluntary church, or of a subverted Peerage, are compassing vital and fundamental changes, which could only be justified by the almost universal

consent of the nation, or by the most urgent calls of endangered liberty.

But there are changes of a secondary nature, which are not only compatible with the stability of thrones, but essentially conducive to the true happiness of the people—changes which no more diminish the influence of the sovereign than the approach of a comet enfeebles the predominating agency of the sun. To doubt the safety and propriety of educating the people—of diffusing instruction by cheap and untaxed publications—of teaching in the same schools and universities the youth of all religions—of establishing universal toleration in matters of faith —of giving elective rights to the intelligent population—of abolishing sinecures in Church and State—of rendering Law and Justice accessible to the poor—of filling the public offices with the best qualified of the competitors—and, generally, of removing all obvious defects from every public institution—to doubt the safety of such palpable reforms, in behalf of which Religion, and Reason, and Justice all lift their voice, would be to renounce the attributes of intelligence, and place our judgment under the dominion of the most ignoble selfishness, or the most dastardly timidity, or the most worthless ambition.

That these were the views of Cuvier, the whole of his political life and public labours conspire to prove; and, though induced by his love of order to defend the governments under which he enjoyed the protection of the laws, yet he was not, as Baron Pasquier observes, 'hostile to the useful and progressive 'improvements which were necessary to the welfare of every in-'stitution; but it was his wish that these should result from 'patient and enlightened observation; that they should not 'be adopted in a state of passionate excitement, but undergo 'calm and deliberate discussion, after a careful study of sound 'principles, and a conscientious enquiry into what was really 'needed.'

While Cuvier was President of the Committee of the Interior, an office which he held during the last thirteen years of his life, 'the cases which were examined, discussed, and des-'patched by his care and agency,' sometimes amounted to 10,000 in the year. His singular talent for managing a discussion—his powerful memory, which always brought former decisions to his recollection—and his profound knowledge of the principles on which the determination of each case depended, threw a light on every question, and seldom failed in impressing his own views upon the minds of his colleagues.

In the preparation of the laws, and the discussions which they underwent in the Chambers, in the Council of the State, or in

the Cabinet Council, to which he was often called, he exhibited the same wonderful sagacity, which was often called forth in the cause of genuine liberty. Under the ministry of the Duke de Richelieu, in 1815, a striking instance of this occurred, an account of which has been recorded by Cuvier himself. The Prevotal Courts, to which he refers in the following extract, were created by the Bourbons, in order to judge of all public disturbances, and no appeal lay from their decisions.

'I had then an opportunity of rendering great services to this country, which have never been publicly declared, but which I should be sorry should not one day be known to have emanated from me. R——* supported me in all the ameliorations we brought about in the Council concerning the criminal laws, which were prepared in the spirit of the times; but the modifications, which rendered those of the Prevotal Courts almost inoffensive, are due to me. In the first place, judicial power was given to them, not only over revolts, and attempts openly committed on the public peace, but over conspiracies and attempts plotted in secret; and not only over crimes which might take place after the law was promulgated, but over all which had taken place at any period whatever. It is very evident that, in a country like ours, where there are so many men of all classes ever ready to follow the torrent of the day, these two powers would have transferred the Prevotal Courts into so many revolutionary tribunals. Nevertheless, we did not obtain any thing from the united Committees of the Interior, and the law was prepared; but, after a meeting of the Council of State, presided over by the Duke de Richelieu, I demanded a discussion of these questions in his presence, before a new assemblage of the committees. I believe that I never spoke with so much fire; and, notwithstanding the violence of ——— and ———, thanks to the upright and honest mind of the Duke de Richelieu, I succeeded in getting the articles concerning secret plots entirely erased. There yet remained the visitation of former offences to be overcome. M. de ——† opposed it in the Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, where it was defended by two Counsellors of State. I was invited to join them, as I should naturally have been obliged to do in my office of Commissionaire du Roi, but I refused, and the law did not pass.'

One of Cuvier's most remarkable political speeches was that which he pronounced in 1820, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the law of elections; and, after he was elevated to the Chamber of Peers, he drew up, in the course of a day, which the urgency of the case required him to do, a most valuable Report

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* The Duke De Richelieu.

† M. de Royer Collard, and M. de Serres, the one in the Council of State, and the other in the Chamber of Deputies, assisted Cuvier on this occasion.

on the law relative to corn, which was adopted by the Chamber. When an attempt was made to introduce the Jesuits into the university, Cuvier gave the proposal the most determined and successful resistance. When he was a Counsellor of State, he vigorously opposed the censorship, and refused to form part of the commission for shackling the Press; and, on a subsequent occasion, when he received at midnight a despatch, written by Peyronnet, announcing that his appointment as a censor of the Press would appear in the *Moniteur* next morning, he instantly returned a dignified refusal to the Chancery, which, while it increased his popularity, created great coolness towards him on the part of Charles X.

Our limits will not permit us to dwell any longer upon the political life of Cuvier. We shall, therefore, conclude these observations with a brief summary of his private character.

In his person, Cuvier was about the middle size, and, though his figure was slender in his youth, he had latterly become rather corpulent. His features were handsome, his nose aquiline, and his eyes full of intelligence.* He was a man of dignified and grave demeanour, equable in his temper, though constitutionally irritable, free from all presumption and vanity, and gentle and even kind towards his opponents. In the midst of his numerous avocations, he was accessible to all classes; and his pupils and scientific friends always found him ready to assist them in their studies and pursuits. His disposition was most generous and charitable; and though his own circumstances required rigid economy, he was never able to refuse an application for pecuniary aid. In the relations of domestic life, he displayed all the virtues by which it is hallowed and adorned; but from the source of his greatest happiness he was doomed to experience the deepest affliction. The female virtues, which had long rendered his home a happy one, were not able to balance the awful calamity which deprived him of the last and dearest of his children. The piety and the resignation of the Christian struggled for a while against the agonies of a breaking heart; but, though his sorrow was for a time soothed by the force of intellectual application, the anodyne lost its virtue, and the inconsolable father soon followed his daughter to the grave.

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* The best portrait of him is the one painted by our countryman, Mr Pickersgill, who generously presented a copy of it to his widow.

ART. II.—*The School of the Heart, and other Poems.* By HENRY ALFORD, Vicar of Wimeswould, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Two vols. 12mo. Cambridge: 1835.

LAST year the number of members on the boards of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, stood as follows: Cambridge—5249; Oxford—5290. But the proportion formerly was very different. The numbers at Cambridge have almost doubled since the year 1813. Within a century (as late, for instance, as the year 1748) they amounted only to 1500. Nevertheless, whatever may have been its numerical inferiority, Cambridge has been much more fortunate in celebrated men, especially in the laurelled brotherhood of poets. We do not use a stronger word than fortunate; since the fact can scarcely be attributed to any cause, for which vice-chancellors and tutors are responsible. Not only is genius its own great schoolmaster: but the peculiarities of the respective systems of education in these universities are of a comparatively recent date, and are such as would be generally supposed to tell rather the other way. Cambridge poets, from the first, probably made as little progress in the sciences as Virgil himself, although since the period when philosophical imagination gave way to observation and induction, they cannot adopt his apology, and account for their estrangement by the coldness of their blood. It is at the least equally certain, that the Cambridge poets did not breathe in their early inspiration from the superior beauty of the spot where they passed their youth. The scenery of a neighbourhood from which Robert Hall fled in uncontrollable despair, can have no more to do with poetry than the studies for which it has of late been principally distinguished. Is it then only accident? Or are we to look to the districts from which their members are respectively drafted, for the powerful predisposing causes which have triumphed over these obstacles? The Colleges at Cambridge are of course principally supplied from the north of England and from the midland counties; those at Oxford from the south and from the west. The north breeds better horses; does it breed also finer wits? But the metropolis in this case has a proud pedigree of its own. If the child is father of the man, the Cockneys need not be ashamed of their birthplace. Notwithstanding the contemptuous pity with which imaginative dwellers among mountains are accustomed to look down upon the inhabitants of cities, London has sent up to Cambridge some of Fancy's favourite

children. Did it reckon no other names than the names of Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton, it might maintain the lists against the world as an excellent breeding-place for poets.

In poetry, as in the more prosaic affairs of life, juvenile offenders are multiplying on our hands. The age at which boys were sent to College two centuries ago, and the poverty of the scholastic course of study (*trivium* and *trivial* being properly allied), concurred to prevent a student at the university from travelling beyond the walls of his lecture-room, or from manifesting there any independent habits. The advanced standing of under-graduates at present—a circle of more rational and inspiring studies—the pressure from without—the success with which our national literature is doing what a national literature alone can do—reaching and bringing out the native power of a people—are causes which have already produced a visible alteration. A wit formerly did not venture on disturbing, by his eccentricities, 'the grand 'Saturnian year,' in which every thing was supposed to revolve at the Universities. He reserved his novelties for the Inns of Court, and the idle gentlemen of London. Within a hundred and fifty years, Town was, in matters of taste, the sole authority for the kingdom, and the Court was acknowledged to be almost equal authority for the Town. This is all over. Exclusive tribunals of public taste have fallen before the spread of knowledge, and so have exclusive standards. While the lads of almost every public school in England have been setting up their Magazine, Cambridge, in addition to her critical and philosophical Journals, and her periodical Latin and Greek exercises, has lately allowed a volume or more of juvenile English poetry to struggle into daylight, from under her maternal wing. It is true, these callow young owe their early hatching more to their own inward heat, than to any specific warmth communicated to them from their nurse. Yet this is by no means to be regretted; since the warmth regularly transmitted through academies soon becomes as artificial and forcing as a stove. The classics (as they continue to be called) are now in their proper place. They are in fact only one, out of many models, even at college. Considering the gulf by which the man of modern Europe is separated from the man of ancient Athens and ancient Rome, it was their only chance for not spoiling more and better poets, than for the future by themselves they could ever hope to make.

A race which had shaken off the traditional yoke of peremptory antiquity, could acknowledge, for some brief interval only (and that unconsciously), a dictator among immediate predecessors or contemporaries. It was natural, nevertheless, that the genius of Byron, which, during an interval of this sort, subdued

nearly the whole poetical atmosphere of the country to its peculiar colour, should make a powerful impression on the youthful members of his own University. Kirke White came and went too soon to be affected by it. Indeed, under any circumstances, his gentleness and devoutness would have *Byronized* but ill. This spiritual domination, however, was one of those tyrannies which has now wellnigh overpast. The young poets, whose common tastes and sympathies seem lately, at Cambridge, to be forming around them a little school, take as little after Byron as after Pope. They do not destroy the affections in the passions; they do not call on us to curse life, but to bless it altogether. Their light is not a concentrated glare, whereby giants are to be shown in attitudes of distorted greatness, forging thunderbolts which are to be hurled afterwards at their own bosoms. It is rather the gentle and kindly dawn of morning, doing little more than lift up the veil from nature, and spread out the world before us, that looking on it we may love it, and in some degree become like unto it. The poetry of Byron startled, and always must startle every reader, by its singularity and its power; nevertheless, it has made mere imitators. It appears to have been too individual to become an element, developing, nourishing, and at last incorporating itself with other minds. It stands, therefore, by itself, a pyramid of black and dazzling marble—proud, monumental, barren; while all our poets of any really creative character, conscious of possessing, and determined to retain their personal identity, seem to be turning elsewhere for those assimilating and pervading qualities which are destined to feed them in their growth.

Wordsworth says that he and his friends owe their poetical existence to Percy's 'Reliques.' The ardent novices, of whom we are speaking, come apparently of the same descent; only one generation lower. For, they derive directly from Cowper, Wordsworth, and Coleridge. These are the biddings to which their spirits are attuned, and their whole nature subjected. Singing evidently as the birds sing, for the very enjoyment of it, with some of them, we are at times almost equally at a loss for the interpretation of their notes. Early youth appears to take peculiar pleasure in seeing language float along like an exhalation: nor is it at that age the less liked because in this condition it is a better medium for communicating colours than ideas. This defect has been encouraged by the schoolboy popularity of Shelley; whose language is often too yielding and aërial, of too delicate and gossamer-like a texture to be the vehicle of so earthly a thing as substantial thought. Doubtless, Shelley always had his meaning; but it was not always as strong and definite a meaning as critics,

intrusted with the rights of others, are bound to insist on having. In this manner very impressible people remain more or less always children. Madame de Staël, even in her prose, could not stop with the sense. The sound drove her on. Long after the vessel was in port, she lingered among the crested breakers, listening to their music as they rolled upon the shore. Mr Tennyson is perhaps at present the most known of any of the young Cambridge poets who have lately taken wing. He must not set it down to aridity and moroseness, if persons of riper years have regretted that his style was not sufficiently impregnated with thought;—that more mind was not apparent behind his words. Mr Alford appears to us to choose his subjects from a higher class, to conceive them with greater distinctness, and to have a stronger sense of the necessity of embodying his thoughts in precise expressions. The clusters of his garden are less exposed accordingly to trail upon the ground for lack of proper support. There is, however, room for them all to mend—especially on this last point. They have the power of doing so; and they are in the right track. For they are plainly in communication with the Elizabethan age—the true vernacular source of English greatness in all that belongs to the literature of imagination.

Mr Alford is, we conclude, a West of England man. The scenes of his descriptive poetry are laid there; and otherwise he would scarcely have used the provincialism of 'barton' (meaning by it homestead), as a word which every body was expected to understand. The greater part of the poems contained in the first volume were published at Cambridge two years ago, anonymously. Their proper father has summoned courage to own them on the occasion of migrating to a living in Crabbe's old neighbourhood—the Melton Hunt. Mr Alford's titles to honour are not poetical merely. But greater renown than so young a man will take along with him would not expose him to serious inconvenience in a county where the author of the 'Borough' was allowed to weary of his unbroken leisure. He will be without excuse, therefore, if he does not take advantage of his solitude to submit his verses to a diligent and severe revision. They are in exceeding want of it. Indeed, we doubt whether we ever saw in the productions of a highly cultivated mind, so much ability and so much carelessness united. The present volumes appear to us to be a beginning of great promise. But 'the 'green blood dancing in the veins' of his fresh and luxuriant spring will at best only ensure himself a holiday existence, and have raised expectations to disappoint them; unless he can learn to feel the duty of correction in something like the same proportion in which it is evident that he feels the pleasure of composition.

We will mention a single instance only, that of the sonnet called a 'Recollection of Homer.' In its present state it is a rough unfinished bust. The conception, however, is so good, that a workman, who means to be an artist, ought never to have left it until he had wrought it out into a visible shape, more worthy of his idea. It might be made fit to stand side by side with the beautiful sonnet in which Keats has embalmed *his* recollection of first reading Chapman's Homer.

The metrical irregularities into which Mr Alford is often tempted, are evidently not always the consequence of his not caring to be at the trouble to avoid them. His verses are frequently scanned not by syllable and accent only, but by quantity also: two short syllables (for instance, 'and the') being counted equivalent to one long one. This liberty is taken on one occasion no less than three times within the short space of a single sonnet. Our own inclination in metrical experiments being rather latitudinarian, we are the more bound to protest against bringing them into discredit by abuse. What would be agreeable as a variety, or reasonable as an indulgence in a long poem, may easily destroy the unity and smoothness, the identity of impression—the all but inaudible flow of its gliding waters over which the ear expects to linger in a sonnet.

Coleridge appears to have thought that Mr Tennyson was losing his way among the variety of metres into which he had wandered; and proposed restricting him during a certain period to some one determinate measure, in order to accustom him to the strict discipline of rules. Mr Alford has in this respect run less out of the beaten course. He scarcely requires therefore a similar ordeal. Otherwise we should chain him, for his temporary penance, to the old English couplet, of whose power and honours he knows so little, as to talk of having been, on one occasion,

> 'Tempted by sudden aptitude of words
> Into that measure which least pleaseth me,
> Sacred to satire and unquiet thought.'

At the same time, we would not keep him long there. That specific durance is not at all likely to improve the fulness or modulation of his blank verse—the field where, we think, his vocation lies. He might practise remoter measures with less danger. His translation, from Moschus, of the epitaph of Bion may be added to the evidence with which Coleridge has supplied us, that our earlier failures in adapting some of the metres of antiquity to the English language is to be attributed more to the impropriety of the metres which were chosen, than to any impropriety in the

experiment itself. Sapphics and alcaics may remain in the ground dead and withered branches; while iambics and hendecasyllables shall take root. Nor is it the coyness of ancient metres only which might probably be overcome. It is true, that words are not as flexible as sounds. The poet must be left behind by the musician in the variety of his airs. Yet it by no means follows that poets might not have added, as it were, another string to the instrument of their art also, if they had studied a little more the capabilities at their command. Instead of which, they have exhausted all their pains and resources in the improvement of the two or three metrical forms which an habitual acquiescence in the accident of a first success had transmitted to them. In case Mr Tennyson should succeed in naturalizing among us a really good new metre, he would be well entitled to the reward which mankind have so long and vainly promised to the inventor of a new pleasure.

The sonnet seems to have been tacitly proscribed from English poetry during the predominance of French authorities. It reappeared with our independence, and has become of late a favourite measure. Some lately published by the Rev. Charles Strong, are almost without a precedent among us for one merit (it is a merit on which different persons will set different values)—the faithful regularity of their structure. They have been composed with the express object of proving, that if a relaxed and corrupted form has prevailed over the legitimate Italian models in English poetry, it is owing to the indolence of our writers, and not to any deficiency in our language. Mr Alford will see in them what may be accomplished in this respect by proper care. His own are very unequal. Among the best is that on 'Easter Eve.' A more complete picture has seldom been brought within the sonnet's strictly admeasured frame. How much, too, is its beauty heightened by all that is left to the imagination. We look on it at first with only the quiet sympathy which belongs to an affecting scene, such as it describes. But while we are looking, suspicions of the truth break in upon us; the figures enlarge and deepen as on a gradually illuminated vase; and even at the last we leave it, feeling that there is still a light within, a brightness and a mystery beyond what we are permitted to behold.

> 'I saw two women weeping by the tomb
> Of one new buried, in a fair green place,
> Bowered with shrubs; the eve retained no trace
> Of aught that day performed; but the faint gloom
> Of dying day was spread upon the sky.
> The moon was broad and bright above the wood,
> The distance sounded of [?] a multitude,
> Music, and shout, and mingled revelry.

At length came gleaming through the thicket shade
Helmet and casque, and a steel-armed band
Watched round the sepulchre in solemn stand:
The night-word passed, from man to man conveyed;
And I could see those women rise, and go
Under the dark trees, moving sad and slow.'

The next is a little dirge. The word 'flowerful' is the only word in it which we are disposed to question. There is a beautiful wildness in the abrupt change of the imagery and the feeling of the four last lines. They break away from the circle of common topics and common mourners, in one of those far-reaching glimpses with which Hamlet might be supposed to startle the lookers onas he leaped into Ophelia's grave.

'Slowly and softly let the music go,
As ye wind upwards to the gray church tower;
Check the shrill hautboy, let the pipe breathe low,
Tread lightly on the pathside daisy-flower!
For she ye carry was a gentle bud,
Loved by the unsunned drops of silver dew;
Her voice was like the whisper of the wood
In prime of even, when the stars are few.
Lay her, all gently, in the flowerful mould,
Weep with her one brief hour, then turn away—
Go to hope's prison, and from out the cold
And solitary gratings many a day
Look forth: 'tis said the world is growing old,
And streaks of orient light in Time's horizonplay.'

This prepares us for the imaginative illustration of the text, 'The 'Master is come, and calleth for me.' It was the text, it seems, on which the funeral sermon had been preached.

'Rise, said the master, come unto the feast:
She heard the call, and rose with willing feet;
But thinking it not otherwise than meet
For such a bidding to put on her best,
She is gone from us for a few short hours,
Into her bridal closet, there to wait
For the unfolding of the palace gate,
That gives her entrance to the blissful bowers.
We have not seen her yet, though we have been
Full often to her chamber door, and oft
Have listened underneath the postern green,
And laid fresh flowers, and whispered short and soft;
But she hath made no answer, and the day
From the clear west is fading fast away!'

What Mr Alford has written expressly as sacred poetry is the most indifferent part of his book. It is little if at all better than

the diluted milk-and-water, handed round under that name, in those smooth-tongued circles, which, in all humility and meekness, christen themselves the 'religious world.' Cowley somewhere says that the conversion of poetry and the conversion of the Jews were all that was wanting to the establishment of the kingdom of Christ. We have made much more way with the first than with the last of these conditions. But Mr Alford, when he starts aside (in strange inconsistency with his usual temper), to call the England, not of Charles the Second, but of the present age, 'a Godless 'land,' must have been taking a very different view of the nature of Christ's kingdom from any thing contemplated by the author of the 'Davideis.' It may not be unreasonable to suspect that our age has fallen too much away from personal into associated religion. This is the complaint of Alexander Knox. Still less can it be unreasonable to be sick of the machinery and the exhibition of conversion societies and missionary zeal; but Mr Alford must moderate his expectations of the aid to be obtained by way of substitute, from purely poetical auxiliaries. We should advise him to ascertain, as far as he has the means, what effect has really been produced by sacred dramas, and by poetry of a purely religious cast, before he invests any great amount of literary effort in that direction. Protestants may have too much neglected aids to the imagination in the concerns of religion. We shall be heartily glad to see our churches again open to the passer-by on week days. If Mr Alford, with the help of Mr Wordsworth and Dr Arnold, should succeed in restoring crosses by the roadside, some good and no harm can follow from it that we know of. But we are satisfied that whatever service Christianity is to draw from any poetry, professedly of a higher order than Watts' 'Hymns,' must be got at by taking an infinitely wider circle, and by ranging at a far greater distance from the object, than most religious writers, upon addressing the imagination, are aware, and than it is easy philosophically to explain.

There is something very agreeable both in the sentiment and the expression of a few verses, entitled 'The Evening of a Vil-'lage Festival.' But even slight things may be done too slightly.

'While our shrub walks darken,
And the stars get bright aloft,
Sit we still and hearken
To the music low and soft,
By the old oak yonder
Where we watch the setting sun,
Listening to the far-off thunder
Of the multitude as one.

'Sit, my best beloved,
In the waning light;
Yield thy spirit to the teaching
Of each sound and sight,
While those sounds are flowing
To their silent rest;
While the parting wake of sunlight
Broods along the West.

'Sweeter 'tis to hearken
Than to bear a part;
Better to look on happiness
Than carry a light heart.
Sweeter to walk on cloudy hills
With a sunny plain below,
Than to weary of the brightness
Where the floods of sunshine flow.

'Souls that love each other,
Join both joys in one;
Blest by others' happiness,
And nourished by their own.
So with quick reflection,
Each its opposite
Still gives back, and multiplies
To infinite delight.'

Mr Alford's negligence is the less excusable, for he appears to have great facility in catching the note, and playing with the style of different writers. His narrative of an incident between an old parishioner and the youthful minister has more of the inner excellence of Mr Wordsworth's smaller poems than a mere similarity of manner.

'There is an ancient man who dwells
Without our parish bounds,
Beyond the poplar avenue,
Across two meadow-grounds.
And whensoe'er our two small bells
To church call merrily,
Leaning upon our churchyard gate
This old man ye may see.

'He is a man of many thoughts,
That long have found their rest,
Each in its proper dwelling-place
Settled within his breast.
A form erect, a stately brow,
A set and measured mien—
The satisfied unmoving look
Of one who much hath seen.

'And once, when young, in care of souls,
I watched a sick man's bed,
And willing half, and half-ashamed,
Lingered, and nothing said,
'That ancient man, in accents mild,
Removed my shame away—
"Listen!" he said; "the minister
Prepares to kneel and pray."

'These lines of humble thankfulness
Will never meet his eye;
Unknown that old man means to live,
And unremembered die.
The forms of life have severed us;
But when that life shall end,
Fain would I hail that reverend man
A Father and a Friend.'

There are two Hymns—one to the Sun, the other to the Sea—which belong to a more adventurous species of poetry. It is one where we have done but little to justify the flattering prognostication that Dryden drew of our future fortune, from the spirit with which Cowley had led the way in it. The genius of modern nations admits (with greater or less reluctance) the recognised distinction of antiquity between the language of prose and the language of poetry. But it does not appear inclined to admit at all a still further departure, a sort of comet orbit, for the ode. Cowley challenged—(a challenge, by the way, which Dryden allowed, but did not act on)—a claim on the part of lyrical inspiration to thoughts, figures, and diction, such as would be considered extravagant in any other kind of composition. Cowley himself carried his theory into practice. Is this disallowed pretension among the causes which have prevented his odes from maintaining their place in the public favour? What would the Greeks have thought of them, if we can imagine them translated into Greek? Those of Collins keep more within the range of common sense and the vulgar tongue. The odes to 'Liberty,' on the 'Manners' and the 'Poetical Character,' may encroach a little; but the rest have nothing of the mysterious and archaic darkness of the old Chorus. Gray also kept the pride and ample pinion of the Theban eagle out of the clouds. Earth, and the men that walk on it, are always within ken. As far as his two great odes are difficult, they are difficult only by the abruptness of their transitions, and from the variety of the instantaneous knowledge which his glancing allusions call for in his readers. Mr Wordsworth's recent volume contains an Ode to Sound, of remarkable beauty. It has no obscurity beyond what is unavoidable in a rich em-

broidery of poetical analogies woven into a subject which philosophers have left so much in the dark at present. These are the principal lyrical pieces in our language. Their rarity is a proof of the difficulty. But there is a stronger resemblance between Mr Alford's Hymns and one which we were forgetting to notice —Milton's Hymn on the Nativity. This was by far the most extraordinary and most unequal of all his early compositions—mingling his own sublimity of thought with more of the quaintness and fancifulness of Marino than he allowed afterwards to appear. Few sudden elevations in literature are more remarkable than that by which Marino was enabled for a time to give the law to the taste of Europe, and lead captive its greatest geniuses. Mr Alford, however, does not appear to stand in need of any serious warning against the charming errors of this brilliant writer. There is no likelihood of his frequently marring passages of power or tenderness by the unseasonable display of either ingenuity or ornament.

Mr Alford begins the Hymn to the Sun by describing his own awe at sunrise, and the modesty with which the earth itself seems to be, as it were, standing back, while the sun approaches. He then proceeds—

> 'As the mingled blazing
> Of a pomp of armed bands,
> Over a strait into other lands,
> Gladdens the sea-boy from the cliff-side gazing:
> Watching the dazzling triumph pass,
> Rolling onward deep and bright
> With shifting waves of light
> From floating of crimson banners, and horns of wreathed brass;
>
> 'As a beacon to that scout of old
> Searching the benighted sky
> With watch-wearied eye,
> Brought sudden gratulation manifold;
> Bridging all the furrowed waves between
> Ida and Athos, and the Lemnian steep,
> And Ægiplanctus, and the deep
> Roll of the bay of Argos, with a track of sheen;
>
> 'So joyous on his eastward-fronting lawn
> After the keen-starred night
> The lifting of thy light
> Fulfilleth all the promise of the dawn;
> Like the bursting of a golden flood
> Now flowing onward fast
> Over the dewy slopes, now cast
> Among flushed stems on yonder bank of wood.

'With such a pomp, methinks, thou didst arise
When hand in hand divinely fair
The fresh awakened pair
Stood gazing from thick-flowered paradise:
Uncertain whether thou wert still the same
They saw sink down at night,
Or some great new created light,
Or the glory of some seraph as he downward came.'

The Hymn to the Sea would probably have been still more to Cowley's fancy. At least, he must have admired in it the hardihood of a lyrical beginner, not afraid to wrestle with possible absurdities, upon the chance of what may come of them. The motherly turn given to the personification of a land flowing with milk and honey, would probably be new both to Cowley and Marino.

'Thou and the earth, twin sisters, as they say,
In the old prime were fashioned in one day;
And therefore thou delightest evermore
With her to lie and play
The summer hours away,
Curling thy lovely ripples up her quiet shore.

'She is a married matron long ago
With nations at her side; *her milk doth flow*
Each year; but thee no husband dares to tame;
Thy wild will is thine own—
Thy sole and virgin throne—
Thy mood is ever changing—thy resolve the same.

'Sunlight and moonlight minister to thee;
O'er the broad circle of the shoreless sea
Heaven's two great lights for ever set and rise,
While the round vault above
In vast and silent love
Is gazing down upon thee with his hundred eyes.

'All night thou utterest forth thy solemn moan,
Counting the weary minutes all alone;
Then in the morning thou dost calmly lie
Deep blue, ere yet the sun
His day-work hath begun,
Under the opening windows of the golden sky.

'The spirit of the mountain looks on thee
Over a hundred hills: quaint shadows flee
Across thy marbled mirror: brooding lie
Storm mists of infant cloud
With a sight-baffling shroud
Mantling the grey blue islands in the western sky.

'Sometimes thou lifted up thine hands on high
Into the tempest-cloud that blurs the sky,
Holding rough dalliance with the fitful blast;
Whose stiff breath whistling shrill
Pierces with deadly chill
The wet crew feebly clinging to their shattered mast.

'Foam-white along the border of the shore
Thine onward-leaping billows plunge and roar;
While o'er the pebbly ridges slowly glide
Cloaked figures, dim and gray
Through the thick mist of spray,
Watchers for some struck vessel in the boiling tide.

'— Daughter and darling of remotest eld—
Time's childhood, and Time's age thou hast beheld;
His arm is feeble, and his eye is dim;
He tells old tales again—
He wearies of long pain,—
Thou art as at the first—thou journeydst not with him.'

The second volume consists of a poem in blank verse. The title, 'The School of the Heart,' is not a prepossessing one; and it is divided into six parts, under the equally unattractive name of 'lessons.' Timid scholars, however, need not be alarmed; for, after having done our best to discover the specific moral of each lesson, we are happy to say that we have found nothing more positive and profound, than—the duty of marrying a pretty woman, whose tastes have grown up from childhood in sympathy with one's own; and the wisdom of putting our daily life into religious intercourse and quiet harmony with nature. His mode of tuition is not less agreeable than the points which he inculcates. Instead of the desk, and 'base authority from 'others' books,' we are taken out of doors for the insensible promptings of sunrise and sunset, and are submitted to the gracious discipline and brilliant learning of ladies' eyes.

Mr Alford's schooling has nothing in it scowling or repulsive even on divinity. His religious enthusiasm is indeed of an attaching kind. It warms and penetrates almost every page. Yet with personal convictions as intense as Cowper's, and with particular passages, almost implying that the thorough enjoyment of scenery is affected by a belief in the Atonement, the atmosphere and character of the whole are nevertheless genial and indulgent. The 'Store of Truth,' transmitted to us from the heathen world 'before the Light arose,' is fully appreciated.

'In that mighty quest
Nought that was fair on earth or bright in Heaven,

Wanted its honour or its place assigned,
Or careful culture ; and all lovely things
Were ranged for guides along the path to God.'

The preceding page had just admitted our actual generation to the dignity and consolations of natural theology in a comprehensive spirit, which must horrify the few fanatics who may happen to understand it.

In leaving his lessons so much at large, Mr Alford has been guided either by judicious observation or by the happy instinct of his powers. Imagination is a sort of Fairy, who can teach nothing in a purely didactic form. Put her down to the duties of a schoolmistress and she runs away. On the other hand, in a skilful fiction, the most sensitive and independent part of our nature may get ranged on the side of virtue, without our being aware of it. The noblest associations, thus insensibly introduced into the mind, *magnetize* it anew, and call it out into a fellowship and an existence of a higher order than it previously owned. We come down from it, like Moses from the mountain; our faces brighter than before. If most people are thought to depend a good deal for the elevation and purity of their spirit on the company they keep, we are confident for ourselves that nine-tenths of our out-of-door acquaintance have not exercised so vivid and direct an influence over our moral being as the friendships we have formed out of the plays of Shakspeare. It is in this, the most ennobling aspect of their power, that the other departments of the fine arts are comparatively restrained and feeble. Many persons undoubtedly derive as much, or even greater pleasure, from painting or music than they derive from poetry. But for any possible moral purpose, a taste in pictures, or a knowledge and sympathy in *concertos*, are scarcely to be distinguished from a taste for any other refined enjoyment, except that they may rank a little higher in their tendency towards civilizing the general character. Instead of believing that modern art has lost, in this respect, a star out of its heaven, we look upon those classical stories in which music, for instance, is described among the most efficient means of a moral education, to be nothing else than one of the many falsehoods of a guessing and arrogant antiquity. In an interesting little volume, entitled 'Justyn Martyr, and other Poems,' a college contemporary of Mr Alford's has lately struggled hard to retain for music its ancient attributes; but Mr Trench seems to feel at last that, in the nature of things, it cannot be. At all events, we will be a party to no conspiracy for complimenting away the proud pre-eminence of song. So few moral associations of any extent or consequence can be made from simple combinations, either of

sound or of form and colour, without the help of language, that it is impossible for the respective arts ever to construct a rival 'School of the Heart,' on a scale worth mentioning, out of the materials at their command. Even poetry has to go a long way about in constructing hers.

'The School of the Heart' is in truth little else than the bridal chant with which a youthful poet welcomes home the lady of his love. In the fragment of it, published in the first edition, the mistress was masked under the innocent disguise of sister. It is probably not the first service of the sort that sisters have performed. Reading it, nobody can say it is not something to be a poet's wife. It consists principally of scenes which they have loved, and recollections which they have been gathering up, almost from their cradle; whilst, here and there, a vein of gentle morality, or a flight of higher spiritual aspiration, is magisterially interposed. The subject of each lesson is pointed out by an introductory motto. But the subjects afterwards are nearly hidden by the rich garland of flowers and Cupids which hang around them in beautiful festoons. It may happen here, too (as often happens with other pictures of this class), that the flowers and Cupids may be more universally attractive than the subjects they enwreathe. But it is one and the same spirit which animates the whole. As a philosophical commentator on the virtuous affections, the author seems to have caught the full meaning of Santa Teresa's charming definition of the devil,—'that unhappy creature who cannot 'love.'

Helena's enumeration of the simple elements of early female friendship, agreeably reappear under the altered form into which Mr Alford has cast them for his purpose. Yet, though 'fluent 'Shakspeare scarce effaced a line,' we question whether he would have written (we are certain that he ought not) about things *growing* in a *mould*.

'Since our birth
Our thoughts have grown together in one mould:
All through the seasons of our infancy
The same hills rose about us—the same trees,
Now bare, now sprinkled with the tender leaf,
Now thick with full dark foliage—the same church,
Our own dear village church, has seen us pray,
In the same seat, with hands clasped side by side,—
And we have sung together; and have walked
Full of one thought, along the homeward lane;
And so were we built upwards for the trial
That on my walls hath fallen unsparingly,
Shattering their frail foundations; and which thou
Hast yet to look for,—but hast found the help
Which then I knew not—rest thee firmly there!'

The lovers were fortunate in the landscapes, which, by one of those sweet illusions that blend the reality and the poetry of life together, entered into and sublimed their growing passion.

> 'We have been dwellers in a lovely land,
> A land of lavish lights and floating shades,
> And broad green flats, bordered by woody capes
> That lessen ever as they stretch away
> Into the distance blue; a land of hills,
> Cloud-gathering ranges, on whose ancient breast
> The morning mists repose; each autumn tide
> Deep purple with the heath-bloom; from whose brow
> We might behold the crimson Sun go down
> Behind the barrier of the western sea;
> A land of beautiful and stately fanes,
> Aërial temples most magnificent,
> Rising with clusters of rich pinnacles
> And fretted battlements; a land of towers
> Where sleeps the music of deep-voiced bells,
> Save when in holiday time the joyous air
> Ebbs to the welling sound; and Sabbath morn,
> When from a choir of hill-side villages
> The peaceful invitation churchward chimes.
> So were our souls brought up to love this earth
> And feed on natural beauty; and the light
> Of our own sunsets, and the mountains' blue
> That girt around our home, were very parts
> Of our young being.'

The pleasure which they have shared in the beautiful prospects they have seen together, has been so vivid, that the poet seems satisfied a tour of this description among the innumerable worlds of the empyrean, must be one of their appropriate beatitudes. It is with some such anticipation that he takes his leave.

> 'My task is done:
> The garlands that I wreathed around my brow
> Are fading on it, and the air of song
> Is passing from me. Thou art standing by,
> Bent o'er thy Poet with love-lighted eyes,
> And raptured look of ardent hope, that tells
> Of holiest influences shed forth within.
> I have not talked with one who cannot feel
> Every minutest nourishment of thought;
> For I have seen thee when the western gale
> Blew loud and rude upon our native hills,
> With bonnet doffed, courting the busy wind;
> And I have looked on thee till my dim eyes
> Swam with delight, and thou didst seem to me
> As I stood by thee on the aëry steep,

Like a young seraph ready poised for flight;
O sweet illusion—but in after time
The truth shall follow—for we two shall stand
Upon the everlasting hills of heaven,
With glorious beauty clothed that cannot die;
And far beneath upon the myriad worlds
All unimaginable glory spread,
Brighter than brightest floods of rosy light
Poured by the sunset on our western sea.
It will not matter to the soul set free
Which hemisphere we tenanted on earth;
Whether it sojourned where the northern wain
Dips not in ocean, or beneath the heaven
Where overhead the austral cross is fixed
Glistering in glory, or amidst the snows
Under the playing of the Boreal lights;
We shall be free to wander evermore
In thought, the spirit's motion, o'er the wide
And wondrous universe, with messages
To beautiful beings who have never fallen,
And worlds that never heard the cry of sin.'

There are one or two very pretty architectural illustrations. One is of course reserved for the Madonna whom his idolatry has fashioned for his private worship.

'Sorrow and I, in the sunny years of youth,
Have been but rare companions; I have loved
Rather in Beauty's temple ministrant
To treasure up sweet music, and enshrine
Thee, the bright saint of my best holiday,
In some deep-fretted niche of poesy.'

The next is also good; but it is difficult to follow. The analogy does not fit much closer than some of Homer's similes. We all have puzzled over the figures on the fronts of our old cathedrals, and have admired there the greater stir going on in stone work on the outside, than is now often to be seen going on within. Mr Alford undertakes to spiritualize the storied walls, and bids us read out of them the principles and circumstances of our ordinary lives:—

'As on the front
Of some cathedral pile, ranged orderly,
Rich tabernacles throng of—(*throng'd with ?*)—sainted men,
Each in his highday robes magnificent,
Some topp'd with crowns, the church's nursing sires,
And some, the hallow'd temples serving-men,
With crosiers deep emboss'd, and comely staves
Resting aslant upon their reverend form,
Guarding the entrance well; while round the walls,

And in the corbels of the massy nave,
All circumstance of living child and man,
And heavenly influence, in parables
Of daily passing forms, is pictured forth:
So all the beautiful and seemly things
That crowd the earth, within the humble soul
Have place and order due; because there dwells
In the inner temple of the holy heart
The presence of the Spirit from above:
There are his tabernacles; there his rites
Want not their due performance, nor sweet strains
Of heavenly music, nor a daily throng
Of worshippers, both those who minister
In service fix'd—the mighty principles
And leading governors of thought; and those
Who come and go, the troop of fleeting joys—
All hopes, all sorrows, all that enter in
Through every broad receptacle of sense.'

The approach to the New Jerusalem, the crown and consummation of his labours, we recommend to Mr Eastlake. He will perhaps admire it almost as much as the public have admired his Pictures of the Pilgrims of the *anno santo* coming in sight of Rome:—

'Erewhile of Death, and human suffering
Spoke we, and linger'd, as in some dark wood
The pilgrim lingers, ere he dare approach
The golden shrine, where on his sight shall break
Light of pure grace from Heaven. The end of toil
Is near—and through the trembling intervals
Of overarching boughs, rich pinnacles
Spire up into the sky—the music deep
Of prayer-inviting bells fills all the air,
No longer heard in fitful swells, and falls
Over far fields and waters, but pour'd forth
As if the voice of the cathedral pile,
From tower and transept, and the thousand forms
Of sculptured saints and angels, sent at once
Its hymn of holy rapture up to God.'

We will give a few more passages, the most characteristic we can select, for the purpose of exhibiting the feeling with which Mr Alford pours the living realities of his own being into his descriptions; and how picturesque is the imagery which he passes before his readers in long, yet quick procession. The ordinary character of his blank verse is the flowing and harmonious measure of Cowper and Wordsworth; whilst at times he summons up, with great effect, the majestic and peculiarly constructed numbers of Milton. They thus come back to us, with all the

solemnity which is impressed upon them by our habitual reverence, yet move along with all the freshness of the natural and original expression of the writer's mind :—

> ' Evening and morning—those two ancient names
> So link'd with childish wonder, when with arm
> Fast wound about the neck of one we loved,
> Oft questioning, we heard Creation's tale—
> Evening and morning ever brought to me
> Strange joy ; the birth and funeral of light,
> Whether in clear unclouded majesty
> The large sun pour'd his effluence abroad,
> Or the grey clouds roll'd silently along,
> Dropping their doubtful tokens as they pass'd ;
> Whether above the hills intensely glow'd
> Bright lines of parting glory in the west,
> Or from the veil of faintly-redden'd mist
> The darkness slow descended on the earth ;
> The passing to a state of things all new—
> New fears and new enjoyments—this was all
> Food for my seeking spirit : I would stand
> Upon the jutting hills that overlook
> Our level moor, and watch the daylight fade
> Along the prospect ; now behind the leaves
> The golden twinkles of the westering sun
> Deepen'd to richest crimson : now from out
> The solemn beech-grove, through the natural aisles
> Of pillar'd trunks, the glory in the west
> Show'd like the brightly burning Shechinah
> Seen in old times above the mercy-seat,
> Between the folded wings of cherubim ;—
> I loved to wander with the evening-star
> Heading my way, till from the palest speck
> Of virgin silver, evermore lit up
> With radiance, as by spirits minister'd,
> She seem'd a living pool of golden light ;—
> I loved to learn the strange array of shapes
> That pass along the circle of the year ;—
> Some, for the love of ancient lore, I kept ;
> And they would call into my fancy's eye
> Chaldæan beacons, over the drear sand
> Seen faintly from thick-tower'd Babylon
> Against the sunset—shepherds in the field
> Watching their flocks by night—or shapes of men
> And high-neck'd camels, passing leisurely
> Along the starred horizon, where the spice
> Swims in the air, in Araby the Blest ;—
> And some, as fancy-led, I figured forth,
> Misliking their old names—one circlet bright
> Gladdens me often, near the northern wain,
> Which, with a childish playfulness of choice

That hath not past away, I loved to call
The crown of glory, by the Righteous Judge,
Against the day of His appearing laid
In store for Him who fought the fight of faith.'

Nobody (not even a clergyman, any more than Will Honeycomb) is bound to be strictly orthodox in his dreams. In a vision, half Christian, half heathen, he summons his bride to attend him to the heavens. There are one or two happy islands, partaking, it seems, of the nature of Elysium or Purgatory; where the penalty is nothing more terrible than a state of imperfect bliss. The close of the following description is so Miltonic, that the young poet might be supposed to have met with the mighty master to guide him over the spot, and to have written it down while the solemn tones of his instructor were yet vibrating on his ear:—

'Methought in sight
Full opposite, a beautiful green land,
In light not clear nor dark; a mellow day
Shed its soft influence over hill and dale,
And tenderest foliage down a hundred dells
Spread over paths that wound beside the bed
Of tinkling streamlets. Thickly scattered, stood
Elm-shaded cottages, and wreathed smoke
In bright blue curls went up, and o'er the vales
That lay toward the waves, slept peacefully.
'Twas such a land as summer travellers see
On Britain's western shores, who from the hills
Painfully climb'd, beyond the Severn sea
Look over into Cambria, facing south
To Aberavon, by the stream of Taff,
And old Glamorgan.'

Among other indiscretions of our author, we will not undertake to answer always for his grammar. But no poetry can be bad which Burnet could have wished to put into the prose of the *De statu Mortuorum*.

'The righteous souls are in the hand of God—
No harm shall touch them—laid securely by
Even in an infant's slumber, or perchance
In gradual progress of their mighty change:
The summer's Sabbath is not half so calm
As is the blessed chamber, where repose
After their earthly labours, fenced around
With guardian cherubim that weary not,
The spirits of the just: not cave of sleep
In ancient Lemnos, murmured round by waves;—
Not the charmed slumber of that British King
Resting beneath the crumbled abbey-walls

In the westward-sloping vale of Avalon ;—
Nor the ambrosial trance of Jove's great son
That fell beneath Troy walls—whom Death and Sleep
On dusky-folded wings to Lycia land
Bore through the yielding ether without noise.'

Mr Alford concludes with gloomy anticipations for the Spouse of Christ; by which magnificent personification, however, we suspect that he means, not the Eclectic Church of just men made, or making perfect, but the *Church of England*. This form of speech is a habit which too many of the English clergy have got into of late. If Mr Alford be really intending to speak of the religious condition and religious interests of the Church of England, and not of certain secular arrangements, independent of, and in a great degree inconsistent with its spiritual usefulness, we believe its prospects never were so good. It is our firm persuasion that so much piety never existed throughout a vast majority of the English people as at present. What is the impression made upon foreigners, on comparing England in this respect with the rest of Christendom? The advancement of Christianity in the Indies, East and West, is expressly assigned by our poet as a ground of thankful triumph. And where is the centre from which this splendour radiates to these remote horizons except in England? A representation of religion as declining and almost desperate, would scarcely prepare us to expect that the millennium was so near at hand.

'She dwells in sorrow long :
Her sun of life and light hath sunk away ;
Her night, far spent it may be, yet is thick,
And hangeth heavily along the sky ;
We cannot see her flowers that bloom around,
Save where in dazzling clusters through the dark
Her virgin lilies drink the scattered light :
She feedeth upon dew distilled from earth
And air, and transitory vapour dim ;
But still there is a brightness in the West
Painfully traced by all her watchful sons ;
Even the glory, at whose parting track
The men of Galilee stood gazing up
With shadowed foreheads, till the white-robed pair
Spoke comfort ; and along the hopeful East
A clear pale shining, promise of a day,
Glorious and wonderful. The fainting stars
Have lost their lustre—voice of wassail mirth
Is none, for the revels of earth have passed away ;
All chivalry and pomp that was of yore,
And fields of cloth of gold—all delicate work
In metal and in stone, the pride of kings,

> And task of captive tribes, have ceased to be :
> Man misseth his old skill ; but ever wins
> Upon the world the calm and steady light
> Forerunning the great sun ; that lighteth now
> Perchance fair orbs around us ; soon to burst
> In perfect glory on the earth we love.'

Extracts, so much longer than we are in the habit of making, are a sufficient proof of our sense of the talent displayed in these poems. The public will be thus enabled to determine whether this talent is not of a cast deserving of a more careful cultivation than has been yet bestowed upon it. Continued and systematic labour, every where the condition of productions really excellent, is a condition more especially attached to our native genius, as well as to our soil and climate. True enough, we all 'love to 'lie i' th' sun.' But, Mr Alford must learn to have less confidence in the pleasant doctrine that this is the best security for the 'majesty of earth and sky' descending upon us, and for 'God's unwritten teaching' passing from human souls into human writing. He must not persist in thinking so slightingly of persons, who

> 'Strive to gather up
> Into their self-arranged and stubborn thoughts
> The parables of nature.'

For, if genius is genius, art is also art ; and most assuredly it must be so considered by all to whom the immortality of this world is an object of ambition. Hints are thrown out of a future work, 'to be by patient labour wrought in manly years:' and a desire to teach his thoughts new melodies, and his hand a safer skill, is the reason alleged for pausing for the present. This looks like being aware that he has an arduous training to undergo, before he can justify to the world the internal consciousness, which he apparently possesses, of the call that he has received. In which hope we part ;—admiring the spirit that breathes throughout these volumes, and assuring their author that, in our opinion, it will be his own fault, if the buds which are to-day so full of promise, have not opened into 'a beauteous flower when 'next we meet.'

ART. III.—1. *Rural Recollections, or the Progress of Improvement in Agriculture and Rural Affairs.* By GEORGE ROBERTSON, Esq. 8vo. Irvine: 1829.

2. *Objects and Advantages of Agricultural Associations.* 8vo. London: 1835.

THE increase of manufactures and commerce in Great Britain since 1760 has been so very extraordinary—so unprecedented in the history of industry—that it has engrossed the almost undivided attention of most enquirers into our progress in wealth and civilisation. But, how paradoxical soever the assertion may at first sight appear, we are not sure that the improvement and extension of manufactures can, all things considered, be truly said to have materially exceeded the advances made in agriculture. The results of manufacturing and commercial improvement—the great towns, the factories, warehouses, docks, and other vast establishments, and the increase of population and of wealth to which they give birth—arrest the attention of every one, and impress the mind with the most exalted ideas of their productive powers and capacities. Compared with them, the results of the most improved and skilful agriculture escape the public attention. They are spread over a wide surface; they have nothing striking or imposing about them; a crop of three quarters an acre does not appear very different from one of four quarters; and a country imperfectly cultivated, especially if it be well wooded, may seem, to a common observer, to be little inferior to, if it do not surpass, one that is cultivated in the most approved and efficient manner. It is only when we survey them in the aggregate, when we bring the scattered and singly inappreciable results of agricultural industry into a collected mass, that we become duly sensible of their magnitude and extreme importance; and that the panegyrics of the ancients on agricultural industry seem to be almost as correct as they are eloquent.

The insular situation of Great Britain, and the rigidly enforced regulations under which the trade in corn and other agricultural products has long been conducted, afford the means of establishing some most important conclusions as to the progress of agriculture. If the population has been greatly increased, if all classes be at present better and more liberally fed than at any former period, if the consumption of corn by horses be at least three or four times as great as about the middle of last century; if, we say, all these things have been accomplished, not only without any increase, but with an actual cessation of impor-

tation, is it not a clear proof that agriculture has been wonderfully improved? It may not be possible to point out the different modes in which the grand result has been brought about, or to measure the exact influence of each, but of the result itself there cannot, under the circumstances supposed, be the shadow of a doubt. We shall briefly show that such has been the case.

As to the increase of population in England and Wales, since 1700, it is exhibited in the following table, calculated by Mr Finlaison of the National Debt Office.

Population of England and Wales, from the year 1700 to the year 1830, including the Army, Navy, and Merchant Seamen:—

Years.	Population.	Years.	Population.	Years.	Population.
1700	5,134,51 6	1750	6,039,684	1800	9,187,176
1710	5,066,33 7	1760	6,479,730	1810	10,407,556
1720	5,345,351	1770	7,227,586	1820	11,957,565
1730	5,687,993	1780	7,814,827	1830	13,840,751
1740	5,829,705	1790	8,540,738		

We regret we have no similar account of the population of Scotland since 1700 to lay before the reader. Its population at the period of the Union in 1707 is generally supposed to have been about 1,050,000; but it was not till 1755 that it was estimated with sufficient accuracy. At that epoch the population was ascertained, from returns communicated from the different parishes to Dr Webster, to be 1,265,380. In 1801 it was found by the census of that year to be 1,599,068; and in 1831 it had increased to 2,365,114, or to nearly double its amount in 1755.

Taking the population of England and Wales in 1755 at 6,259,707 (the mean between that of 1750 and 1760), and adding to it the then population of Scotland, we get 7,525,180 for the population of Great Britain in 1755. But the population in 1831 was 16,539,318, showing that in the interval there had been added to it the prodigious number of 9,014,139 individuals, or that it had increased in the ratio of nearly 220 per cent! An increase of this sort is unparalleled in any other European country, and is to be matched only by the increase that has taken place in the United States.

Now, we affirm that the improvements that have been made in the agriculture of Great Britain since 1755 have sufficed to provide an ample supply of food for this additional *nine millions* of inhabitants; and if we suppose, which is certainly a moderate estimate, that they consume, one with another, to the value of L.8 a-year of raw produce, it will follow that the progress made

in agriculture, since the middle of last century, has added the enormous sum of £72,000,000 a-year, or more than twice the total value of the cotton manufacture, and nearly three times the interest of the national debt, to the free disposable income of the country. It will not be difficult to show that such is undoubtedly the fact.

Mr Charles Smith, the well-informed author of the tracts on the corn trade, estimated the population of England and Wales in 1760 at six millions, which the previous statements show was very near the truth. He then estimated the consumers of each sort of grain, the quantity consumed by each individual, and, consequently, the whole consumed by man, as follows :—

Estimated Population of England and Wales.		*Average Consumption of each Person.*	*Consumed by Man.*
3,750,000	consumers of wheat,	at 1 quarter each,	3,750,000 quarters.
739,000	do. of barley,	at $1\frac{3}{4}$ do.	1,016,125 do.
888,000	do. of rye,	at $1\frac{1}{8}$ do.	999,000 do.
623,000	do. of oats,	at $2\frac{7}{8}$ do.	1,791,225 do.
	Consumed by man,		7,556,350 do.
In addition to this, Mr Smith estimated the wheat distilled, made into starch, &c.			90,000 do.
Barley used in Malting, &c.			3,417,000 do.
Rye for hogs, &c.			31,000 do.
Oats for horses, &c.			2,461,500 do.
	Total of home consumption,		13,555,850 do.
	Add excess of exports over imports,		398,624 do.
			13,954,474 do.
	Add seed (one tenth),		1,395,447 do.
Total growth of all kinds of grain in England and Wales, in 1760,			15,349,921 do.

These estimates are believed to have come pretty near the mark; and they are interesting as showing the variations that have taken place in the food of the people. But whether accurate or not is of little importance to our argument. There is, at all events, no doubt about the fact that the average annual excess of the exports of corn over the imports, did not then amount to 400,000 quarters. This is a matter that does not depend upon estimate or conjecture of any kind; but upon the official returns rendered by the custom-house. But we have imported no foreign corn, or next to none, for the last four years; so that it necessarily follows, that all the vast numbers that have been added since 1760 to the population of Great Britain, must be exclusively indebted for their subsistence to the subsequent improvement and extension of agriculture; except in so far as we may suppose this result to be modified by the absorption of the 400,000 quarters referred to above, and by importations from Ireland.

The imports from Ireland amount at present to about 2,500,000 or 2,600,000 quarters of all sorts of grain, from 1,600,000 to 1,800,000 quarters being oats. And, adding to the imports from Ireland the 400,000 quarters exported in 1760, the total extra supply, exclusive of that derived from the improvement of the

agriculture of Great Britain, may be taken at nearly 3,000,000 quarters, of which about two-thirds are oats. Now, supposing this quantity were altogether used as food for man, it would not provide for more than 1,200,000, or at most 1,500,000 of the 9,000,000 added to our population since 1755 or 1760. In point of fact, however, not a single bushel of it can be fairly regarded as being so used. The horses at present in Great Britain, over and above those kept in 1760, certainly require at least from eight to ten, instead of three millions of quarters of corn, for their consumption: and, in addition to the vast increase of population there has been a material increase in the consumption of each individual. Hence, in measuring the progress of agriculture in Great Britain, as we have done, by the mere increase of population, we are very considerably, indeed, within the mark.

To attempt to prove by argument the fact that there has been a wonderful increase in the number of horses since 1760, is, perhaps, presuming too much on the patience of the reader. For every single horse used in posting, in stage coaches, in the conveyance of waggons, vans, &c. along the high-roads in 1760, there are now from twelve to twenty, or more. In some districts there has been a decrease in the number of horses employed in teams; but even in these the total number of horses has been much increased. In Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and all the manufacturing districts, the increase in the number of horses has been almost as great as the increase of manufactures; and this also has been the case in London and in all the large towns. We are quite sure that we are within the mark when we say that there are at this moment in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee, upwards of *twenty-five* horses for every one that belonged to them in 1760. And the improvement in the keeping of horses has been quite as great as the increase of their number.

Mr Charles Smith estimated the consumption of oats by horses in 1760 at 2,461,500 quarters. But no one can be so ill informed as to suppose that this estimate is in any degree applicable to the present times. On the contrary, we are well satisfied, from extensive enquiries made amongst those best informed as to such matters, that the consumption of oats by horses in Great Britain at this moment, is certainly above ten if it do not exceed twelve millions of quarters. But taking it at ten millions only, it follows, that about five millions of quarters more of British corn, after allowing for the entire imports from Ireland, and for the cessation of the exports, are now appropriated to the feeding of horses than in 1760. Hence it appears that the improvement and extension of the agriculture of Great Britain since

the middle of last century, independently altogether of any extrinsic supplies from Ireland or any where else, has been so very great, that besides enabling the country to appropriate an additional five, but more probably seven millions, of quarters to the feeding of horses, it supplies food for very considerably more than double its former population, and those too living in comparative ease and affluence. The history of the world may be ransacked in vain for a parallel instance of improvement in any old settled country.

But though there had not been a single bushel of corn expended on the feeding of horses in 1835 more than in 1760, nor an additional individual added to the population, the improvement that has taken place in the interval in the style of living of all classes, would have a good deal more than sufficed to swallow up the entire imports from Ireland, and to account for the cessation of exports. The proofs of this improvement are abundantly obvious. Out of the 6,000,000 of people in England and Wales in 1760, Mr Charles Smith tells us that 888,000 were fed on rye. But at present we are quite sure there are not 50,000 who use that species of grain. The rye eaters have universally almost been changed into wheat eaters; and except in the county of Durham, where a mixture of wheat and rye, called *maslin*, is grown, the culture of rye is almost unknown. Nearly the same may be said of the consumption of barley. In the northern counties of England, at the middle of last century, and for long after, very little wheat was used. In Cumberland, the principal families used only a small quantity about Christmas. The crust of the goose pie, with which every table of the county is then supplied, was, at the period referred to, almost uniformly made of barleymeal.* But no such thing is now ever heard of even in the poorest houses. Almost all individuals use wheaten bread, at all times of the year. It is, in fact, the only bread ever tasted by those who live in towns and villages, and mostly, also, by those who live in the country.

It has been the same every where throughout the kingdom. In Cornwall, from thirty to forty years ago, the small farmers, with the agricultural labourers, and those employed in the mines, almost invariably used barley; but at present they do not use it to any thing like the same extent as formerly, and in many extensive districts it has been entirely abandoned.† The same thing has

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* Sir F. M. Eden on the Poor. Vol. I., p. 564.

† Evidence of Edward Coode, Esq., Report of 1833 on the State of Agriculture, p. 169.

happened in Somersetshire, and in every other county where either barley or oats was formerly made use of. Wheat is now the all but universal bread-corn of England; and in some of the manufacturing towns, within the last few years, the use of the inferior sorts of wheaten bread has been a good deal restricted; and is rejected, indeed, by all but the very lowest and poorest classes.

But great as has been the change in the quality of the food made use of in England during the last thirty or forty years, it is inconsiderable compared with the change that has taken place, during the same period, in Scotland. At the end of the American war, no wheaten bread was to be seen in the farm-houses, country villages, and minor towns of Scotland, and but little even in the largest towns. Oat cakes and barley bannocks were then universally made use of, but, at present, the case is widely different. The upper, and also the middle and lower classes in towns and villages, use only wheaten bread; and even in farm-houses, it is very extensively consumed. It is stated in the first of the works mentioned at the head of this article, that a field of eight acres sown with wheat, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, in 1727, was reckoned so great a curiosity, that it excited the attention of the whole neighbourhood, and that numbers of persons came from a great distance to see it! Even so late as the American War, the wheat raised in the Lothians and Berwickshire did not amount to a third part of what is now grown in them; and we shall certainly be within the mark, if we affirm that the wheat culture has increased in Scotland, generally, in a *tenfold* proportion since 1780.

But the change that has taken place during the last half century, in the consumption of butchers' meat, is still more extraordinary than that which has taken place in the consumption of corn. The quantity made use of has been wonderfully increased, and its quality signally improved. From 1740 to about 1750, the population of the metropolis fluctuated very little; amounting, during the whole of that period, to about 670,000, or 675,000. Now, during the ten years ending with 1750, there were, at an average, about 74,000 head of cattle, and about 570,000 head of sheep sold annually in Smithfield market. In 1831, the population had increased to 1,472,000, or in the ratio of about 218 per cent; and at an average of the three years ending with 1831, 156,000 head of cattle, and 1,238,000 head of sheep, were annually sold in Smithfield; being an increase of 212 per cent on the cattle, and of 217 per cent on the sheep, as compared with the numbers sold in 1740–50. It consequently appears that the *number* of cattle and sheep consumed in London has increased, since 1740, about in the same proportion as the

population. The *weight* of the animals has, however, a good deal *more than doubled* in the interval. In the earlier part of last century, the gross weight of the cattle sold at Smithfield did not, at an average, exceed 370 lbs., and that of the sheep did not exceed 28 lbs.; whereas, at present, the average weight of the cattle is estimated at about 800 lbs., and that of the sheep at about 80 lbs.* Hence, on the most moderate computation, it may be affirmed that the consumption of butchers' meat in the metropolis, as compared with the population, is twice as great at this moment as in 1740 or 1750.

In most other parts of the country, the increase in the consumption of butchers' meat has been even greater. In thinly peopled agricultural districts very little is consumed, but in manufacturing and commercial towns it is quite the reverse; and their vast increase during the last half century more than justifies the inference, that there has been, at least, a corresponding increase in the consumption of butchers' meat.

In this respect, too, the change in Scotland has been quite as great as that with respect to bread. So late as 1763, the slaughter of bullocks for the supply of the public markets was a thing wholly unknown even in Glasgow, though the city had then a population of nearly 30,000!† Previously to 1775, or perhaps later, it was customary in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and the principal Scotch towns, for families to purchase in November, what would now be reckoned a small, miserable, half-fed cow or ox, the salted carcass of which was the only butchers' meat they tasted throughout the year. In the smaller towns and country districts, this practice prevailed till the present century, but it is now almost every where abandoned. The consumption of butchers' meat in Glasgow, as compared with the population, does not at present differ materially from that of the metropolis. We do not, indeed, believe that the command of the people of any country over food and all sorts of conveniences, ever increased, in any equal period, half so rapidly as that of the people of Scotland has done since 1770.

A portion of the increased supply of butchers' meat has been derived from Ireland; but being mostly thrown on a single market, that of Liverpool, this portion appears much larger than it really is. If we estimate the imports of butchers' meat into Great Britain from Ireland, at a tenth part of the increased quan-

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* Sir F. M. Eden on the Poor. Vol. III., Appen. p. 88.—Middleton's Agricultural Survey of Middlesex. 2d edit, p. 541.

† Cleland's Statistical Account of Glasgow. 2d edit., p. 192.

tity produced in this country since 1760, we shall not be within, but decidedly beyond the mark.

It results from the previous statements,—1st, That the population of Great Britain has been considerably more than doubled—that the prodigious number of *nine millions* of individuals have been added to it, in the interval between 1755, or 1760 and 1831. 2d, That the supplies of corn, and other raw produce obtained from Ireland, are quite insufficient to provide for the increased number of horses kept in the country at present, over and above those that were kept in 1760. 3d, That the population is now, and has been for some years past, incomparably better fed, consuming a much greater quantity of wheaten bread and of butchers' meat, in proportion to its amount, than in 1760, or at any other period of our history. And, 4th, That the ports have been shut during the last four years: and that, consequently, the vast additions made to the population, and the signally improved mode of living, have both been provided for by the extension and improvement of British agriculture. There is not one of these propositions liable to either cavil or dispute—they are all bottomed upon unquestionable evidence. And, having established them, we shall now briefly enquire into the nature and influence of the more prominent of those agricultural improvements, the result of which is, in the aggregate, so astonishingly great.

1. Enclosures are, probably, entitled to rank amongst the first of these. The extent of land occupied by wastes, commons, and common fields, about the middle of last century, was surprisingly great, and was, indeed, a standing reproach to the country. So late as 1770, fully three-fourths of the surface of Bedfordshire consisted of common fields, and of common or waste land; and yet it was not, in this respect, at all in a worse condition than many other counties. Wastes and commons are not cultivated; common fields are, it is true, subjected to the plough, but property in them is so much subdivided and intermixed, that it is altogether impossible to cultivate them to any good purpose. But, since the conclusion of the treaty of Paris in 1763, a wonderful progress has been made in wiping off this stain on the rural economy of the country; and in nothing, indeed, has the progress of improvement been more remarkable than in this particular. The first enclosure act was passed in the reign of Charles II. From the Revolution to 1797, the progress was as follows:

	Acts passed.	Acres enclosed.
Queen Anne's reign, . . .	2	1,439
George I., ...	16	17,660
George II., ...	226	318,778
George III. to 1797, . .	1,532	2,804,197

It appears from this statement, which is taken from the Report of the 'Commons Committee of 1798, on Waste Lands,' that each enclosure act that passed during that period of the reign of George III., which terminated with 1797, enclosed, at an average, 1830 acres. Now, the official returns show, that from 1798 to 1832, both inclusive, 2103 enclosure acts were passed; and supposing each to have enclosed, as before, 1830 acres, the total would amount to 3,848,490 acres; making, when added to the quantity enclosed previously to 1798, an aggregate of no less than 6,652,687 acres enclosed since the accession of George III. in 1760. But as it seems probable that the earlier acts applied to a larger extent of land than the later ones, we may, perhaps, estimate the total extent of land enclosed and subdivided by act of Parliament, from 1760 to 1832, at 6,000,000 acres. And it may be safely affirmed that, in consequence of its enclosure, the produce of this immense extent of land has been increased at least from *eight* to *tenfold!*

2. The introduction of fallows between successive corn crops, was a very great improvement on the previous practice; but the substitution of green crops for fallow, on all but stiff clay lands, has been the greatest of all improvements ever made in agriculture; and has effected as great and beneficial a revolution in it as the introduction of the steam-engine and of the spinning-frame has done in manufactures. There is abundant evidence to show, that the culture of turnip, as a field crop, was carried on to some extent in several English counties, in the latter part of the 17th century. But the practice spread only by very slow degrees; and it was not till its introduction into the county of Norfolk, in the reigns of George I. and George II., when it was prosecuted on a large scale by Lord Viscount Townshend and others, that its signal importance became obvious. At the period referred to, the whole northwestern part of that county, which has long been one of the best cultivated districts of the empire, consisted of mere sandy wastes, sheep-walks, and warrens, worth little or nothing. These were converted into highly-productive arable land, by enclosing, marling, and the aid of the turnip-husbandry, which is, as it were, the corner-stone of the Norfolk, or improved system of husbandry. The same practices that had produced such splendid results in Norfolk—that had made sandy wastes yield the most luxuriant crops of wheat and barley—have been gradually extended, with similar effects, to many other parts of the kingdom. The produce in corn of the light soils, in all the moderately well-cultivated districts of the empire has, in consequence, been more than trebled; at the same time that a vast

supply of green-food has been obtained for the feeding of cattle and sheep, and the production of the most valuable manure.

3. But, signal as has been the improvement in arable husbandry since 1760, the improvements made in stock-husbandry, or in the breeding and fattening of cattle, have been still more considerable. No efforts for this purpose seem to have been made with judgment, and proper perseverance, till after 1750, when Mr Bakewell, of Dishley, in Leicestershire, began his career. Mr Culley, of Northumberland, soon after entered on the same course; and the signal success by which their efforts were attended, roused a spirit of emulation in a host of others. But the rapid increase of manufactures and commerce, and, consequently, of the town population, after the Peace of Paris, in 1763, by creating a corresponding demand for butchers'-meat, gave the principal stimulus to the improvements that have since been made in stock-husbandry. It is not easy to over-rate their importance. We have already seen that, at an average, the weight of cattle and sheep has been a good deal more than doubled since about 1750; so that a stock of 5,000,000 head of cattle, at present, would be more than equal to one of 10,000,000 at that epoch. But the number, as well as the weight of cattle, having been very materially increased in the interval, the supply of butchers'-meat must have increased in a corresponding proportion, or been at least trebled. There has also, owing to the same cause, been a very great increase in the product of wool. The supply of the latter article, produced in England and Wales, in 1800, was estimated at about 384,000 packs, of 240 lbs. each. But, owing to the increased size of the animal, and the greater weight of the fleece, the same number of sheep that produced 384,000 packs in 1800, were estimated by the best informed wool-growers and wool-staplers, to produce 463,000 in 1830, being an increase, in the interval, of no less than 20 per cent.* It is true that the quality of the wool has rather deteriorated, for it seems to be impossible to procure both a heavy and a fine fleece. Taking, however, the increased weight of the carcass, and the increased weight of the fleece into account, sheep are believed to be more profitable at present, than at any former period; and, for the last three or four years, they have been the most productive species of stock kept in the kingdom.

It would be curious to trace how, in husbandry, as in other

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* Mr Luccock's Tables, revised by Mr Hubbard. See the Report of 1829, on the Wool Trade.

things, one improvement grows out of, and is dependent on, another. The grand improvement in modern agriculture—that by which it is mainly distinguished from the old—the universal introduction and superior management of green crops, may be in no inconsiderable degree ascribed to the anxiety of the farmers to procure an abundant and suitable supply of food for their stock; the increased demand for the latter being, as already stated, occasioned by the wonderful growth of commerce and manufactures.

The superior attention paid to stock-husbandry in England may, also, it is probable, be to some extent ascribable to the circumstance of the Tithe pressing, with comparative lightness, on pasture land; whilst it falls, with its full weight, on arable land, and operates powerfully to prevent the outlay of capital upon it. But, however accounted for, there can be no doubt, that in all that belongs to the breeding and rearing of cattle, horses, sheep, and pigs, the English are, at present, superior to the Scotch, and to every other people.

It may be worth while to remark, that much injury has arisen from injudicious attempts to improve native breeds of cattle. This has generally been occasioned by prematurely endeavouring to increase their size, which is always determined by external causes, such as the climate, the quantity and species of food the animals can readily obtain, &c. It is to the immensely increased supply, and better quality of food, that the increased weight of our cattle is principally to be ascribed. An improved system of breeding would have improved the symmetry of the cattle, and increased their aptitude to fatten; but, without an increase of food it would not have materially added to their size. In point of fact, too, the latter is an inferior consideration. The grand object that the prudent agriculturist should keep steadily in view, is the obtaining of the greatest possible return for his outlay; and he will prefer that kind of stock, and that breed, of any kind, that will pay him best for the food consumed. The value to which an animal may ultimately be brought, is a subordinate consideration; the profits of breeding, as of every thing else, being determined, not by the absolute price of the produce, but by its price as compared with the expenses incurred in bringing it to market. Mr Culley's opinion is, that 'of all animals, of whatever kind, 'those which have the smallest, cleanest, and finest bones, are in 'general the best proportioned, and covered with the best and 'finest grained meat; I believe they are, also, the hardiest and 'healthiest, and most inclinable to feed;—able to bear the most 'fatigue, while living; and worth the most per pound, when

'dead.'* It is certain that animals, whether too large or too small, will gradually accommodate themselves to the size best adapted to their pastures; but while the larger animal becomes unhealthy, and degenerates in its form and valuable properties, the smaller animal increases in size, and improves in every respect.

The preceding remarks apply exclusively to England and Wales. But though the progress of agriculture there, since the middle of last century, has been exceedingly rapid, it has been slow compared to its progress in Scotland. Previously to the peace of Paris, in 1763, agriculture, almost every where in Scotland, was in the most barbarous and depressed state imaginable. There was no rotation of crops; fallows were unknown, except in one or two counties; the processes and implements were alike wretched; great numbers of cattle perished every spring; the occupiers were in extreme poverty; and famines were every now and then occurring, that sometimes laid waste extensive districts. At the beginning of last century, and for long after, lands, even in the Lothians, were uniformly divided into *infield* and *outfield*. The whole manure made on the farm was laid on the former, which was ploughed and cropped without intermission, so long, at least, as it would bear any thing. Neither turnips, clover, nor potatoes had been so much as heard of; but corn followed corn in an unbroken series. In the *Countryman's Rudiments*, written by Lord Belhaven, and published in 1723, we are told that the 'infield of East Lothian, where wheat is sown, is generally 'divided by the tenant into four divisions, or breaks, as they call 'them, viz. one of wheat, one of barley, one of pease, and one 'of oats; so that the wheat is sown after the peas, the barley 'after the wheat, and the oats after the barley.' Here we have a rotation with three consecutive corn crops, and a crop of peas once every four years. As might be expected, the returns were about *three times the seed*. It is of importance, too, to observe, that this trifling return, was obtained at a great comparative expense. At this period, and for about half a century after, there was no instance in Scotland of a plough being drawn by fewer than four horses. Most commonly it was wrought either by six horses, or by four horses and two oxen; and in some of the more backward districts, a still greater number of animals, sometimes as many as ten or twelve, were yoked to it. This was ascribable partly to the awkward and clumsy form of the implement itself; partly to the weakness of the cattle, their diminutive size, and the improper manner in which they were yoked; and partly, and principally perhaps, to the ignorance of

* Observations on Live Stock, p. 222.

the cultivators. On the whole, however, the work was at once very expensive and very ill performed; the ridges were crooked and twisted, and so much heaped up in the middle, that a great deal of land in the hollows between them was lost to any useful purpose.*

About the middle of the century we begin to find symptoms of amendment. In Maxwell's *Practical Husbandry*, published in 1756, an improved system is laid down and inculcated. He pronounces it to be bad husbandry to take two consecutive corn crops; and he further informs us, that the best farmers in East Lothian after fallow take a crop of wheat, after the wheat, peas, then barley, and after that oats. This is still very bad; though a material improvement on the practice described by Lord Belhaven. It shows, too, that down to 1757, neither turnips, potatoes, nor any sort of cultivated herbage, formed any part of the system even of the best farmers in East Lothian. The famous Lord Stair is said to have been the first who introduced the turnip culture into Scotland; having raised turnips on his estate of New Liston, near Edinburgh, about the middle of last century. But Mr William Dawson, tenant of Frogden, in Roxburghshire, has an unquestionable title to be considered as the real father of the improved Scotch husbandry. Being a farmer, and cultivating for profit only, his example had infinitely more influence over his neighbours than it would have had, had he been a landlord. He commenced raising turnips at Frogden, in 1759. They were at first sown broad-cast, but he set about drilling on a large scale in 1763, and his success stimulated others to adopt the same system. Mr Dawson was also the first who introduced, not long after 1760, the practice of ploughing with two horses abreast without a driver; nor is it easy to exaggerate the obligations the agriculture of Scotland owes to his sagacity and enterprise.† But even in the Lothians, the four horse plough continued in general use till about 1780; and it was not finally superseded by the two horse plough for several years after. In the other parts of the country the former kept its footing still longer than in the Lothians. Nothing contributed more to pave the way for this important revolution in the method of ploughing, than the signal improvements made upon the construction of the plough by Small about 1770.

From the close of the American war, the progress of improvement in Scotland has been rapid beyond all previous example. This has been owing to a variety of causes; but principally to the extraordinary progress made in commerce and manufactures,

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* Rural Recollections, p. 196.

† Survey of Roxburgh, pp. 69 and 90.

since that period. In the distracted state in which Scotland was formerly placed, there could be no considerable progress; but, after the battle of Culloden had extinguished the hopes of the Jacobites, and the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions had paved the way for the introduction of a regular system of government, a spirit of industry and enterprise began to be diffused on all sides. A good many branches of trade and manufacture carried on in England were introduced into Scotland soon after the peace of 1763; and not a few of them were prosecuted with much success. Their progress was checked for a while by the American war; but after the treaty of Paris, in 1783, they acquired more than their former vigour: others were introduced, and all of them have since continued, with few, and those but transient interruptions, to advance with a rapidity that could not previously have been supposed possible.

This unprecedented extension of manufacturing and commercial industry, occasioned a corresponding increase of wealth and population, particularly in towns and villages. Improved accommodations of all sorts began to be in universal demand; and, besides the greater quantity of the inferior sorts of food required to supply the increasing population, a novel, or at least a vastly increased market was opened for wheat and butcher meat. These circumstances had the most astonishing influence over agriculture. The new, and constantly increasing markets, established at their very doors, stimulated the farmers to put forth all their energies, and to avail themselves of discoveries and practices to which they had hitherto been total strangers. In a few years the face of the country was completely changed; and its productive capacities increased in a degree that the most sanguine projector of any previous period could not have conceived possible.

The following statement of the comparative weight of the produce annually afforded under the system of farming followed in East Lothian, as described by Lord Belhaven, and that which is now followed, is taken from a paper by Mr Oliver of Lochend, near Edinburgh, one of the most intelligent practical farmers in the empire.

'The mode of cropping at the former period (1723) was first, peas; second, wheat; third, barley; fourth, oats; the produce being about three seeds, but to prevent all cavil, say four seeds. This, taking the seed for each acre* at one boll,† over a farm of 100 acres, is 400 bolls. The quantity of straw for each boll of such a crop could not exceed fifteen

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* The Scotch acre, equal to 1.261 imperial acres, is here referred to.

† An East Lothian boll of wheat is equal to near four bushels; a boll of barley to near six bushels.

stones; which, on 400 bolls, gives 6000 stones, or forty-two tons, fifteen and one-fourth cwts. of straw to be consumed by the stock, and returned to the land in the shape of manure. But, upon a farm of 100 acres, cultivated as at present, viz. a fourth turnips, a fourth wheat or barley, a fourth clover or rye-grass, pastured or made into hay, and consumed on the spot, and a fourth oats or wheat, the account would stand thus:—fifty acres of wheat, barley, and oats, at eight bolls an acre, which is not above the average of the crops of the best district of East Lothian, and such only was cultivated when Lord Belhaven wrote; this, allowing, as before, fifteen stones of straw for each boll, gives 120 stones per acre, which, over fifty acres, makes in all 6000 stones of straw, being equal to the quantity produced by the whole 100 acres under the old system. Now, suppose that the twenty-five acres of clover and rye-grass are made into hay, which, however, is not the best mode, nor that usually followed, and that each acre yields 200 stones, the total quantity will be 5000 stones, or thirty-five tons, fourteen and one-tenth cwt., and add to this 500 tons turnip, being the produce of twenty-five acres at twenty tons per acre, which is by no means above a fair average crop. Upon these data, the weight of the materials produced annually, as food for cattle and manure, under the old and new systems, will be as follows:—

Old System,	Straw,	6,000 st.	or 42 tons	15¼ cwt.
New System,	Straw,	6,000	42	15¼
	Hay,	5,000	35	14 1-10th.
	Turnips,	70,000	500	----

'Thus making the weight of materials for food and manure under the new system in round numbers 577 tons, while, under the old system, the quantity is only 42 tons, leaving a balance in favour of the new of 533 per annum, being more than *twelve times* the whole quantity produced under the old! Nothing more is necessary to show the superiority of the new system, in so far as keeping up the fertility of the soil is concerned; and upon this depends the progress of agriculture. As to the question of comparative profit, it would be easy to show, from unquestionable data, that the new system is as superior to the old in this respect, as it is in the supply of manure; but this must be abundantly obvious to every one who contrasts the almost imperceptible advances made in agriculture, and in the accumulation of agricultural capital, for many centuries, with the extraordinary progress during the last fifty or sixty years, or since the new system began to be introduced.'

We have thus endeavoured, first, to show, by the increase of population and otherwise, that there must have been a very extraordinary increase in the produce of the soil since 1760; and, in the second place, we have endeavoured to point out the more prominent of the modes in which this increase has been brought about. But, before noticing the present state of agriculture, it may be right to say a few words in reference to a statement often made, though really destitute of any good foundation;—that is, that the wonderful improvements to which we have adverted, were almost wholly owing to the high prices of the late war.

But these improvements began both in England and Scotland about 1755 or 1760, and they had been generally introduced, and had made a great progress, before prices sustained the smallest advance. Thus, we have already seen, that no fewer than 2,804,000 acres were enclosed in England and Wales between 1760 and 1797; that that also was the era of the great improvements made in stock husbandry by Bakewell, Culley, &c.; and that during the lapse of the same period, the culture of turnips, potatoes, clover, and artificial grasses was introduced into Scotland, four horse ploughs discarded, and the most signal revolution effected in the rural economy of this part of the empire, of which history has preserved any account. Now, it is of the utmost importance to bear in mind, that, while all this was going on, *from* 1760 *down to* 1795, *prices continued almost stationary.* Thus, taking the Eton market for a standard, the price of wheat, per Winchester quarter, from 1755 to 1795, was as follows:

At an average of the ten years, from

1755 to 1765, wheat, .	L.1	19	$3\frac{1}{4}$	per quarter.
1765 to 1775, . .	2	11	$3\frac{3}{4}$	do.
1775 to 1785, . .	2	7	$8\frac{1}{2}$	do.
1785 to 1795, . .	2	14	$3\frac{3}{4}$ *	do.

And had 1795, which was an extremely bad and dear year, been excepted from the average of the last decennial period, prices in it would have been as low as in the preceding. It appears, therefore, from evidence, which is beyond all question, that there was no rise of prices during the thirty years ending with 1795; and yet, during that period, above 2,200,000 individuals were added to the population, and agriculture made an astonishing progress. This would have proved conclusively, even though it had not been corroborated by the experience of the last twenty years, that an increasing price of corn is not in any respect indispensable to ensure the continued and rapid advance of agriculture. All that is required to ensure this is a regularly *increasing demand* for the products of the soil; and this was afforded between 1760 and 1795 by the growth of population, especially in towns and villages. It should also be remembered that, towards the middle of last century, there was, owing to the

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* See Table of Prices at Eton, in M'Culloch's *Commercial Dictionary*, Art. Corn.

miserable state of the roads, and the difficulty of communication, a great difference in the prices of corn and other farm produce in different parts of the country. But the construction of new and comparatively smooth and level roads, canals, &c., did much to annihilate this difference in the rate of prices; and conferred on the more distant parts of the country advantages that had been hitherto engrossed by the districts in the immediate vicinity of large towns. A spirit of emulation and improvement was in consequence universally diffused; routine practices were thrown aside; and all classes began to make the most astonishing efforts to outstrip each other in the career of improvement.

It is unnecessary for our purpose to enter into any statements with respect to the causes of the high prices that prevailed during the greater part of the late war; and, particularly, during the half dozen years ending with 1814. They no doubt gave a powerful stimulus to agriculture; its previous progress being not merely maintained, but considerably accelerated.

The heavy fall of prices that took place consequently to the opening of a renewed intercourse with the continent in the autumn of 1814, was as sudden and severe as it was unlooked for by most persons. In the first instance, it was productive of much distress, of the ruin of many landlords in embarrassed circumstances, and of multitudes of tenants paying money rents, calculated on the footing, that the prices that had been realized during the preceding six years would be permanent. This, however, was not the situation of the great body of the agriculturists, by whom the fall was comparatively little felt. It was, indeed, supposed by many, that agriculture would certainly retrograde; that a great deal of inferior land would be thrown out of cultivation; and that, unless prices rose again to something like the war level, we should be dependent on the Continent and America for a large portion of our supplies. We question whether any individual had sagacity at the outset to foresee what has actually taken place. There is an elasticity about the industry of a great nation that enables it to recover from the rudest shocks. No inconsiderable portion—we believe we may safely say the greater part—of the wonderful progress made in manufactures and commerce since 1814, is clearly ascribable to the subsequent fall in the price of corn and other articles of food. But it is quite impossible that agriculture can be long depressed, where manufactures and commerce are flourishing; and, in no very lengthened period, it began to revive. The property-tax, which pressed heavily on the land, was struck off; rents were reduced; and the farmers exerted themselves to meet the new order of things by fresh efforts of skill and industry, and by pro-

scribing useless expense. We do not pretend to say that this has been the case in all districts; but there is incontestable evidence to prove, that, taking Great Britain generally, agriculture has been astonishingly improved since 1814. How else could the extraordinary increase of population that has taken place in the interval be provided for? We showed, in an article on the 'Report of the Agricultural Committee of 1833' (No. 118, Art. 1), that there was either no increase, or none worth mentioning, in the quantity of foreign corn retained for home consumption during the ten years ending with 1830, as compared with the previous ten years; and yet the population increased during that interval from 14,391,000 to 16,539,000. Now, it is impossible that a result of this sort could have taken place without either a very great increase of agricultural produce, or a striking and almost unprecedented falling off in the demand for corn. But the latter supposition is out of the question. Instead of there being any decline in the consumption, the statements previously made show, that the fact is completely the reverse; and that the consumption of wheat and butcher's meat is decidedly greater at this moment than at any former period;—a result inexplicable on any other hypothesis, save that of a vast improvement having taken place between 1820 and 1830.

Still, however, the Agricultural Committee of 1833, and by far the greater number of the witnesses examined before it, laboured hard to prove that agriculture was in a depressed and declining state; that the capital applied to the soil was rapidly diminishing; and that a great diminution of supply might be confidently expected. We endeavoured to show, in the article referred to, that the complaints in question were certainly very much exaggerated, if not altogether unfounded. The experience of the two additional years that have since elapsed has more than verified our statements. The increase of population in Great Britain from 1800 down to 1830, has been at the rate of about 15 per cent each ten years; or of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. A ratio of this sort is not easily changed, and there is no reason to think that it has been sensibly affected since 1830. Now, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on a population of 16,539,000 (population of Great Britain at last census), gives an annual increase of no less than 248,000 individuals; so that it may be concluded, that there are at present (January, 1836) about 1,200,000 persons in Great Britain more than were in it when the late census was taken; and about 500,000 more than when the Committee of 1833 framed their Report. And yet very little foreign corn was imported in 1832, whilst in 1833, 1834, and 1835, the

ports were all but hermetically sealed to the foreigner. It is of importance, too, to observe, that, notwithstanding the sinister auguries of the Committee, and notwithstanding the greatly increased demand for corn, evinced by the rapid increase of population, the supply has been increased in a still greater ratio. This is evident from the decline of prices, which have sunk from 58s. 8d. in 1832, to less than 38s. at present!

This wonderful result, so different from what was expected, is paratilly, no doubt, a consequence of the unusually productive harvests of the last two years; but it is ascribable, in a far greater degree, to the influence of improvements. With the exception of some counties in the south and west of England, which continue in a comparatively stationary state, improvements have been every where carried on with extraordinary spirit. Among the principal of these may be specified improved drainage, a better rotation of crops, the general use of bone manure, and the opening of new channels of communication by steam-boats and otherwise. Drainage lies at the bottom of almost every amelioration; and it is prosecuted to an extraordinary extent, and with surprising success. The practice of furrow draining is now widely diffused over the north and east of England; and it has been introduced, within the last half dozen years, into this part of the country, and is carried on upon a scale that will hardly be believed by those not acquainted with the facts. Landlords and tenants are every where availing themselves of this new discovery. Perhaps, however, Ayrshire, is at present, in this respect, at the head of every county in the empire. It has a great deal of wet, clayey soil, suitable for this improvement; and so well is its value understood, that many millions of drain tiles are now annually manufactured in the neighbourhood of Kilmarnock and other parts of the county, though the supply be still unequal to the demand. The Duke of Portland and some other landlords drain for their tenants on their paying an extra rent of 4s. and 5s. an acre; and this is said to be decidedly under the additional value given by the drainage to the land. The practice is rapidly extending in Lanarkshire, Dumfries-shire, and other Scotch counties, and has already had, and, no doubt, will continue to have, an astonishing influence over their productive capacities.

A better rotation of crops is also every where in the course of being adopted. The high prices of the war tempted the farmers to sow wheat too frequently, and without proper preparation; the fertility of the soil being, in consequence, materially impaired in many districts. This was particularly the case in the Lothians. But this defect in the management is now nearly obviated. Clover and artificial grasses are kept longer down; barley is

some times substituted for wheat. The fertility of the soil is preserved; and taking even the best of the old improved land, it now produces, at an average, a larger amount of food.

But, of all the recent improvements in agriculture, the introduction and general use of bone manure is perhaps the most important. It first began to be employed on a large scale in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; and, in the latter particularly, its influence has been all but miraculous. Most part of the Wolds of Lincolnshire, an extensive tract of country, stretching from Spilsbury north to Barton on the Humber, consisted, when Arthur Young wrote his survey of the county, of mere wastes, occupied by rabbit warrens. Could he now revisit the Wolds, he would hardly recognise a single feature of their former state. The warrens have disappeared, and in their stead we find some of the finest farms and best managed land in England. This signal improvement, though it did not begin, has been carried to its present pitch of perfection by the use of bone manure. We are informed, in the late elaborate report of the Doncaster Agricultural Association on this manure, that, 'before bones were 'generally used with turnip-seed, many thousand acres (in the 'Wolds of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire) were annually sown for 'that crop without any manure whatever, from the impossibility 'of getting fold manure for more than a third or a fourth part of 'their fallows. The turnips upon such unmanured land were consequently very indifferent; and the benefit of such feeding upon 'their tops, for bottoms they seldom had any, was very trifling. 'Since the use of bones has, however, become general, the turnip 'crop has been in many instances *tenfold*, and in few, less than '*four* or *five*-fold its former bulk. All the succeeding crops of 'grain and seeds have been amazingly increased; and, upon the 'four or five shift system, there is no doubt, the land will go on 'progressively improving, requiring a less quantity of bones annually, from its increased fertility and power.'

This, be it observed, is the testimony of practical men, well acquainted with all the circumstances; and it is decisive as to the extraordinary value and importance of bone manure on light chalky soils. A single farmer in the Wolds of Lincolnshire (Mr Dawson of Withcall, near Louth), has generally about 600 acres of turnip, dressed almost entirely with bone manure. They are excellent, and furnish vast supply of food for cattle, and of manure for other land, besides preparing and fitting the ground for bearing the most luxuriant crops of wheat and barley. *

In Scotland, the introduction of bone manure is more recent;

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* Kennedy and Grainger on the Tenancy of Land, vol. i. p. 269.

but here, too, it has already had a surprising influence. It is every where in fact—in the Lothians and Berwickshire, as well as in the most backward districts—working wonders. From the comparative facility with which it is conveyed to rugged hilly tracts, it enables estates to be improved and fertilized that must otherwise have remained in a state of nature. Besides large quantities of bone dust imported, bone mills are now constructed in the vicinity of every considerable town in Scotland, for the preparation of this most valuable manure.

We have previously noticed the influence of new roads, and other improved means of communication, on the progress of improvement during the first thirty-five years of the reign of George III. But during the last few years, there has been, in this respect, a still more astonishing change. The application of steam to navigation, has given to a voyage by sea the expedition, and almost the certainty, of mail-coach travelling, at comparatively little cost; and steam-packets for the conveyance of bulky and heavy articles, as well as passengers, are now established all along the coast. The markets of London and Liverpool are thus brought, as it were, almost to the door of the occupier in the remotest districts. Formerly, it was the practice for farmers in Scotland to send up cattle and sheep half fed to the Norfolk fairs, where they were bought by graziers to fatten for the metropolis. But this practice is already much fallen off, and will, at no distant period, be known only by report. Cattle and sheep are now fattened at home; and are sent up from the eastern ports, either alive or slaughtered, to London by steam. The advantages of this are great. The crops of turnips acquire a new and greatly increased value, and their culture is, in consequence, much extended. Nor does the cost of conveying the full-fed animal to its destination amount to a fourth part of what it formerly took to convey the half-fed animal to Norfolk. All the ports of any consequence on the western coast of Scotland are now almost weekly visited by steamers from Liverpool; and such has been the influence of this newly opened intercourse, that we are well assured that, in the extensive tract of country stretching from Greenock round by the Mull of Galloway to the Cumberland border, to the distance of ten or fifteen miles inland, the turnip culture has been increased in a ten-fold proportion since 1820. This stimulus will, it is probable, be still farther augmented by the formation of railroads. It is clear, indeed, that contiguity to market has already become of comparatively little importance. At no distant period, means will be afforded for bringing the most remote and secluded districts fairly into competition with those

that are most favourably situated. The productive energies of both will, in consequence, be more fully developed; nor is it easy to conjecture what the result may be.

It is, notwithstanding, supposed by several, that if prices should decline still further, or even if they continue at their present level, production will be seriously checked. But the previous statements show that there is really nothing to warrant any such conclusion. Hitherto, despite the heavy fall of prices, improvements have been prosecuted on the most stupendous scale; and the fair presumption is, speaking generally, that they will continue to be prosecuted even though prices should fall still lower. It is difficult to estimate the influence that necessity and a desire to preserve one's place in society have in making men inventive and economical; or to specify the point at which production will be contracted by a lowering of prices. In 1823 and 1824, when upland or bowed Georgia cotton brought in Liverpool from $6\frac{1}{4}$d. to $10\frac{1}{2}$d. per lb., many of the most intelligent persons, both in this country and in America, were firmly of opinion that the price would not indemnify the planter, and that the production of cotton would certainly decline. This notion was, in fact, at the bottom of the great cotton speculation in 1825. Experience has since shown the utter groundlessness of the opinion; for though the price of cotton has not risen, except now and then, for a short time, during the interval, the exports of cotton wool from the United States, which, in 1824, amounted to 142,369,663 lbs., had increased in 1834 to 384,717,907 lbs., exclusive of a greatly increased quantity used at home.

Of course we do not mean to say that the price may not fall so low as to check improvement; but certainly there is no evidence to show that we have already touched that point, or even come very near it. It should also be recollected, that, notwithstanding all that has been done, there is still a vast field for agricultural improvement in Britain. We showed in a former article (No. 120, Art. 6), that it was the opinion of practical men of the highest respectability, and intimately acquainted with the state of agriculture, that the raw produce of the island might be wellnigh doubled without any greater proportional expense being incurred in its production. And any one who has ever travelled through the country, or has compared the state of the Lothians, Northumberland, Lincoln, Norfolk, and other well-farmed counties, with very extensive districts in the south and west of England, and with Wales, will be satisfied that the above is any thing but an exaggerated statement. It is singular indeed how very backward many districts are, as com-

pared with others. In numerous counties, four and five horses and two men are still employed to do that which is better done in others by two horses and one man; and in many parts the drill husbandry can hardly be said to be introduced. This shows that we are possessed of vast capacities not yet brought into activity, and that the career of improvement may be continued for an almost indefinite period.

It is not, however, to be doubted that there is at present considerable distress amongst landlords whose estates are embarrassed, and amongst tenants holding under leases commencing when prices were higher, and whose rents have not been sufficiently reduced. But admitting all this, still the extraordinary progress of agriculture proves beyond the possibility of doubt, that, speaking generally, the capital applied to the land has not been diminished, whilst it has gained immensely in productive efficacy. The distressed classes, however, are sufficiently numerous and important to entitle their representations and petitions to the favourable consideration of Parliament; and to whatever relief may be given them consistently with a due regard to the rights and welfare of others. But this, we are afraid, will not amount to much; and we are sure that its amount will not be increased by the formation of local or general Associations. Ministers needed no such stimulus to induce them to do all in their power to benefit agriculture. But by forming Associations, and affecting to dictate to Parliament, the attention of all classes is made alive to the proceedings of the agriculturists—every thing they may propose, even though it were not really objectionable, will create suspicions in the public mind, and be exposed to a severe scrutiny; at the same time that an unfounded prejudice is excited against the whole class. This is the more to be regretted, seeing that the vast majority of the agriculturists have nothing whatever to do with these Associations. They are got up by a few jobbing individuals anxious to burrow in the snug situations they may be made to afford; and are principally patronised by embarrassed landlords, who are much more anxious to discover a mode by which they may evade payment of a part of their debts, than of alleviating what they are pleased to call the distress of the agriculturists.

The reduction or repeal of the malt tax, and the degradation of the standard, seem to be the principal measures recommended by the agricultural agitators as specifics for the distress of the farmers. But it cannot surely be necessary for us to enter into any lengthened statements to show that neither the one nor the other can be entertained by any government. The malt tax is one of the

most productive and least exceptionable of our taxes. It is impossible indeed to specify any tax against which some plausible objections may not be urged; but we defy any one to show how FIVE MILLIONS a-year may be raised with so little injury either to the agriculturists, or to any other class, as by the malt tax. The question, it will be observed, is not between the malt duty and no duty. In the present state of things it is impossible to repeal, or even materially to reduce the malt duty, without imposing some other duty in its stead; and no substitute has been, or can be pointed out, that would be so little injurious. It is said that no efficient reduction has been made in the malt tax for a very long series of years; but there is not, we take leave to say, the shadow of a foundation for any such statement. The beer tax was to all intents and purposes a malt tax; as completely so in fact as if it had been laid on malt. Now this tax, which produced annually about *three millions*, has been repealed; and, adding to it the 8s. a-quarter deducted from the direct duty on malt in 1823, it may be truly affirmed that the malt duty has been reduced at least *sixty* per cent within the last few years. The duty, besides being moderate, is fair and equal. It is paid by the consumers of beer, and by none else, and no one can say that it interferes in any degree with the proceedings of the barley growers. The case is very different indeed with the duties on glass, on paper, and on various other articles. If the situation of the revenue will admit of taxes being taken off, it is clear that those ought to be selected, in preference, for repeal or modification that are most injurious to industry; and if so, the duties on glass, on paper, on timber, and a dozen more, will be repealed before any one thinks of interfering with the malt tax.

Something might have been found to say in favour of the proposed repeal or modification of the duties on malt had the price of barley been depressed, as compared with that of wheat or of any other species of grain. But every one knows that it is quite otherwise. Barley bears at present, and has borne for several years past, a higher price, relatively to wheat, than it did formerly; and is consequently, where the soil is suitable for both crops, the most advantageous. This shows that it is not injuriously affected by the duty. The barley growers have, in truth, no reason whatever to complain. If there be any class more depressed than another it is the cultivators of wheat on clayey lands. The comparatively high price of barley, and the high prices obtained for sheep and wool, of which the barley growers furnish the largest supplies, render their situation the most prosperous of any

class of cultivators. And it would be preposterous to think of relieving the pressure on the wheat growers by giving a bonus, not to them, but to their more prosperous rivals.

We shall not practise on the patience of our readers by dwelling on the folly and flagitiousness of the proposal for enfeebling the standard, or, which is the same thing, for tampering with the currency. No government, that has the smallest respect for either public or private honesty, will ever give the least countenance to any such project. A degradation of the standard would, we admit, be beneficial to landlords whose estates are encumbered—but how? By enabling them, with the connivance of the state, to cheat their creditors; that is, to pay a debt of L.1000, with L.750 or L.500. Any legislature which should sanction such a scandalous breach of faith, which should vitiate the measure of value—the standard relied on in all contracts—that one class of its subjects might be benefited at the expense of another, would basely betray its duty, and would deserve to be suppressed as a nuisance. It is to no purpose to say that the value of money was enhanced by the return to cash payments in 1819. That return took no person, or, at least, it ought to have taken no person by surprise. It had been declared in fifty acts of Parliament, that cash payments were to be resumed within six months after a definitive treaty of peace. Every loan had been contracted under this condition; and the legislature might as well have declared that it was not bound to pay the interest of the debt, as that it was not bound to pay it in coin of the standard weight and purity.

It was impossible, therefore, for the legislature to have refused returning to cash payments; and, whatever may have been the influence of that measure at the time, is now matter of history, and is beyond the reach of human power to obviate or repair. Supposing that it raised the value of money, that money has been the standard during sixteen years. Nineteen out of every twenty of the existing contracts, obligations, and estimates, have been framed and entered into with reference to it; so that, whether enhanced or not at the outset, to interfere with it now would not be to repair injustice, but to commit it afresh—it would be to rob and plunder the present race of creditors, on pretence that the individuals who happened to be creditors sixteen years ago, had gained an undue advantage!

But we take leave totally to deny that the return to cash payments made any sensible addition to the value of money. If we ask where are the proofs of its having done so? we are referred to the fall that has since taken place in the price of most articles. But this is plainly no proof at all. Prices may no doubt

be reduced by a rise in the value of money; but they may also be reduced by a decline in the cost of production; and we contend that this has been the sole cause of the entire fall that has taken place since the resumption of cash payments. We defy the advocates of the opposite opinion to specify a single article, either of domestic or foreign growth or manufacture, that has fallen in price since 1819, the fall of which may not be satisfactorily and completely accounted for by circumstances peculiar to its production or supply, or both, independently altogether of variations in the value of money. We unhesitatingly affirm, there is no such article. The fall that has taken place in agricultural and in colonial products, in manufactured goods, &c., is entirely ascribable to improved and cheaper methods of production; to the abolition of monopolies, the reduction of taxes, the opening of new and more abundant sources of supply, or to some such cause. Not a tittle of evidence has been or can be brought to show, that the fall of prices has been owing, even in a solitary instance, or in any degree, to a rise in the value of money. This is an opinion for which there is no foundation whatever—a phantom conjured up, that a wholesale robbery might be perpetrated, under cover of the speculation and alarm caused by its appearance.

It is needless to say any thing about legislative protection. In this respect, the omnipotence of Parliament has been exhausted in behalf of the agriculturists. Protection cannot be carried farther than monopoly—and that they have enjoyed for these four years past. We have always said, that even the absolute exclusion of foreign corn could do the agriculturists no real service—that it was merely amusing them with hopes of advantages never to be realized; and if they be not now convinced of the truth of this, they must be as impervious to the evidence of fact as they have hitherto been to argument.

It is not, therefore, in the power of any government, however disposed, materially to relieve the pressure on the agricultural classes. But whatever it can do will no doubt be done. A commutation of tithes, effected once for all on a fair principle, would be an important and a valuable measure; but, assuredly, its tendency would be to reduce, not to raise the price of corn. We incline also to think that the duty on the sale of landed property by auction ought to be repealed. Its amount is not very considerable; but, as Dr Smith truly stated, it comes entirely out of the pockets of those who are least able to bear it,—that is, of those who are obliged to sell. But it is upon arrangements amongst themselves, that the agriculturists must mainly depend for relief from any real grievances under which they may at present suffer. Where necessary, rents ought to be reduced

and they ought in all cases to be rated in corn or other farm produce, and made convertible into money, at the current prices of the day. But we protest against all indiscriminate plans of reduction. No two occupiers on any estate are in exactly the same condition; and in reducing rent, care ought always to be had that industry, skill, and economy be not discouraged to pamper sloth, routine, and extravagance. The statements we formerly laid before the public (No. 120, Art. 6) are more than sufficient to show, that, in many parts of the kingdom, the landlords ought, before reducing rents, to try what may be done by enforcing improved and more economical modes of management. In the southern counties, especially, there is great room for this. No farmer who employs teams of three, four, or five horses, where two would suffice, is entitled to have one farthing taken from his rent. If he ask it, his landlord may reply,—'Do as the farmers do in other parts of the country—employ two horses instead of four—do more work by the piece—cut down every superfluous expense—endeavour to introduce the improved systems of other counties—and if, after you have done this, the farm be still too dear, I shall willingly make the necessary abatement.' No landlord ought to go farther than this. If he do, he will act injuriously for himself and the public interests, and will be justly responsible for the continuance of practices that are a reproach to the agriculturists of the present day. Something of this sort *must* be done, otherwise the rental of all unimproved and expensively managed farms must come down to the level of 1792. The agriculturists need not cry out for help to others. No stranger can render them any material assistance; but they may help themselves. And, till they have put forth all their energies, reformed whatever experience has proved to be defective in their practice, and pared down all unnecessary expense, they have no right to expect that their complaints should meet with much either of attention or of sympathy.

Should the next, or any succeeding harvest be a bad, or an indifferent one, the prices of corn would rise, it might be, to double their present elevation. That, however, would no way invalidate any of the previous statements as to the extraordinary improvement of agriculture. We believe, too, that it would make an end of the Corn Laws. At present they are virtually suspended by the wonderful increase of our home supplies. But, if they ever again become efficient, assuredly they will not long survive. The manufacturing and commercial classes have become too numerous, intelligent, and powerful to submit to pay a heavy tax on their food, not for any purpose of public or national utility, but for behoof of the agriculturists.

Art. IV.—*Pencillings by the Way.* By N. P. Willis, Esq., Author of 'Melanie,' the 'Slingsby Papers,' &c. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1835.

The author of this work is a young American, already recommended to the English public by a volume of pleasing poetry. In what form this work originally appeared, and whether, as we are told, its 'Letters' were addressed to a newspaper editor, and came forth periodically in an American Journal, are matters which concern us not: we deal with it only as a connected work, published for the first time in England at the close of the year 1835. Its character is happily conveyed by its name. It is a collection of 'Pencillings,' bearing about the same analogy to a full, accurate, and instructive book of travels, that the slight sketches in the portfolio of a tourist bear to a painter's finished landscapes. It is a lively record of first impressions, conveying vividly what was seen, heard, and felt by an active and inquisitive, but superficial traveller through some of the most interesting parts of Europe. It skims the surface pleasantly; but seldom, if ever, goes beneath it. Whatever appeals to the imagination or the senses, or can gratify the idle curiosity of the sight-seeing tourist, is told in easy, fluent language—often careless and unpruned, but showing knowledge of effect, and occasional glimpses of a poet's power of illustration. But in those more important matters which unfold to us the condition of a people, and which are learnt by enquiry, study, and reflection, let not the reader hope to be enlightened. The work is eminently superficial. Its author is observant, but the character of his mind is not reflective. He is not prone to speculate and philosophize; and an abstract sentiment rarely escapes him. There is no evidence of the possession of much previous knowledge, and his information, picked upon the spot, is seldom better than can be supplied by the *laquais de place.* Moreover, he is inaccurate, and very credulous, and if a story strikes his imagination, will gravely accept it, though it is such as ought to have been detected by any sagacity not below that of a tolerably shrewd schoolboy. Witness, for instance, his assertion, that at Naples 'never a night passes without one or more murders; and 'it is only heard of because the victims selected are English, and 'they are missed at their hotels!' Will Mr Willis mention the name of even *one* of these murdered Englishmen? Probably not. But then, as he tells us in the following sentence, 'no such 'thing is permitted to be published, lest it should frighten away 'the strangers, upon whom half the city lives; and the assassina-

'tion of an Italian is really a less circumstance than the losing of 'a house-dog in America.' So, too, it would seem, is the circumstance of an Englishman being missed. The policy which Mr Willis ascribes to the Neapolitan Government, in preventing these cases of disappearance from transpiring, is very profound; and if it were practicable, would be still more ingenious! But does he think that travelling Englishmen are necessarily friendless beings, about whom no survivors would care to enquire, and whose disappearance would create no clamour? And has he not learnt, after visits to Florence, Rome, and Naples, that the arrivals and departures of our gregarious countrymen are almost as well known at these Anglo-Italian watering-places, as they would be at Cheltenham or at Brighton?—that a murdered Englishman would be missed as certainly as he would be in London?—that private letters would soon carry the tale to English newspapers?—and that a thousandth part of the horrors described by Mr Willis would long since have frightened away all but a daring few of those strangers whose residence is found to be so profitable?

A man who, like Mr Willis, has crossed the Atlantic, acts wisely in seeing as much of Europe as he can. But to see *many countries* is not necessarily to see *much.* Mr Willis has visited France, Italy, Sicily, Austria, the Ionian Isles, Greece, Turkey, the Levant, Switzerland, England, and Scotland. But his visits to many of them seem to have been hasty; his observations meagre and unprofitable; and the tour, if we may judge from the record before us, to have contributed little to the author's stock of useful knowledge, and scarcely to have conduced to the improvement of his taste. What, for instance, can be thought of his taste in architecture, when, having visited Paris and Italy, he declares the Church of St Stephen's, at Vienna, with its disproportioned and distorted spire, to be 'the most beautiful fabric' he had ever seen? Of his classical enthusiasm we may judge by the fact that he leaves Rome for Naples the morning after his first arrival, intending, as he tells us, to return thither for the ceremonies of the Holy Week. On the masterpieces of art in Rome he is silent; but he expatiates upon some Brills and Brueghels in one of the *palazzi*, and on a picture which he calls 'famous,' by a second-rate Flemish artist, with an Italian nickname, of a 'woman catching fleas;' and he expends more enthusiasm upon the Esterhazy and Lichtenstein galleries, than upon all the paintings in Italy combined.

And yet Mr Willis deals with the ornamental rather than with the useful. He attends to that which attracts the senses, rather than to that which should occupy the mind. He is not a man of cultivated taste;—but neither is he a man of science, an antiquary, a naturalist, a political economist, or a politician. Upon institu-

tions he is almost silent, and we are glad that he is so, and are obliged to him for his tact in having said just enough to prevent our regret that he should not have said more. Perhaps the following short extract will afford our readers the same satisfaction; and tend to show how far Mr Willis is entitled to the character of a reflecting tourist.

'Among the institutions of Vienna are two which are peculiar. One is a *maison d'accouchement*, into which any female can enter veiled, remain till after the period of her labour, and depart unknown, leaving her child in the care of the institution, which rears it as a foundling. Its object is a benevolent prevention of infanticide.

'The other is a *private penitentiary*, to which the fathers of respectable families can send for reformation children they are unable to govern. The name is kept a secret, and the culprits are returned to their families after a proper time punished without disgrace. Pride of character is thus preserved, while the delinquent is firmly corrected.'

Here are two institutions of the most mischievous description, mentioned not only in a tone of commendation, but in apparent unconsciousness that any one can venture to question their utility. To pause to explain their obvious disadvantages, would be a waste of words, and almost an insult to the understanding of our readers.

Mr Willis's curiosity, and love of enterprise, are unbounded. He envies even the roving Fakeers, because 'they see the world;' and exclaims, 'I think if I could myself see it in no other way, I would 'e'en take sandal and scrip, and traverse it as dervish or beg-'gar.' He has a wondrous appetite for horrors, and makes a point of seeing every thing, however loathsome, and at whatever risk —hangs over the receptacle of the dead in the Campo Santo at Naples, shading his eyes and straining his vision till he could see all the horrors of the scene distinctly, and count the corpses, and describe the positions in which they lay confusedly in the pit; and immediately afterwards, as if this were not enough, is regaled with the sight of seven dead infants;—walks, with no object but mere curiosity, through the pestilential wards of the Hôtel Dieu, then thronged with patients dying of the cholera;—witnesses scenes of the most appalling misery; and concludes with a peep into the *dead-room*, which then contained above sixty bodies. He visits the Capuchin Catacombs near Palermo, than which, he says, 'a more frightful scene never appalled the eye.'

'The walls were lined with shallow niches, from which hung, leaning forward as if to fall upon the gazer, the dried bodies of monks in the full dress of their order. Their hands were crossed upon their breasts or hung at their sides, their faces were blackened and withered, and every one seemed to have preserved, in diabolical caricature, the very expression of life. The hair lay reddened and dry on the dusty skull; the teeth, perfect or imperfect, had grown brown in their open mouths; the nose

had shrunk ; the cheeks fallen in and cracked ; and they looked more like living men cursed with some horrid plague than the inanimate corpses they were.'

Here his curiosity is gratified with every variety of defunct mortality—from octogenarians to children of a year old—from the corpse of 'a century and a half back, whose tongue still hangs 'from his mouth, like a piece of dried fish skin, and as sharp and 'thin as a nail,' which the friar in waiting 'moved up and down, 'rattling it against his teeth,' to the girl of seventeen who had died within the year, twin sister of one of the beauties of Palermo. To crown all (owing to good luck, and having a friend who knows his tastes), he is called back at the moment of departure, and is shown a corpse just arrived, in a sedan chair,—'an old greyheaded woman, bolt upright within, with a rope 'round her body, and another round her neck, supporting her by 'two rings in the back of the sedan. She had died that morning, 'and was brought to be dried in the capuchin catacombs. The 'effect of the newly dressed body,' says Mr Willis, 'in a hand-'some silk dress and plaited cap, was horrible.' This gloating over the horrors of the charnel-house, and the '*irresistible!*' laughter with which he shocks the attendant monk, at no more mirth-inspiring object than a dead child, whose 'leather 'cap fallen on one side showed his bare skull,' are not traits which, viewed alone, would tend to convey a favourable impression of the taste and feeling of Mr Willis ; and it is fortunate that the book affords us other traits of a different kind to redress the balance.

Mr Willis's light-heartedness and spirit of curiosity, if they sometimes make him seem unfeeling, are part and parcel of that happy temperament which constitutes good-humour, and renders him disposed to make the best of every situation. If it is allowable for a man to bemoan his fate and to be discontented, it surely is during needless captivity in a lazaretto. Let us see how Mr Willis bears his lot in the lazaretto at Villa Franca.

'Our imprisonment is getting to be a little tedious. We lengthen our breakfasts and dinners, go to sleep early and get up late ; but a lazaretto is a dull place after all. We have no books, except dictionaries and grammars, and I am on my last sheet of paper. What I shall do the two remaining days, I cannot divine. Our meals were amusing for a while. We have but three knives and four glasses; and the Belgian having cut his plate in two on the first day, has eaten since from the wash-bowl. The salt is in a brown paper, the vinegar in a shell, and the meats, to be kept warm during their passage by water, are brought in the black utensils in which they are cooked. Our table-cloth appeared to-day of all the colours of the rainbow. We sat down to breakfast with a general cry of horror. Still, with youth and good spirits, we manage to be more contented than one would expect, and our lively discussions of the spot on the quay where the table shall be laid, and the noise of our dinners, *en*

plein air, would convince a spectator that we were a very merry and sufficiently happy company.'

We also like his nationality,—deprived as it is of those traits which frequently render nationality offensive; and accompanied as it is with a certain cosmopolite facility in amalgamating with men of other nations. Mingled with such qualities, we like to witness his pride and pleasure in recognising his country's flag on a distant frigate off Leghorn; the glow of satisfaction with which he finds himself in the company of his countrymen, and joins them in a cruise in the Mediterranean, on board a frigate of the United States; and the feelings which he expresses at his final leave-taking.

At the same time, he is not sore and sensitive, like too many of his countrymen, at any allusion to American peculiarities: he is free from all illiberal prejudices, and is always inclined to do justice to the English.

'We must do the English the justice of confessing the manners of their best bred men to be the best in the world. One soon finds out in Europe that the dog and the lion are not more unlike, than the race of bagmen and runners with which our country is overrun, and the cultivated gentlemen of England.

'On my right sat a captain of the corps, who had spent the last summer at the Saratoga Springs. We found any number of mutual acquaintances, of course, and I was amused with the impressions which some of the fairest of my friends had made upon a man who had passed years in the most cultivated society of Europe. He liked America, with reservations. He preferred our ladies to those of any other country except England, and he had found more *dandies* in one hour in Broadway than he should have met in a week in Regent Street. He gave me a racy scene or two from the City Hotel, in New York, but he doubted if the frequenters of a public table in any country in the world were, on the whole, so well-mannered. If Americans were peculiar for any thing, he thought it was for confidence in themselves and tobacco-chewing.'

Mr Willis's work abounds in personal descriptions, and it must be owned that he is a lively portrayer,—apt, however, to indulge in details, which are congenial rather with a tailor's shop, than with the painter's or the poet's study. 'I had leisure,' he says, 'to observe him (King Otho) closely for a few minutes;' and the result of this inspection is given as follows:—

'He appears about eighteen. He was dressed in an exceedingly well-cut swallow-tailed coat, of very light blue, with a red standing collar, wrought with silver. The same work upon a red ground was set between the buttons of the waist, and upon the edges of the skirts. White pantaloons, and the ordinary straight court sword, completed his dress. He is rather tall, and his figure is extremely light and elegant. A very flat nose, and high cheek-bones, are the most marked features of his face; his hair is straight, and of a light brown, and with no claim to beauty; the expression of his countenance is manly, open, and prepossessing. He

spoke French fluently, though with a German accent, and went through the usual topics of a royal presentation (very much the same all over the world) with grace and ease. In the few remarks which he addressed to me, he said that he promised himself great pleasure in the search for antiquities in Greece. He bowed us out after an audience of about ten minutes, no doubt extremely happy to exchange his court-coat and our company for a riding-frock and saddle.'

The following is his sketch of the Sultan's perfumer:—

'For a Turk, Mustapha Effendi was the most voluble gentleman in his discourse that I had yet met in Stamboul. A sparse grey beard just sprinkled a pair of blown-up cheeks, and a collapsed double chin that fell in curtain folds to his bosom, a mustache, of seven or eight hairs on a side, curled demurely about the corners of his mouth, his heavy, oily black eyes twinkled in their pursy recesses, with the salacious good-humour of a satyr; and, as he coiled his legs under him on the broad ottoman in the corner, his boneless body completely lapped over them, knees and all, and left him, apparently, bolt upright on his trunk, like a man amputated at the hips. A string of beads in one hand, and a splendid *narghilé*, or rose-water pipe, in the other, completed as fine a picture of a mere animal as I remember to have met in my travels.'

He is childishly eager to see 'the Maid of Athens,' the object of Lord Byron's complimentary effusion; and as childishly shocked to find that she has become Mrs Black of Egina, 'having forgotten the sweet burden of the sweetest of love-songs, and 'taken the unromantic name of a Scotchman.'

'I turned, after we had taken leave, and made an apology to speak to her again; for, in the interest of the general impression she had made upon me, I had forgotten to notice her dress, and I was not sure that I could remember a single feature of her face. We had called unexpectedly, of course, and her dress was very plain. A red cloth cap bound about the temples, with a coloured shawl, whose folds were mingled with large braids of dark-brown hair, and decked with a tassel of blue silk, which fell to her left shoulder, formed her head-dress. In other respects she was dressed like a European. She is a little above the middle height, slightly and well formed, and walks weakly, like most Greek women, as if her feet were too small for her weight. Her skin is dark and clear, and she has a colour in her cheek and lips that looks to me consumptive. Her teeth are white and regular, her face oval, and her forehead and nose form the straight line of the Grecian model—one of the few instances I have ever seen of it. Her eyes are large and of a soft, liquid hazel, and this is her chief beauty. There is that "looking out of the soul through them," which Byron always described as constituting the loveliness that most moved him. I made up my mind as we walked away, that she would be a lovely woman any where.'

He thus describes some functionaries of state in Turkey:—

'The frigate was visited to-day by the sultan's cabinet. The seraskier pasha came alongside first in his state caique, and embraced the commo-

dore, as he stepped on the deck, with great cordiality. He is a short, fat old man, with a snow-white beard, and so bow-legged as to be quite deformed. He wore the red Fez cap of the army, with a long blue frock-coat, the collar so tight as nearly to choke him, and the body not shaped to the figure, but made to fall around him like a sack. The red bloated skin of his neck fell over, so as almost to cover the gold with which the collar was embroidered. He was formerly capitan pasha, or admiral-in-chief of the fleet; and, though a good-humoured merry-looking old man, has shown himself, both in his former and present capacity, to be wily, cold, and a butcher in cruelty. He possesses unlimited influence over the sultan, and, though nominally subordinate to the grand vizier, is really the second if not the first person in the empire. He was originally a Georgian slave.

'The seraskier was still talking with the commodore in the gangway, when the present capitan pasha mounted the ladder, and the old man, who is understood to be at feud with his successor, turned abruptly away and walked aft. The capitan pasha is a tall, slender man, of precisely that look and manner which we call gentlemanly. His beard grows untrimmed in the Turkish fashion, and is slightly touched with grey. His eye is anxious but resolute, and he looks like a man of resource and ability. His history is as singular as that of most other great men in Turkey. He was a slave of Mohammed Ali, the rebellious Pasha of Egypt. Being intrusted by his master with a brig and cargo for Leghorn, he sold vessel and lading, lived like a gentleman in Italy for some years with the proceeds, and, as the best security against the retribution of his old master, offered his services to the Sultan, with whom Ali was just commencing hostilities. Naval talent was in request, and he soon arrived at his present dignity. He is said to be the only officer in the fleet who knows any thing of his profession.

'Haleil Pasha arrived last. The Sultan's future son-in-law is a man of perhaps thirty-five. He is light-complexioned, stout, round-faced, and looks like a respectable grocer, "well to do in the world." He has commanded the artillery long enough to have acquired a certain air of ease and command, and carries the promise of good fortune in his confident features. He is to be married almost immediately. He, too, was a Georgian, sent as a present to the Sultan.

'The three dignitaries made the rounds of the ship and then entered the cabin, where the pianoforte (a novelty to the seraskier and Haleil Pasha, and to most of the attendant officers), and the commodore's agreeable society and champagne, promised to detain them the remainder of the day. They were like children with a holiday.'

One of the best qualities of this work is a pleasant easy style of narration. In subjects which demand no depth of thought, which are susceptible of being treated picturesquely, and in which all that is requisite is a vivid transcript of the impression of the moment, our author is frequently very successful. Opportunities of this nature occur most frequently in the course of his tour in Greece and Turkey; and this we find, upon the whole, the most agreeable portion of his work. As a specimen of his descriptive

style, take the following account of the grand bazaar of Constantinople :—

'Bring all the shops of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston together around the City Hall; remove their fronts, pile up all their goods on shelves facing the street; cover the whole with a roof, and metamorphose your trim clerks into bearded, turbaned, and solemn old Mussulmans, smooth Jews, and calpacked and rosy Armenians, and you will have something like the grand bazaar of Constantinople. You can scarcely get an idea of it without having been there. It is a city under cover. You walk all day, and day after day, from one street to another, winding and turning, and trudging up hill and down, and never go out of doors. The roof is as high as those of our three-story houses, and the dim light so favourable to shopkeepers comes struggling down through skylights never cleaned except by the rains of Heaven.

'Strolling through the bazaar is an endless amusement. It is slow work, for the streets are as crowded as a church-aisle after service; and, pushed aside one moment by a bevy of Turkish ladies, shuffling along in their yellow slippers, muffled to the eyes; the next by a fat slave carrying a child; again by a *kervas* armed to the teeth, and clearing the way for some coming dignitary, you find your own policy is to draw in your elbows, and suffer the motley crowd to shove you about at their pleasure.

'Each shop in this world of traffic may be two yards wide. The owner sits cross-legged on the broad counter below, the height of a chair from the ground, and hands you all you want without stirring from his seat. One broad bench or counter runs the length of the street, and the different shops are only divided by the slight partition of the shelves. The purchaser seats himself on the counter, to be out of the way of the crowd, and the shopman spreads out his goods on his knees, never condescending to open his lips except to tell you the price. If he exclaims "*bono*," or "*kalo*" (the only word a real Turk ever knows of another language), he is stared at by his neighbours as a man would be in Broadway who should break out with an Italian *bravura*. Ten to one, while you are examining his goods, the bearded trader creeps through the hole leading to his kennel of a dormitory in the rear, washes himself and returns to his counter, where, spreading his sacred carpet in the direction of Mecca, he goes through his prayers and prostrations, perfectly unconscious of your presence, or that of the passing crowd. No vocation interferes with his religious duty. Five times a-day, if he were running from the plague, the mussulman would find time for prayers.

'The Frank purchaser attracts a great deal of curiosity. As he points to an embroidered handkerchief, or a rich shawl, or a pair of gold-worked slippers, Turkish ladies of the first rank, gathering their *yashmacks* securely over their faces, stop close to his side, not minding if they push him a little to get nearer the desired article. Feeling not the least timidity, except for their faces, these true children of Eve examine the goods in barter, watch the stranger's countenance, and if he takes off his glove, or pulls out his purse, take it up and look at it, without ever saying "by your leave." Their curiosity often extends to your dress, and they put

out their little henna-stained fingers and pass them over the sleeve of your coat with a gurgling expression of admiration at its fineness; or if you have rings or a watch-guard, they lift your hand or pull out your watch with no kind of scruple. I have met with several instances of this in the course of my rambles; but a day or two ago I found myself rather more than usual a subject of curiosity. I was alone in the street of embroidered handkerchiefs (every minute article has its peculiar bazaar), and, wishing to look at some of uncommon beauty, I called one of the many Jews always near a stranger to turn a penny by interpreting for him, and was soon up to the elbows in goods that would tempt a female angel out of Paradise. As I was selecting one for a purchase, a woman plumped down upon the seat beside me, and fixed her great, black, unwinking eyes upon my face, while an Abyssinian slave and a white woman, both apparently her dependents, stood respectfully at her back. A small turquoise ring (the favourite colour in Turkey) first attracted her attention. She took up my hand, and turned it over in her soft, fat fingers, and dropped it again without saying a word. I looked at my interpreter, but he seemed to think it nothing extraordinary, and I went on with my bargain. Presently my fine-eyed friend pulled me by the sleeve, and, as I leaned towards her, rubbed her fore-finger very quickly over my cheek, looking at me intently all the while. I was a little disturbed with the lady's familiarity, and asked my Jew what she wanted. I found that my rubicund complexion was something uncommon among these dark-skinned Orientals, and she wished to satisfy herself that I was not painted! I concluded my purchase, and, putting the parcel into my pocket, did my prettiest at an Oriental salaam, but to my mortification the lady only gathered up her *yashmack*, and looked surprised out of her great eyes at my freedom. My Constantinople friends inform me that I am to lay no "unction to my soul" from her notice, such liberties being not at all particular. The husband exacts from his half-dozen wives only the concealment of their faces, and they have no other idea of impropriety in public.

'In the centre of the bazaar, occupying about as much space as the body of the City-hall in New York, is what is called the *bezestein*. You descend into it from four directions by massive gates, which are shut, and all persons excluded, except between seven and twelve of the forenoon. This is the core of Constantinople—the soul and citadel of Orientalism. It is devoted to the sale of arms and to costly articles only. The roof is loftier and the light more dim than in the outer bazaars, and the merchants who occupy its stalls are old and of established credit. Here are subjects for the pencil! If you can only take your eye from those Damascus sabres, with their jewelled hilts and costly scabbards, or from those gemmed daggers and guns inlaid with silver and gold, cast a glance along that dim avenue, and see what a range there is of glorious old greybeards, with their snowy turbans! These are the Turks of the old *régime*, before Sultan Mahmoud disfigured himself with a coat like a "dog of a Christian," and broke in upon the customs of the Orient. These are your opium-eaters, who smoke even in their sleep, and would not touch wine if it were handed them by houris! These are your fatalists,

who would scarce take the trouble to get out of the way of a lion, and who are as certain of the miracle of Mahomet's coffin as of the length of the pipe, or of the quality of the tobacco of Shiraz.'

Whilst we praise the spirit and ease of some of the descriptions, we must observe that the style abounds with faults, which we notice more especially, because they are the results of haste and carelessness, and because they seem, on that account, to be considered venial. Mr Willis says, in his preface, that he has, '*in some slight measure*,' corrected these 'Pencillings;' tells us they had been 'despatched without a second perusal;' and pleads 'the haste in which' he 'scribbled.' Such weak excuses had better have been omitted. The public here have nothing to do with the impatience of the American journalist, or the breathless haste with which Mr Willis laboured to supply him. Neither do we see why, if the 'Pencillings' were to be corrected at all, they were to be corrected only in a '*slight* measure.' Publication *ought to be* a more deliberate process than it is often made in these teeming times; and republication *is* a very deliberate one. To vouchsafe to make only some '*slight*' corrections, and send forth a work which needs so many, is neither wise in Mr Willis, with regard to his own literary fame, nor courteous towards the public.

Mr Willis's travels in England and Scotland, which he visits last, occupy about three-fourths of his third volume.

Apart from the interest which personalities excite, and the curiosity we naturally feel to see our image in a traveller's mirror, this is the least successful and least amusing portion of his work. There is in it, however, much to conciliate our good-will towards the author, in spite of faults to which we shall presently advert. He comes among us determined to be pleased, and begins praising every thing from the instant he lands, with a good-humour which is proof against the annoyance of a rough passage and the wintry bitterness of an English June. This happy temperament, aided by the contrast with continental accommodations, gives a value to the merest trifles—a Dover inn seems the *acmé* of comfort —he is thankful for such reasonable occurrences as 'bell-ropes 'that *would* ring,' and 'doors that *would* shut,' and 'a landlady 'that spoke English!' and he is disposed to believe, on the strength of one evening's experience in a coffeeroom, that the common complaint of 'English reserve' is all a libel. His conveyance to London delights him; the stage-coach is 'quite a 'study;' and he is driven by an universal genius, who 'discussed 'every thing;' criticised Grisi; 'hummed airs from Il Pirata, to 'show her manner; sang an English song like Braham; gave a

'decayed count, who sat on the box, some very sensible advice 'about the management of a wild son;' and whose 'taste and phi- 'losophy, like his driving, were quite unexceptionable,' yet who was merely a stage coachman, and pocketed his shilling at the end of the journey. In the same tone of good-humoured exaggeration, in which we suspect he exalts the merits of this accomplished brother of the whip, he expatiates on the appearance of the country. He already does not doubt that England 'is de- 'scribed always very justly' as being 'all one garden.' 'There 'is scarce a cottage between Dover and London (seventy miles) 'where *a poet might not be happy to live.* I saw a hundred little 'spots I coveted with quite a heartach. There was no poverty 'on the road. Every body seemed employed, and every body well 'made and healthy.' Would that the Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners on the state of Kent could but confirm this flattering picture! Nevertheless, it is certain that Mr Willis's description is not remote from the appearance, though it may be from the reality; and, mean while, we are pleased with his willingness to receive a favourable impression, and the heartiness with which he conveys it. He enters London in the same state of happy wonder; and though he had been two years perambulating the continent, and is by this time 'a picked man of countries,' he affects no cynical, or cold air of critical disparagement, and is not above imparting to the world his sensations of pleasure and surprise. He arrives on the King's birthday, goes out at night to see the illuminations, and thus describes his feelings on finding himself surrounded by an English crowd:

'The crowd was immense. None but the lower orders seemed abroad; and I cannot describe to you the effect on my feelings on hearing my own language spoken by every man, woman, and child, about me. It seemed a completely foreign country in every other respect—different from what I had imagined; different from my own and all that I have seen; and coming to it last, it seemed to me the farthest off and strangest country of all; and yet the little sweep, who went laughing through the crowd, spoke a language that I had heard attempted in vain by thousands of educated people, and that I had grown to consider next to unattainable by others, and almost useless to myself. Still, it did not make me feel at home. Every thing else about me was too new. It was like some mysterious change in my own ears—a sudden power of comprehension, such as a man might feel who was cured suddenly of deafness. You can scarcely enter into my feelings till you have had the changes of French, Italian, German, Greek, Turkish, Illyrian, and the mixtures and dialects of each, rung upon your hearing almost exclusively, as I have for years. I wandered about as if I were exercising some supernatural faculty in a dream.'

Mr Willis's notices of his sojourn in London are very scanty.

They are all comprised in four letters, two of which are devoted to a dinner and an evening party at one house, and another to Epsom races and a breakfast in company with Charles Lamb. The little that remains is of the most flimsy and superficial kind; the observations of a mere lounger on what happened to meet his eye. The commerce, the politics, the literature, the society, the institutions, the thousand matters of interest and importance which should attract the attention of an intelligent traveller, and especially of an American, in this most wonderful of modern cities, receive no notice from Mr Willis. Whether we have to impute his silence to want of taste, of leisure, or of ability to grapple with such matters, we know not; but, after a few descriptions of individuals, a few reports of private conversations, a little undeserved praise of metropolitan architecture, and a page upon equipages, Mr Willis departed in the steam-boat for Scotland. There is nothing in his record of Life in London, which could save him from the charge of being the most frivolous tourist that ever committed his thoughts to paper. His description of his tour in Scotland is not much superior in its quality; and we find no part of it sufficiently remarkable to deserve quotation. He visits two country seats where he sees a slight specimen of aristocratic life; and he appears to have made acquaintance with a few distinguished men in Edinburgh. This, and admittance to one house in London, where he meets some literary men, appear to be the only ostensible materials upon which he grounds his general observations upon English society. If such is the case, we must in fairness say, that their inaccuracy is not greater than such limited experience would prepare us to expect.

We now approach a serious fault. Mr Willis is charged with personality, and abuse of confidence, in publishing, not only descriptions of individuals whom he has met in private society, but the opinions which, in the confidence of conversational intercourse, they may have carelessly and unreservedly uttered. Let us first see how he defends himself by anticipation. It is but fair to give precedence to his apology.

'There is one remark I may as well make here, with regard to the personal descriptions and anecdotes with which my letters from England will of course be filled. It is quite a different thing from publishing such letters in London. America is much farther off from England than England from America. You in New York read the periodicals of this country, and know every thing that is done or written here, as if you lived within the sound of Bow-bell. The English, however, just know of our existence; and if they get a general idea twice a-year of our progress in politics, they are comparatively well informed. Our periodical literature is never even heard of. Of course, there can be no offence to the individuals themselves in any thing which a visitor could write, cal-

culated to convey an idea of the person or manners of distinguished people to the American public. I mention it, lest, at first thought, I might seem to have abused the hospitality or frankness of those on whom letters of introduction have given me claims for civility.'

The defence of the personal descriptions is thus grounded on their appearance in an American Journal being 'quite a different 'thing from publishing such Letters in London.' True:—but these letters *are* published in London, and we are, therefore, led at once to Mr Willis's alternative; and must conclude, by his own showing, that he *has* 'abused the hospitality and frankness of those 'on whom letters of introduction' had given him 'claims for 'civility.' We believe that in the American Journal the names were published at full length. In the London edition he gives us the initial letters: but, considering the fulness of his concomitant descriptions, there is a poor affectation in this thin disguise, which rather aggravates the offence, and shows a consciousness of impropriety without the merit of repairing it. One of Mr Willis's excuses for the appearance of these personalities on this side of the Atlantic is, that against his will they were dragged into notice by insertion in the pages of an English Review. It may also be pleaded in palliation of his fault that, with the exception of his remarks upon Mr Lockhart, with whom he is indignant for imputed injustice, he seems to have erred without malice, and to have had no deliberate intention of wounding the feelings of any individual. He has sinned most (but we think not maliciously) against Mr Moore and Professor Wilson. It was wrong to publish, unpermitted, the private table-talk of these gentlemen, however innocent might be the substance; doubly wrong to publish, as coming from their lips, comments upon the conduct and character of living persons,—such as he ascribes to Mr Moore upon Mr O'Connell, and to Professor Wilson upon Mr Lockhart. These are violations of confidence which we cannot deprecate too strongly. We shall not make ourselves accessaries to the offence by quoting any of these reported conversations. To 'provoke the caper which 'we seem to chide,' is not consistent with our plain notions of literary honesty; and we should regard it as a mean and miserable affectation to condemn such reprehensible and mischievous passages, if we were, at the same time, aggravating the mischief, and pandering to the appetites of a scandal-loving public, by giving them a more extended circulation.

ART. V.—*An Account of the Rev. John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal; compiled from his own Manuscripts, and other authentic Documents, never before Published. To which is added, his British Catalogue of Stars, Corrected and Enlarged.* By FRANCIS BAILY, Esq. Vice-President of the Royal Astronomical Society. 4to. London : 1835.

THE present volume comes before the world through an unusual channel, having been printed at the public expense, for the benefit of science, by order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. The editor, Mr Baily, is a gentleman of great eminence in the scientific world, and distinguished as the author of several works and memoirs on astronomy, of the highest utility and excellence. The subject matter of it relates to the life and astronomical labours of an individual, of whom, perhaps, some of our readers may not have heard, but who was, nevertheless, a very distinguished character in his day,—the father of practical astronomy in England, and the author of a great national work, the *Historia Britannica Cœlestis.*

The history of the publication is not a little curious.

'Some time during the year 1832,' says Mr Baily, 'I was informed that an opposite neighbour of mine (Edward Giles, Esq., No. 5, Tavistock Place) was in possession of a large collection of original manuscript letters, written by the celebrated Mr John Flamsteed to his friend, Mr Abraham Sharp, who had formerly been his assistant at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, and who made the mural arc then in use. These letters were found some years ago, at Mr Sharp's house, in a box deposited in a garret, filled with various books and papers ; and Mr Giles was good enough to send them over to me for my perusal. I immediately recognised the handwriting of Flamsteed, and found that they contained much interesting and original matter connected with his astronomical labours not generally known. The whole collection (at least that part of it which relates to Flamsteed) consists not only of the letters written by Mr Flamsteed (124 in number), but also of one letter from Mrs Flamsteed, and 60 from Mr Joseph Crosthwait, his assistant likewise at the Royal Observatory, all addressed to Mr Sharp, who at that time resided at Little Horton, near Bradford, in Yorkshire, on an estate of his own, where he lived a very secluded life, passing most of his time in astronomical calculations. When Flamsteed set about reducing his observations, he requested Mr Sharp to undertake the computation of the places of several of the stars in his catalogue, and also of the moon and planets, from the original observations ; and an extensive and friendly correspondence was thus commenced and kept up between them till the time of Flamsteed's death, which was afterward continued with Mr Crosthwait, who super-

intended the printing of Flamsteed's works, after his decease. This correspondence embraces a variety of subjects ; but the principal, the most novel, and the most interesting, is the account of the repeated difficulties and impediments which delayed and almost prevented the publication of the *Historia Cœlestis,* and the new light which it throws, not only on the history of that transaction, but also on the whole of Flamsteed's labours in the science of Astronomy.'—P. xiii.

The perusal of these interesting documents induced Mr Baily to make further enquiries; and, having instituted a search at the Royal Observatory, he found, ' to his great surprise and delight, ' a vast mass of manuscript books, papers, and letters, belonging ' to Flamsteed, which had been lying on the shelves of the li- ' brary, for the last sixty years, unnoticed and unknown.' These manuscripts belonged to government, having been purchased by the Board of Longitude, in 1771, on the recommendation of the Royal Society.

' They contain, amongst a mass of valuable matter, the *original entries,* not only of Flamsteed's astronomical observations, made at the Royal Observatory, but also those which he previously made at Derby and the Tower, as well as duplicate copies of the same—a great variety of computations connected with his astronomical labours and researches, more especially those from which the *British Catalogue* has been deduced—several of his catalogues, in various states of progress—many particulars relative to the history of his own life—the *original preface* that was intended for the third volume of the *Historia Cœlestis,* but which was suppressed by his editors—a vast collection of letters, from various individuals in this and in foreign countries, amongst which are *nearly the whole of Mr Sharp's answers,* to those of Flamsteed, already mentioned in the early part of this preface—together with much other matter, the nature of which will be best learned from an inspection of the Catalogue above alluded to ; nearly all of which (with the exception of the correspondence) are in Flamsteed's own handwriting.'—P. xv.

On examining the various documents which had thus fallen into his hands, Mr Baily soon perceived that the information they contained was equally novel and important. Flamsteed's catalogue of nearly 3000 stars, independently of its intrinsic value, is peculiarly interesting to astronomers, from its being the first that was computed from observations made with the telescope and micrometer. But, for various reasons, which had never yet been very satisfactorily explained, this monument of Flamsteed's labours, and indeed the whole of his works, were given to the world under circumstances of peculiar disadvantage. The catalogue, as is generally known, was first published under the care of Dr Halley, not only without the consent of the author, but in direct opposition to his wishes, and in spite of his remonstrances. It was also known, that Halley took the liberty of introducing considerable alterations—that Flamsteed

was so much dissatisfied with the performance that he undertook to reduce it anew, and publish it, together with his numerous observations, at his own expense—that he died whilst the work was in progress—and that it finally appeared at the expense of his widow, and through the exertions of two of his friends, who had been his assistants in the Observatory. These facts have long been matter of history; but the reasons which prevented him from publishing the catalogue himself in the first instance—the causes of his quarrel with Newton and the committee of the Royal Society, who were appointed by the Crown, visitors of the Observatory—the great difficulties he had to struggle against through want of proper support from the government—the zeal with which he prosecuted his important labours, in spite of ill health and impediments of various kinds—and the pecuniary sacrifices he made to procure instruments and assistance in the public service (all which circumstances are recorded and minutely detailed in the manuscripts), were either altogether unknown, or had been invidiously misrepresented.

Conceiving the vindication of a man, who had been treated with much neglect by the governments of his day, and whose labours reflected so much honour on the country, to be an act of public justice, Mr Baily addressed a letter to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, President of the Board of Visitors of the Royal Observatory, representing the circumstances, and suggesting the republication of the Catalogue, in a corrected form, accompanied by such portions of the papers as were necessary to place Flamsteed's character in its true light, or as tended to illustrate the scientific history of the period; and offering at the same time to take upon himself the labour of correcting the Catalogue, arranging and selecting the papers, and superintending the publication. This representation was transmitted by the Board to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, with a recommendation that it should be carried into effect; and the result has been the appearance of the sumptuous volume now before us. The whole impression, which was a very small one, has been distributed among the public libraries and scientific institutions, and individuals known to be interested in astronomical science.

The work consists of two distinct parts. The first part, besides an excellent preface by the editor, contains an account (or rather accounts—for there are no fewer than *seven* separate fragments) of Flamsteed's life and astronomical labours, written by himself; and followed by an appendix of 258 pages, consisting of correspondence with Sir Jonas Moore, Sir Christopher Wren, Dr Wallis, Sir Isaac Newton, Dr Halley, Dr Arbuth-

not, Mr Sharp, and other celebrated men of that time; besides various other documents, illustrative of the facts stated in the autobiography. Most of these letters and documents were found in the collections we have above alluded to; but Mr Baily, in order to render the work as complete as possible, extended his researches to various other quarters where information was likely to be obtained. He informs us that he had free access to all the documents in the British Museum; that he procured a search to be made in the several libraries at Oxford; examined the collection of Newton's MS. letters preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and was permitted to inspect the valuable collection of Newton MSS. belonging to the Earl of Portsmouth. In the course of his enquiries, he met with several interesting documents connected with his subject, which had never yet been published, and which have been incorporated in the present volume. The whole collection forms one of the most remarkable literary productions ever given to the world.

The second part of the volume contains the *British Catalogue*, corrected and enlarged, with a very valuable *Introduction* by Mr Baily, describing the mode in which it was originally constructed, and the nature of the corrections and additions that have now been made; various *Notes* from the same quarter, of great interest to the practical astronomer; and several *Tables* to aid the computer who would compare the places of Flamsteed's stars with those of modern catalogues. Of the manner in which the editor has executed this laborious, and, in a scientific point of view, most important part of his task, it would be difficult to speak in terms of too high praise. But our present concern is with Flamsteed's history.

At first view it must appear extraordinary, that the real circumstances of transactions of so public a nature as those here detailed, should have remained so long unknown, or rather should have been forgotten; for it appears they did not escape remark at the time. The explanation, however, is easy. Flamsteed had the misfortune to live in a state of violent hostility with men, who, from their eminent position in the scientific world, exercised much influence on public opinion; and such meagre and imperfect accounts of the circumstances as have been hitherto known, have come to us indirectly through the biographers and eulogists of his enemies. Flamsteed has never been heard in his own defence; for the *vindication* which he prepared in the last years of his life, and intended to form the preface to his *Historia Cœlestis*, was suppressed by his editors; either from regard to the feelings of the eminent individuals (then alive) against whom he

brings forward so many heavy accusations, or perhaps, from a conviction that his statements were in some degree overcharged, and a colouring given to transactions susceptible of a more favourable explanation. The latter was probably the chief reason; for there is sufficient evidence that neither Crosthwait nor Sharp, who jointly took charge of the publication, entertained any favourable regard for Halley, whose conduct is most severely reprobated. On the other hand, Flamsteed's charges are preferred in a manner which could not fail to render them peculiarly offensive, and are sometimes exaggerated to a degree that at the present time makes them appear almost ludicrous. But the reasons, whatever they were, which prompted the suppression of the original preface, have long ceased to exist; and justice to the memory of Flamsteed requires the truth to be told. We therefore think the editor has exercised a sound discretion, both in bringing the whole case before the public, and in adopting the present mode of doing it. Instead of presenting us with a narrative of his own, Flamsteed is himself brought into court, and allowed to make his own statement in his own manner, and in his own words; —and, if he occasionally indulges in strictures on the conduct of his contemporaries with a severity which the occasion does not seem to call for, and uses language that cannot, under any circumstances or state of manners, be justified, some allowance will be made for the provocation he received, and for a temper whose constitutional irascibility was increased by almost continual ill health. Above all, it will not be forgotten, that his Letters, in which these offences against good taste are most conspicuous, were written to his confidential friends, and certainly not with the remotest intention of their being brought before the public.

Flamsteed's autobiography commences with the hour of his birth; for, as he remarks, 'ingenious men are much delighted to 'know both the beginnings and the progresses of their studies, 'and the circumstances of their lives, whom God has made emi-'nent in the world.'

'I was born at Denby (five miles from Derby), in Derbyshire, August 19, 1646, at a quarter of an hour past seven at night; as I find in some old notes of my father's, who was the third and youngest son of Mr William Flamsteed of Little Hallam, in Derbyshire. My mother, Mary, was the daughter of Mr John Spateman of Derby. In my infancy, sickly. I was educated (at the free school) at Derby, where my father lived (till sixteen years old. My father removed his family to Denby, because the sickness was then in Derby). At fourteen years of age, when I was nearly arrived to be at the head of the free school, visited with a fit of sickness, that was followed with a consumption, and other distempers; which yet did not so much hinder me in my learning but that I still kept my station till the form broke up, and some of my fellows went to the

Universities: for which, though I was designed, my father thought it not advisable to send me, by reason of my distemper.'—Pp. 25, 26.

He further tells us, that 'while languishing at home,' after he had left school, he had Sacrobosco *de Spæra* put into his hands, from which, and some of the other common works on astromony to be met with in those days, he derived the elements of his mathematical and astronomical knowledge. At the age of nineteen, having found no benefit from the advice of his physicians, and his weakness continuing, he undertook a journey into Ireland, to be *touched* by a celebrated empiric who cured his patients 'by the stroke of 'his hands, without the application of any medicine.' But though he was 'the eyewitness of several cures,' it was not his good fortune to derive any benefit from the operation. On his return to Derby, he resumed his studies in astronomy; he also dipped a little into astrology,—and he states as the result of his experience in this dark science, that he found astrology 'to give generally 'strong conjectural hints, not perfect declarations.' In the year 1669 he entered into correspondence with the Royal Society, by presenting to it a collection of occultations of the fixed stars by the moon, which he had computed from the Caroline Tables. This contribution was favourably received by the Society, and procured him the friendship of Mr Oldenburg and Mr Collins, two of its most distinguished members. Having now made himself known as an astronomer to some of the most eminent scientific characters of that day, he undertook a journey to London in 1670, in order to become personally acquainted with them; and on this occasion was introduced to Sir Jonas Moore, the Surveyor of the Ordnance, who became his firm friend and patron. On his way home he visited Barrow and Newton at Cambridge, and enrolled himself a student in Jesus College. In what manner he employed his time at Cambridge, or whether he resided there at all, we have no distinct intimation; but his astronomical studies appear to have sustained no interruption; for in the following year we find him erecting telescopes at Derby, and busily engaged in measuring the diameters of the moon and planets, and making such other observations as his instruments were fit for, and also undertaking to compute tables of the moon from the theory of Horrox. By this time he had rendered himself probably the best practical astronomer in England; and the subjects to which he devoted himself being of a popular kind, he began to acquire a great reputation. Having taken his degree at Cambridge in 1674, he designed to enter the Church, and to settle on a small living near Derby, in the gift of a friend of his father. In the mean time, however, he was invited to London by Sir Jonas Moore, who, he says, designed for him some em-

ployment 'wherein he might be helpful to his son, for whom he 'had procured the reversion of his place;' but the son's temper rendering this no desirable situation, and Flamsteed persisting in his resolution to take orders, a royal warrant was obtained through Sir Jonas' interest, appointing him King's Astronomer, with a salary of £100 a-year, payable by the Board of Ordnance. At the Easter following he was ordained at Ely House by Bishop Gunning.*

From Flamsteed's account it would appear that the establishment of the Royal Observatory, at that time at least, was owing, in a great measure, to an accident. A Frenchman, calling himself the Sieur de St Pierre, proposed a method of determining the longitude at sea, and through the interest of the Duchess of Portsmouth, then a favourite at Court, procured a commission

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* An *anecdote* has been told of Flamsteed's early life, which, though demonstrated by Mr Baily to be an entire fabrication, we cannot properly avoid mentioning. It is related by Mr Hutton, in his History of Derby (London, 1791), that Flamsteed, with some degenerate companions, was accused of being concerned in a highway robbery, for which he was tried, and *condemned to be hanged;* but that circumstances and friends being in his favour, he received a pardon from King Charles II. Mr Hutton farther says, that he received the anecdote from John Webb, who was an intimate acquaintance of Flamsteed's. Mr Baily has carefully sifted the particulars of this relation, and produced conclusive arguments to prove that the alleged fact could never have taken place. Without dwelling on the improbability of Mr Webb's statement, from the universal silence in every quarter of all Flamsteed's contemporaries on the subject, it will be enough to state, that, as King Charles II. was restored in 1660, the circumstance could not have happened *before* that year (and Flamsteed was then only fourteen years old); and that as he had become a public character before 1770, it would not have happened *after* without being generally known. Mr Baily therefore applied at the State Paper Office to be informed whether any trace of a pardon granted by King Charles, between those years, existed among the public records. The Deputy Keeper, the late Mr Lemon, readily entered into his views, and undertook the search himself. The result was communicated to Mr Baily in the following words:—

'I have myself (Mr Lemon) made a careful search through the whole of our warrant books, petitions, references, reports, and domestic correspondence, from 1660 to 1670 inclusive, and *can state in the most explicit manner*, that there is no trace of any grant of pardon to the celebrated John Flamsteed to be found in them; nor do I believe that any such ever existed; for if it had, it *must* have been entered amongst our warrants or petitions, the series of which, at that period, in my custody, is particularly perfect.'

from the King to Lord Brouncker and others, to examine the project, and report thereon to his Majesty. The method which he proposed was plausible and good in theory,—depending on a comparison of the moon's place with those of fixed stars, whose positions were well determined; but at that time useless, as neither the positions of the stars nor the moon's path were known with sufficient accuracy for such a determination. Flamsteed, who was much better acquainted with the actual state of astronomy, immediately perceived what was wanting, and addressed a letter to the Commissioners, representing that the catalogue of Tycho (the only one then in the hands of astronomers) was uncertain to three or four minutes, and often in error to the extent of ten minutes; and that, so far from the moon's path being sufficiently well known for the determination of the longitude, the best lunar tables then existing differed a quarter, if not a third, of a degree from the heavens. This letter was shown to the King, who, 'startled at the assertion of the fixed 'stars' places being false in the catalogue, said, with some vehe-'mence, "he must have them anew observed, examined, and cor-'rected, for the use of his seamen;" and further (when it was 'urged to him how necessary it was to have a good stock of 'observations taken for correcting the motions of the moon and 'planets), with the same earnestness "he must have it done." 'And when it was asked who could, or who should do it? "The 'person," says he, "who informs you of them." Whereupon I 'was appointed with the incompetent allowance aforementioned, 'but with the assurances, at the same time, of such farther addi-'tions as thereafter should be found requisite for carrying on the 'work.'—P. 38.

These assurances were never fulfilled during the life of Flamsteed. Whatever were the views of Sir Jonas Moore and the other promoters of the Observatory respecting the requisites for an astronomical establishment, the government contented itself with paying the astronomer the miserable allowance of £100 a-year, and providing him with a residence in Greenwich Park. Flamsteed demanded the instruments and assistance necessary for carrying on a complete series of observations—they were promised, but never granted. All the instruments which he ever used were made by his own hands, or erected at his own expense, or given to him by Sir Jonas Moore; the public did not even defray the expense of repairing them. The only assistance afforded him was a labourer in ordinary from the Tower; and he esteemed it a favour when, twenty years after his appointment, the officers of the Ordnance allowed him to name his own assistant. 'I valued it the more,' he says, 'because it made me

'easy, and furnished me with an ingenious and tractable youth, 'instead of a surly labourer.' For some years after his appointment, he appears to have entertained an apprehension that the allowance to the Observatory, inadequate as it was, would be withdrawn. In a letter, written to Sir Jonas Moore in 1678, he says, 'I cannot conceive you have any real design to stop my 'salary, which I have earned by labour harder than thrashing.' Some months after he writes to Dr Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, that his salary had been in great danger of total retrenchment; that he had been introduced to the King at Whitehall for the purpose of soliciting its continuance, and that his Majesty had said he 'would take care of it;' and he adds, that on this account he was more intent on his observations than ever, 'that 'I may lay in a stock, and have the more to work upon in a coun-'try retirement, in case such a thing as a retrenchment should 'force me from my instruments, and interrupt the series of my 'observations.'—P. 119. Such was the support given in its infancy to an establishment of great national importance, and which, directed by a succession of eminent men, has been productive, as has been well remarked, of more real service to astronomy and navigation than all the other establishments of a similar kind in Europe put together. Under the circumstances, it may be regarded as a fortunate event that a person of Flamsteed's enthusiastic temperament was appointed to the office. Had the choice fallen on a man less ardently devoted to astronomy, less disinterested in pecuniary matters, or even less fortunate in being provided with the means of procuring, at his own expense, the apparatus and assistance which the government parsimoniously withheld from him, it is probable that the Observatory would have been abandoned, and the office of Astronomer Royal, for many years after, been attended with as little honour or advantage to the country as that of Poet Laureat, or any other pageant of royalty.

Flamsteed received his appointment in March 1675; the Observatory was begun in August the same year; he removed to it in July 1676; and continued there, in active discharge of the duties of the office, till his death in December 1719. The instruments with which he commenced his labours were, an iron sextant of seven feet radius, two clocks given him by Sir Jonas Moore, and a quadrant of three feet radius, with two telescopes, which he brought with him from Derby. With such an apparatus, all he could attempt was to measure the intermutual distances, or relative positions of the stars; he had no means of determining their absolute places. Finding all his complaints 'insignificant 'in these ticklish times,' and all his endeavours to obtain fixed meridional instruments fruitless, he at length resolved to make a

mural arc at his own expense. Accordingly, an arc was erected and divided by himself in 1683; but it proved a failure, and he was consequently obliged to confine himself to the sextant for some years longer. Having in the mean time been preferred to the living of Burstow, in Surrey, and having inherited some property from his father, he determined on making another attempt to provide such an instrument as was now become absolutely necessary for his farther progress. When about to put this design into execution, he had the good fortune to engage the assistance of Mr Abraham Sharp, one of the best calculators, perhaps, that ever lived, and (what to Flamsteed was at that time a still more valuable talent) also a most expert and skilful mechanic. After fourteen months' labour, an arc was set up and divided with great care by Sharp, which was found on trial to answer all their expectations. It was finished in October 1689; and it is to this epoch that we may properly refer the commencement of astronomy in the Royal Observatory of Greenwich. 'From this 'moment,' says Mr Baily, 'every thing which Flamsteed did, 'every observation that he made, assumed a tangible and per- 'manent form, and was available to some useful purpose; his pre- 'ceding observations being only subsidiary, and dependent on 'results to be afterwards deduced from some fixed instrument of 'this kind, which he had long sought for. It was at this point 'only that the observatory could be considered as complete; 'and from this period we must date the commencement of his 'valuable and fundamental observations.'—P. xxix.

In order to form a just estimate of the value of Flamsteed's astronomical labours, it is necessary to have regard, not only to the state of the science at that time, but also to the means at his command, and the adverse circumstances against which he had to struggle. His health, during his whole life, continued feeble, and he was frequently on that account obliged to discontinue his observations for months together. For the first fifteen years after his appointment to the observatory, a great portion of his time was consumed in the tedious computations required for reducing his observations made with the sextant. He was, besides, distracted with the business of teaching, both, it would appear, as a part of his official duty, and as a means of increasing his inadequate salary. To all this was added the unfortunate quarrel with Newton and Halley about the publication of the catalogue and observations, which for many years withdrew his attention from his proper business, and harassed and exhausted his mind. With so many impediments to overcome, the formation of a catalogue of 3000 stars, and the vast collection of observations which he left of the moon and planets, may be regarded as one of the noblest

examples of energy and perseverance. 'It is a matter of astonish-
'ment,' says Mr Baily, 'that he accomplished so much, consider-
'ing his slender means, and the vexations which he continually
'experienced.' Nevertheless, his reputation, and claims on the gratitude of posterity, rest solely on his industry and perseverance in well-directed exertions. If we consider the vast progress that was made in astronomy from the time of Tycho, or rather Hevelius, to Bradley, and the numerous inventions and discoveries by which every branch of it was enriched, we can scarcely find one either in respect of theory, or of instruments, or of methods of observation or computation, to which he can justly lay claim. Delambre, indeed, allows him the merit of having been the first who practised the method of determining the place of the equinoxes from observed equal declinations of the sun; but if we except this, which, moreover, was an easy corollary from Picard's then well-known method of determining the time from observations of equal altitudes, it would be difficult to show that he made a single step in advance of his age. The character of his mind is more remarkable for activity, and that sort of sagacity which leads to practical skill, than for any of the higher endowments. In point of genius, his name is not to be mentioned with that of Newton; he was immeasurably inferior even to his rival, Halley. His mathematical knowledge, even for the time, appears to have been extremely limited. He set no value on the physical speculations of Newton, and evidently never understood them. He sneers at his 'conceptions' about gravity, calls him 'our great pretender,' carps at the lunar theory, does not 'relish 'the small equations,' and determines 'to lay these crotchets of 'Newton aside.' On no occasion does he attempt to establish a principle, or refer a phenomenon to gravitation; and he left to one of his successors the two most brilliant discoveries of modern astronomy, the aberration and nutation, though both were within his reach. In fact, he himself clearly pointed out the effect of the former, and even defined its amount; but he mistook (in common, however, with others) the phenomenon for the effect of parallax, although the simplest mathematical considerations might have shown him that parallax would be manifested in quite a different manner. Newton suggested to him the importance of noticing the state of the barometer and thermometer at the time of the observations, but he neglected the good advice. Even in respect of instrumental accuracy, he perhaps came rather behind than preceded the attainments of his day. But if Flamsteed took no part in the great discoveries which in the course of a single century so completely changed the state of astronomy, he was at least one of the most ardent and diligent

observers that ever lived. He had the sagacity to perceive distinctly the path, then almost untrodden, in which his labours could be most usefully exerted; and he deserves the praise of having followed it with steadfastness, and even pertinacity, during a long life, in the face of difficulties and discouragements which would have repelled with disgust a man of less resolute purpose. His title to be enrolled among the great benefactors of astronomy is founded on the multitude of his observations, and the noble efforts he made to reduce and publish them. 'His name,' says Delambre, 'will be eternally cited like those of Hipparchus and 'Tycho, both of whom as an observer he surpassed, without, how-'ever, in many respects equalling the first, who preceded him by 'nineteen centuries.'

Flamsteed was scarcely established in the Observatory when he began to be importuned with demands to publish his observations. In 1684, before his mural arc was erected, and consequently before he possessed an instrument by which the absolute position of a star could be determined, we find him complaining that 'some people, to make him uneasy, others out of a sincere 'desire to see the happy progress of his studies, not understand-'ing amid what hard circumstances he lived, called hard upon him 'to print his observations.' It was in vain that he answered his work was imperfect so long as he could merely observe relative positions; and that it was necessary, in order to produce a useful catalogue, to be first provided with an instrument capable of measuring directly the right ascensions and zenith distances of his determining stars. His reasons did not give satisfaction,—probably because they were not understood; and in the mean time, the impatience of those persons who took an interest in the progress of astronomy, to see some results from the Observatory, was increased by his giving out that he was engaged in the preparation of a catalogue of stars. He appears to have been much disturbed by the remarks to which he was exposed in reference to this subject; for, in a letter to Sir Isaac Newton, dated 24th February, 1691–2, after giving a detailed account of his occupations, and describing the progress he had made in preparing the catalogue, he says—

'Tell me now sincerely (for I know you will do it), if you think it would be prudently done of me to leave off where I am, whilst I have strength and vigour (God be praised) to prosecute them? Would it, I say, be wisely done of me, to cease my designed observations of the constellations that yet remain to be taken or completed, to transcribe what I have done for the press, and to attend to it for twelve months, to gain a little present reputation? Would not even those men, who ask so peevishly why I do not print them? would not they tell me I might

have staid another year or two, for all their idle talk, and have given them the whole complete? '—P. 131.

A subsequent passage in the same letter shows that Flamsteed attributed the annoyance he received on this subject to the instigations of Halley; and the strong censure he passes on Halley's character, proves that the feelings of jealousy and hatred which are so remarkably exhibited in all the subsequent proceedings had already taken deep hold of his mind.

'It only remains that I give you the answer I would make to our suggesting *friend*, when he asks me why I do not print my observations? 'Tis first, I do not find myself under any obligations to receive instructions what to do or be governed by him and his associates the *Muss's*'—(A term probably meant for those who use the word *must*, in a dictatorial sense). 'Secondly, I would not thrust such an incomplete catalogue on the world as he has done from St Helena: nor be obliged to compliment the best reputed astronomers of our time (as he has done all of them), by telling them that, had their catalogues been extant, he would have called his a supplement to theirs, as he has done (for want of them) of Tycho's. Nor will I give any one occasion to tell the world I have erred a 60th part of what La Hire has published he does in a star of the Crosiers and one of the Centaur: that I understand what I have to do much better than he; and when, and how, it will be best for me to publish my own labours: that I will not be beholden to him for his assistance or advice: that if he wants employment for his time, he may go on with his sea projects, or square the superfices of cylindric ungulas: find reasons for the change of the variation, or give us a true account of all his St Helena exploits; and that he had better do it, than buffoon those to the Society to whom he has been more obliged than he dares acknowledge: that he has more of mine in his hands already, than he will either own or restore; and that I have no esteem of a man who has lost his reputation, both for skill, candour, and ingenuity, by silly tricks, ingratitude, and foolish prate: and that I value not all, or any of the shame of him and his infidel companions; being very well satisfied that if Christ and his apostles were to walk again upon earth, they should not escape free from the calumnies of their venomous tongues. But I hate his ill manners, not the man: were he either honest, or but civil, there is none in whose company I could rather desire to be.'—Pp. 132–133.

For some years after the date of this letter we hear nothing more of his 'being asked to print,' and in the mean time the observations were carried on vigorously, and the preparation of the catalogue advanced steadily, and as rapidly as his health and means would permit. But Flamsteed was one of those unhappy individuals who, from an unfortunate idiosyncrasy, are never for any length of time free from some cause or other of annoyance and molestation. In 1694, Newton applied to him to be furnished with observations of the moon for the purpose of

rectifying the lunar theory; and a correspondence ensued, which, though it began with apparently good feelings on both sides, terminated in a complete breach of their friendship. The origin of this affair, and Newton's conduct in it, is described by him as follows:—

'1694. Saturday, September 1st. Mr Newton came to visit me. Esteeming him an obliged friend, I showed him about 150 places of the moon, derived from my observations and tables by myself, and servants hired at my own expense, with the differences or errors, in three synopses written on large sheets of paper, in order to correct the theory of her motions. On his earnest request I lent them to him to take copies of them (as I did not doubt but that by their help he would be able to correct the lunar theory), upon these two conditions, however: 1st, That he should not impart or communicate them to any body without my consent: for the places of the moon deduced from the observations (I told him) were got with the help of a small catalogue of fixed stars made from observations taken with the sextant only, and rectified to the beginning of the year 1686; whereby I found their places were not so correct as they ought to be; and that when the stars were rectified by the new instrument, I would calculate the moon's places anew, and then should be ready to impart them both to him and to the public. 2d, That he should not in the first instance impart the result of what he derived from them to any body but myself; for, since I saved him all the labour of calculating the moon's place both from the observations and tables, it was not just that he should give the result of my pains (the correction of the theory I had furnished with numbers) to any other but myself. All this he approved; and by a letter of his, confessed. Nevertheless, he imparted what he derived from them, both to Dr Gregory and Mr Halley, *contra datam fidem*. The first of these conditions I was not much concerned whether he kept or not; but he has, I believe, kept it. The latter (which was the most material) he has forgot or broke, through the insinuation, I fear, of some persons that were little his friends till they saw what friends he had in the government; and I presume will be less so, when they see them laid aside.'—Pp. 61–62.

In the course of the correspondence which followed this occurrence, the alteration in the mutual feelings of the two parties is gradually developed. Newton's letters, at the commencement, are written in a spirit of kindly feeling; though it is evident, from many expressions, that he was displeased with the tone Flamsteed thought fit to adopt with regard to Halley. In a letter, dated October, 1694, after informing Flamsteed that Halley had desired to see his lunar observations, Newton continues,—'I told 'him he must not take it ill if I refused him that, because I stood 'engaged to communicate them to nobody without your con-'sent. I am very glad there is like to be a new correspondence 'between you, and hope it will end in friendship.'—(P. 137.)

In a like spirit he writes, in the following January, 'I forbore to 'answer your first enquiry about it' (a work of Viviani's), 'because 'I feared it might tend to widen the breach between you and 'Mr Halley, which I would rather reconcile if it were in my 'power. And now I hope that what I have told you will not be 'made use of to that purpose, lest it should also do me an in-'jury.'—P. 149. The following extract from a letter of Newton's, in reply to an insinuation made by Flamsteed, that the result of the observations had been imparted to Halley, exhibits an evident desire to soothe and conciliate Flamsteed:—

'As for your observations, you know I cannot communicate them to any body, and much less publish them, without your consent. But if I should perfect the moon's theory, and you should think fit to give me leave to publish your observations with it, you may rest assured that I should make a faithful and honourable acknowledgment of their author, with a just character of their exactness above any others yet extant. In the former edition of my book, you may remember that you communicated some things to me, and I hope the acknowledgments I made of your communications were to your satisfaction; and you may be assured I shall not be less just to you for the future. For all the world knows that I make no observations myself, and therefore I must of necessity acknowledge their author: and if I do not make a handsome acknowledgment, they will reckon me an ungrateful clown.'—P. 151.

The spirit in which Flamsteed met these advances, will be best explained by his own account of what took place.

'This request of Mr Newton for more observations, caused an intercourse of letters between us, wherein I imparted to him about 100 more of the moon's places; which was more than he could reasonably expect from one in my circumstances of constant business and ill health. The year following (1695), I was ill all the year with a periodical headach; which was carried off in September by a violent fit of my dreadful distemper, the stone. In the mean time, frequent letters passed between me and Mr Newton, who ceased not to importune me (though he was informed of my illness), for more observations; and with that earnestness that looked as if he thought he had a right to command them; and had about fifty more imparted to him. But I did not think myself obliged to employ my pains to serve a person that was so inconsiderate as to presume he had a right to that which was only a courtesy.'—Pp. 62–3.

From this it is abundantly evident that Flamsteed considered the communication of the observations to Newton merely in the light of a personal favour. The following extract illustrates in a curious manner the value which he set on Newton's theoretical researches; and shows that the opinion which he entertained was, that Newton's object in requesting these lunar observations, was to rob *him* of the honour of his labours:—

'Tis given out at Oxford, that Mr Newton has improved his doctrine of gravity so far, that he can answer all my lunar observations exceeding nearly; and that now there is little need of them, since all the inequalities of the moon's motions may be discovered by the sole laws of gravitation without them. I said nothing of this, because I had moved him enough with what I have said about the comets: but to the honest man that told me of it, with some indignation I answered that he had been as many years upon this thing as I had been on the constellations and planets altogether; that he had made lunar tables once to answer his conceived laws,—but when he came to compare them with the heavens (that is, the moon's observed places), he found he had mistook, and was forced to throw them all aside; that I had imparted above 200 of her observed places to him, which one would think should be sufficient to limit any theory by; and since he has altered and suited his theory till it fitted these observations, 'tis no wonder that it represents them: but still he is more beholden to them for it than he is to his speculations about gravity, which had misled him. Mr Hobbs boasted that his laws were agreeable to those of Moses. Dr Eachards tells him he doubted not of it; for being drawn from Moses' works, and copied into his, he might be sure they would agree, except the laws of Moses were flown, which he was sure they were not.'—*Letter to Lowthorp* (May 10, 1700), p. 176.

This disposition on the part of Flamsteed to withhold the observations, and the motive from which it arose, could not fail to be perceived by Newton, who thus expresses his indignation in a letter, dated Cambridge, July 9, 1695:—

'After I had helped you where you had stuck in your three great works—that of the *Theory of Jupiter's Satellites*, that of your *Catalogue of the Fixed Stars*, and that of calculating *the moon's places from observations*, and in all these things freely communicated to you what was perfect in its kinds (so far as I could make it), and *of more value than many observations*, and what (in one of them) cost me above two months' hard labour, which I should never have undertaken but on your account, and which I told you I undertook, that I might have something to return you for the observations you then gave me hopes of; and yet, when I had done, saw *no prospect of obtaining them*, or of getting your *synopses verified*, I despaired of compassing the moon's theory, and had thoughts of giving it over as a thing impracticable, and occasionally told a friend so, who then made me a visit. But now you offer me those observations, which were made before the year 1690, I thankfully accept of your offer,' &c.—Pp. 157-8.

Notwithstanding this ebullition, occasioned probably by a momentary feeling of disappointment at not being able to obtain the observations he required, Newton continued for some time longer to write to Flamsteed in the same friendly terms as formerly; but his prejudices were now completely roused, and an incident, trifling in itself, which occurred soon afterwards, called

forth a still more decided display of resentment and hostile feeling. Dr Wallis, being about to publish the third volume of his *Tracts,* requested Flamsteed to furnish him with a paper he had written on the parallax of the earth's orbit, and to allow it to be printed in the volume. Flamsteed acceded to the request; and among the remarks which he introduced, he mentioned the fact of his having formerly supplied Newton with 150 computed places of the moon, to enable him to correct his lunar theory. This was communicated by Dr Gregory to Newton, who took great offence at the unauthorized mention of his name, and wrote to Flamsteed the letter which follows :—

'*Jermyn Street, Jan.* 6, 1698-9.

'Sir,—Upon hearing occasionally that you had sent a letter to Dr Wallis about the parallax of the fixed stars to be printed, and that you had mentioned me therein with respect to the theory of the moon, I was concerned to be publicly brought upon the stage about what, perhaps, will never be fitted for the public, and thereby the world put into an expectation of what, perhaps, they are never like to have. I do not love to be printed upon every occasion, much less to be dunned and teased by foreigners about mathematical things, or to be thought by our own people to be trifling away my time about them, when I should be about the King's business; and, therefore, I desired Dr Gregory to write to Dr Wallis against printing that clause, which related to that theory, and mentioned me about it. You may let the world know, if you please, how well you are stored with observations of all sorts, and what calculations you have made towards rectifying the theories of the heavenly motions. But there may be cases wherein your friends should not be published without their leave; and therefore I hope you will so order the matter, that I may not, on this occasion, be brought upon the stage.—I am your humble servant,

'Is. Newton.'

We must here notice an error, pointed out by Mr Baily, into which Sir David Brewster has fallen respecting this letter, in his able *Life of Sir Isaac Newton.* In a note at page 243 of that work an extract from it is given; and 'through some 'singular error or confusion' (as Mr Baily expresses it) it is there quoted, not as a letter written by Newton, but as a letter of Flamsteed's to Newton, and moreover described as *being characteristic of Flamsteed's manner.* Flamsteed was indeed sufficiently prompt to express himself strongly regarding conduct that gave him offence; and sufficiently prone to entertain exaggerated ideas of the importance of his own labours; but in the present instance, the advantages of manner, as well as of sound notions of the importance of astronomical observations, were all on his own side.

'I wonder,' he says in his reply to Newton, 'that hints should drop from your pen, as if you looked on my business as *trifling*. You thought it not so, surely, when you resided at Cambridge. Its property is not altered: I think it has produced something considerable already, and may do more, if I can but procure help to work up the observations I have under my hands, which it was one of the designs of my *letter to Dr Wallis* to move for. I doubt not but it will be of some use to our ingenious travellers and sailors, and other persons that come after me will think their time as little misspent in these studies as those did that have gone before me. The works of the Eternal Providence, I hope, will be a little better understood through your labours and mine, than they were formerly. Think me not proud for this expression: I look on pride as the worst of sins—humility as the greatest virtue. This makes me excuse small faults in all mankind, bear great injuries without resentment, and resolve to maintain a real friendship with ingenious men—to assist them what lies in my power, without the regard of any interest but that of doing good by obliging them.'—P. 169.

He was evidently hurt by Newton's remarks, and ascribes the cause to the officious interference of Gregory, whose motives for carrying the information to Newton he thus describes in a letter to Dr Wallis (Jan. 7, 1698–9), in which he requests him to alter the 'offensive, innocent paragraph:'—

'The truth is, the Doctor is suing for the mathematical tutorship to the young Duke of Gloucester, who will not have occasion for a tutor in mathematics this four or five years. He knows I was named for that employ when the settling of his household was first discoursed of, and that I have an interest, though I do not look after it, for reasons not to be recited in this letter. He hopes to gain it by his interest with the Bishop of Salisbury, and that Mr Newton may be of good use to him by procuring him the favour of Mr Montague. For this reason he has taken the occasion to ingratiate with Mr Newton, by suggesting I have wrote something that may derogate from him; but I am apt to believe that he will rather injure than help himself by this piece of flattery.'—P. 167.

Though it is evident from these repeated outbreakings that all sincere friendship, and even respect, for each other, was now at an end, the appearances of civility were not yet entirely thrown aside. Up to this time, Flamsteed appears to have entertained some sentiments of respect for Newton, and to have attributed Newton's conduct towards him to the instigation of others, and particularly Halley; for in May, 1700, he says, in a letter to Mr Lowthorp, 'He is so possessed with prejudices against me by 'some people's suggestions whom you know well, that I can 'have no free discourse with him.' And again—'I believe him 'to be a good man at the bottom, but, through his natural tem- 'per, suspicious, and too easy to be possessed with calumnies, es-

'pecially such as are impressed with raillery.'—P. 175. But the part which Newton took in the publication of the observations soon after this, and of which we shall now proceed to give an account, destroyed every remaining favourable sentiment.

'Whilst Mr Flamsteed was busied in the laborious work of the catalogue of the fixed stars, and forced often to watch and labour by night, to fetch the materials for it from the heavens, that were to be employed by day, he often, on Sir Isaac Newton's instances, furnished him with observations of the moon's places, in order to carry on his correction of the lunar theory. A civil correspondence was carried on between them; only Mr Flamsteed could not but take notice, that as Sir Isaac was advanced in place, so he raised himself in his conversation, and became more magisterial. At last, finding that Mr Flamsteed had advanced far in his designed catalogue by the help of his country calculators, that he had made new lunar tables, and was daily advancing in the other planets, Sir Isaac Newton came to see him (Tuesday, April 11, 1704); and desiring, after dinner, to be shown in what forwardness his work was, had so much of the catalogue of the fixed stars laid open before him as was then finished; together with the maps of the constellations, with those drawn by T. Weston and P. Van Somer; as also his collection of the observed places of Saturn and Jupiter with the Rodolphine numbers. Having viewed them well, he told Mr Flamsteed he would (*i. e.* he was desirous to) recommend them to the Prince [Prince George of Denmark] *privately*. Mr Flamsteed (who had long been sensible of his partiality, and heard how his two flatterers cried Sir Isaac's performances up, was sensible of the snare in the word *privately*) answered that would not do; and (upon Sir Isaac's demanding "Why not?") that then the Prince's attendants would tell him these were but curiosities of no great use, and persuade him to save that expense, that there might be the more for them to beg of him; and that the recommendation must be made *publicly* to prevent any such suggestions. Sir Isaac apprehended right, that he was understood, and his designs defeated, and so took his leave, not well satisfied with the refusal.'—P. 69.

In another place, where he gives a more circumstantial account of this visit of Newton's to the Observatory, he adds—

'I was surprised at this proposition. I had formerly tried his temper, and always found him insidious, ambitious, and excessively covetous of praise, and impatient of contradiction. I had taken notice of some faults in the fourth book of his *Principia:* which, instead of thanking me for, he resented ill. Yet was [so] presumptuous, that he sometimes dared to ask, "why I did not hold my tongue." I considered that if I granted what he desired, I should put myself wholly into his power, or be at his mercy, who might spoil all that came into his hands, or put me to unnecessary trouble and vexation about my own labours; and all the while pretend that he did it to amend faults, where none were but what were unavoidable, or easy to be corrected, and therefore excusable. I had further irritated him by not concealing some truths that are since published in print, and notoriously known; and therefore civilly refused

what he desired. But still he told me he would recommend them to the Prince, and parted with me in the evening with a short expression of very good advice, "Do all the good in your power;" which it would have been very happy for him if he had followed himself, and has been the rule of my life from my infancy; though I do not know that it ever has been of his.'—Pp. 73, 74.

After this refusal to avail himself of Newton's interest with the Prince, Flamsteed says, 'I heard no more of his recommendations. On the contrary, his flatterers, and such small mathematicians about London as hoped to get themselves esteemed very skilful by crying up his book, began to ask "why I did not print?" as if I were obliged to publish my works just when they pleased, though they understood no more of my works than they did of his book which they so much cried up.'—P. 74. But the subject now began to excite a more general interest, and Flamsteed, finding that some of his acquaintances 'had fallen into a suspicion that his labours were not what might reasonably be expected of him,' prepared an estimate of the number of printed pages the work would fill, and sent it to a friend, who showed it at a meeting of the Royal Society. The society resolved to recommend the publication of the work to the Prince, who had recently been elected a Fellow, and a committee was accordingly appointed for that purpose. The Prince agreed to the request, and directed Mr Roberts, Sir C. Wren, Dr Gregory, and Dr Arbuthnot, with Mr Newton, to inspect the manuscripts and make the necessary arrangements for printing them. Flamsteed, however, did not expect the management of the publication would have been taken out of his own hands; and the very first act of the *referees* gave him the highest dissatisfaction. After examining the papers, they proceeded to draw up an estimate of the probable expense, in which they made no allowance for designing and engraving about fifty plates of the constellations, on which Flamsteed had bestowed great care, and which he considered a very important part of the work:—'I have caused some of my maps to be anew designed by an able workman; these I also showed him (Newton); they are very masterly done . . . These he seemed not to take much notice of; whether, because he is *no great judge of those things*, or out of discretion, I dare not pretend to judge; though I tell you they will be the glory of the work, and, next the catalogue, the usefullest part of it.'—P. 217. (*Letter to Sharp, May* 4, 1704.) The inference which he draws from this omission is deserving of remark:—'Hereby I was convinced that Sir Isaac Newton was no friend to my work, and every step he took afterwards plainly proved, that whatever he pretended, his design was either to *gain the honour of all my*

'*pains to himself*, to make me come under to him (as Dr Gregory 'some time after expressed), or to spoil or sink it; which it was 'my chief concern and business, if possible, to prevent.'—P. 76. With such feelings it was not likely that Flamsteed would render the committee much willing assistance. We shall have occasion to remark still more extraordinary charges, founded on still weaker presumptions, in the course of the subsequent transactions. The following is the character he gives of Newton's coadjutors:—

'To screen himself from the just imputation and blame that would probably follow such disingenuous and ungrateful practice, he made use of these gentlemen, to whom he had got the inspection of my books of observations, ordered by the Prince, and called them the Prince's *referees*. Of these, Sir C. Wren was then about seventy years of age; and though he was a skilful person, yet being full of other business, he was sure to have him, who lived in his neighbourhood, to consent to all his orders, and subscribe them. Mr Roberts was an easy, good-natured man, but knew little of the business. Mr Aston had been fellow of the same (Trinity) college in Cambridge, at the same time with him, knew nothing of the business, lived in the Court, had been my friend and guest at the Observatory, was too much a courtier to withstand any one that had a noble patron in the Ministry, and therefore was taken into the number of referees, sometimes for special purposes. Dr Gregory, though he published a piece of astronomy, knew but very little of that part of it that was cultivated here. Nor was Dr Arbuthnot skilled in it: but being one of the Prince's physicians, he was taken in to serve Sir Isaac Newton's purposes. He saw what was designed, and testified to me by some expressions, that he approved not such proceedings; promised once to assist me in a particular affair; and, though he met with obstructions, performed it handsomely.

'With these persons Sir Isaac Newton began to act his part, and carry on his designs. I dealt honestly and openly with him, as will appear by the copies of some letters I wrote to him upon several occasions; having no other design but to have my work handsomely printed, and as soon as possible; for the Prince was very infirm. But I soon perceived that he designed only to hinder the work by delays, or spoil or sink it, or force me to comply with his humour, and flatter him, and cry him up as Dr Gregory and Dr Halley did.'—Pp. 77, 78.

No sooner was the resolution taken to print the observations, than Flamsteed began to manifest great impatience at the delay, perhaps inevitable, which took place in completing the arrangements that were necessary for commencing a work of such magnitude and difficulty. Having at length agreed on the manner in which the printing was to be executed, the referees or rather Sir Isaac Newton, who appears to have taken on himself the whole management of the affair, determined to employ a contractor (or undertaker, as Flamsteed calls him), and Mr Churchhill, an eminent bookseller, was selected. Flamsteed objected

to this course; 'but Sir Isaac Newton was resolved to make 'friends at my cost. For as he ordered the matter, the under-'taker was here to reap the sole advantage of all my labours and 'great expenses.' It was in January, 1705, that the referees made their report to the Prince on the estimate for printing:—

'June the 11th following, Dr Gregory and myself, with Mr Churchill, dined at Sir Isaac Newton's, where they agreed to give Mr Churchill L.1, 14s. per sheet. They signed the agreement, but I would not, although they urged me much. I desired to be excused, for it was now plain to me that he designed not the good of the impression as my advantage, but to make a friend of a great name, by obliging a person I never had any acquaintance with, and enrich him at my cost.'—P. 79.

'Another reason for delay was, that Newton thought to work me to his ends by putting me to extraordinary charges in maintaining and paying an amanuensis and calculators myself at my own charges. But I resolved to bear this expense patiently, and defeat his designs.'—Id.

Still the work was not proceeded in:—

'Sir Isaac Newton became daily more perverse, and sought by several vexatious pretences to discourage me, and weary me if possible. I paid my calculators and amanuensis three quarters, without any present prospect of being any way reimbursed. But yet I had hopes, if once the press began to work, they would not find any new tricks or pretences to delay repaying me. But herein, too, I found myself mistaken: those that have begun to do ill things, never blush to do worse and worse to screen themselves. Sir Isaac Newton had still more to do, and was ready at coining new excuses and pretexts to cover his disingenuous and malicious practices. I had none but very honest and honourable designs in my mind. I met his cunning forecasts with sincere and honest answers, and thereby frustrated not a few of his malicious designs.'—Pp. 79–80.

It was next pretended that some errors had been discovered in the copy given in to the referees. Newton accordingly demanded that the *First Night Notes*, or original entries of the observations, should be put into his hands for the purpose of comparison. His demand was for once complied with by Flamsteed without hesition; 'because,' says he, 'I knew that he would be mistaken, 'and that they would not answer his design.' After this it was thought necessary to draw up articles of agreement between the referees, Flamsteed, and the undertaker; and, as further security, Newton insisted on Flamsteed putting into his hands such part of the catalogue as was already finished. But as these transactions are of importance in the sequel of the history, we will give them in Flamsteed's own words:—

'Though I had refused to handle any of the Prince's money but what was to repay my proper disbursements, and Sir Isaac Newton had granted that then it was not necessary I should sign any agreement with the

referees, yet now he became very positive for articles. He had said to some of his confidants, "that he would hamper me with articles." It had come to my ears: and therefore, on his urging me, I drew up some for the undertaker to sign; as, that he should print only 400 copies; that he should have no interest in the original, &c. But these were not to his purpose; I would not court him. To bring about his low designs he makes articles himself, in which some things of mine were inserted; and in them he covenants the undertaker should print five sheets per week; and for reprinting of faulty sheets; and that I should have L.125 paid me when ten sheets were printed off. These were read to me once; and I was required to sign them immediately, else the work was at a stand; no time would be allowed to consider of them, or mend any thing I thought amiss in them. I was then near L.140 out of pocket; all my copy was ready for the press, or soon would be. If I refused, the work would be broken off immediately, and the fault would be thrown upon me. For Sir Isaac Newton lived in the neighbourhood of the court, I at six miles distance. He had his close friend, the Lord Halifax, to support him there, with the Prince's physician: I had nothing but my sincerity and God's blessing to depend upon. Trusting on these alone, I signed them; not doubting but now the press would begin. The articles are dated November the 10th, in the fourth year of Queen Anne, or 1705.'

'But herein I soon found myself deceived. This would not satisfy; I would not yet cry up Sir Isaac as others did. To bring me to that baseness, now he has got my book of *Night Notes*, he wants a copy of so much of the catalogue as I had gone through with, to be trusted into his hands. He therefore demanded it. I answered that it was not then perfected; that I believed it would contain a good number more than I had yet observed and rectified; that the stars already in it were about 1500, but probably I should make them 2500; that these were the result of all my labours, in which having spent above L.2000 of my own money above my allowances, it would neither be prudent nor safe to trust a copy of them out of my own keeping. He answered that I might then put them into his hands sealed up, whereby I understood they were to be so kept by him till I had finished the whole, and was ready to print it. I considered, also, that this half of my catalogue would be of no advantage to him, and consented. I therefore delivered the copy of so much of the catalogue as was finished into Mr Hodgson's hands, with orders to seal it up in Sir Christopher Wren's presence, and deliver it to Sir Isaac Newton when ten sheets were printed, and L.125 (which would then be payable by the Articles) should be paid me. This was March 8, 1706; but this direction I waived afterwards, and it was put into his hands the week after, without receiving a farthing for the board or pay of my amanuensis or calculators. For *honest* Sir Isaac Newton (to use his own words) would have "all things in his own power," to spoil or sink them, that he might force me to second his designs, and applaud him—which no honest man would nor could; and, God be thanked, I lay under no necessity of doing.'—Pp. 80–82.

Notwithstanding these squabbles, the printing proceeded, though slowly; and at length, in December, 1707, nearly three years after the Prince's consent had been obtained, the first volume of the *Historia Cœlestis*, containing the sextant observations, was completed. Flamsteed now expected that the next and more important volume, which was to contain the observations with the mural arc, and for which the materials were ready, would be undertaken immediately; but fresh difficulties arose, and the press stood still 'through Sir Isaac Newton's only procurement. 'For, to keep all things wholly in his own power, he had brought 'in an undertaker who was useless to the business, and a printer '*whom I believe he paid.*' A new contract was to be entered into; and Newton, at a meeting of the referees in London, produced an agreement, ready signed, which, says Flamsteed, 'he 'would not deliver to me, but graciously permitted me to take a 'copy of it.' The substance of the agreement was, that Flamsteed should deliver to Newton the second volume of the Observations, with the figures of the first volume, and the Catalogue of the Fixed Stars; and that upon the delivery of the Catalogue, Newton should pay him L.125 on the Prince's account. Flamsteed had expended L.173 in preparing the copy, and making the calculations requisite for the first volume, and it is therefore not without reason, that he complains of the hardship of the terms:—

'The conditions on which I was to deliver this second volume, were very hard and unjust; for the observations contained therein were most of them made with the new mural arch, which I had built at my own cost, lay me in above L.120 out of my own pocket. My other instruments were all my own too, and my assistants were paid at my own charge. I had laid out, moreover, above L.173 in carrying on the work, of which I had given a bill both to Sir Isaac Newton, and several of the referees. I considered that, if I should not consent to this order, Sir Isaac Newton would say that I had hindered the printing of my own works myself, which would serve to justify a report, spread by his partisans very industriously, that I was averse to the publication of them. Whereas I had always endeavoured to carry them on as advantageously as I could, and he had done all he could to hinder me, in order to make me comply with them, and cry him up at the same rate they did. Further, I saw that if I did not lay hold of this opportunity, I could not hope to be reimbursed any part of the L.173 I had spent in preparing the copy for the press, and performed my part of the agreement in the time agreed. But the L.125 was not paid me till above two months after; and then I was still above L.48 out of purse, for which I had nothing but three copies,—one that I gave Mr Sharp, and another in which I have corrected the faults of the press with my own hand, and a third not complete.'—P. 86.

A further delay was occasioned by a difference of opinion which now arose between Flamsteed and the referees, as to the order in which the remainder of the work should be printed. Newton insisted on proceeding to print the Catalogue immediately, before the Observations; Flamsteed, for good *astronomical* reasons, would not consent to this arrangement; and, while the point was at issue between them, the authority of the referees was suddenly terminated by the death of Prince George, which took place in October, 1708. Flamsteed was now relieved for the present from further annoyance, and took advantage of the interval of tranquillity to carry on his observations for the purpose of extending and improving his Catalogue. And he tells us he was making good progress in the work, 'when he was afresh dis-'turbed by another piece of Sir Isaac Newton's ingenuity.' On the recommendation of Newton and Arbuthnot, a royal warrant was obtained from the Queen, in December, 1710, constituting the President (Newton) of the Royal Society, and whoever else the Council should think fit, *Visitors of the Observatory;* authorizing them to demand of the Astronomer, 'within six months after 'the year shall have expired,' a copy of the annual observations, to direct such observations to be made as they should think fit, and to inspect the instruments, and report on their state to the Board of Ordnance. Flamsteed, who saw clearly that he would now be placed more at the mercy of Newton's party than ever, complains loudly of this measure—insinuates that nobody knew his business but himself—and tells us he was worse used than the 'noble Tycho, who had no visitors of his observatory appointed 'over him.' He also remonstrated against the appointment to the Secretary of State (St John), but was 'answered haughtily, 'the Queen would be obeyed.' He even drew up a petition to the Queen, in one of the clauses of which he prays,—

'That I may not have the President of the Royal Society, nor any of their council set over me as visitors, nor suffered to prescribe to me what observations to make, since they know little of my business, and will but incommode me in my progress, and obstruct me, as some of them have done formerly; but that such of the nobility or gentry that are skilful in mathematics, together with the principal officers of your Majesty's Ordnance, that have been founders of my studies, may have the inspection and care of the Observatory.'—P. 279.

The idea of seeking among the nobility and gentry for visitors who should know more of his business than Newton and Halley, with the Council of the Royal Society, may be allowed to be original; but we suspect the qualification on which Flamsteed would have set most value, would have been a disposition to allow him to manage his business in his own way. At all events he seems

to have had no very high opinion of the Royal Society, of which he thus writes, in a letter to Sharp:—'Our Society decays, and 'produces nothing remarkable, nor is like to do it, I fear, while 'tis governed by persons that either value nothing but their own 'interests, *or understand little but vegetables*, and how, by making 'a bouncing noise, to cover their own ignorance.'—P. 218.

The visitors lost no time in entering on their new functions; and their first act was the very extraordinary one of proceeding to publish Flamsteed's Catalogue, which had been placed in Sir Isaac Newton's hands, *sealed up*, some years previously, as related in a preceding extract; not only without his consent, but even without consulting with him on the subject. Flamsteed's indignation at hearing of their intention may be imagined. It was first communicated to him privately, and a few days after, he tells us, he was surprised by receiving a letter from Dr Arbuthnot, confidently requiring the copy of the stars' places of six constellations, 'that had not been delivered into 'Sir Isaac Newton's hands, when he got the rest into his pos- 'session by tricks and pretences.' A short time after, he had an interview with Dr. Arbuthnot in London. 'I enquired of 'him,' says he, 'whether the Catalogue was printed or no. He 'assured me "not a sheet of it was printed." I answered him 'not, for I was sure it was; because he then offered (in the hear- 'ing of Mr Hodgson, and another gentleman I had taken with 'me to be a witness of our conversation and discourse) to pay me '£10 for every press fault I should find in it; and, *within four* '*days after*, a friend sent me the constellations of Aries and Tau- 'rus fairly printed, and a day or two after, that of Virgo. So 'that I was now convinced the press was at work, and that the 'doctor had told me *what he knew was not true*.'—P. 95.

The following characteristic account of this meeting with Arbuthnot is given by Flamsteed in his *Diary of Events*, a document in which he has minutely recorded the occurrences connected with the publication of the Observations:—

'I presented him with my printed estimate, and written copy of my letter to Sir C. Wren, occasioned by Sir I. Newton's cunning order or agreement: he said I had spoken ill of Sir I. Newton, and particularly in a paper he had seen in Mr Harley's hand, that I had charged him with having *embezzled* L.500 of the Prince's money: I know of no paper put into Mr Harley's hands, but the aforementioned copy of my letter to Sir C. Wren (in which I am sure there is no such thing), and my estimate that was wrote before the Prince designed to print my works; I had said to Dr Gastell, indeed, that I had heard the Prince had assigned L.1200 for it, but that only about L.300 had been bestowed: what was become of the rest, I knew not; and I told Dr Arbuthnot that I do not

remember that I said he ought to account for the remaining L.900 : the Doctor returned, that it was the same thing as if I had said he had embezzled it ; Mr Hudson and Clark, laughing, said, " No, surely ; " the Doctor held his tongue ; the Doctor then said the Prince had assigned L.1100 ; that it had cost Sir I. Newton L.100 in *feasts ;* I smiled at this : he ceased : after this, I told him I was very desirous to proceed, *provided that I might have just, honourable, equitable, and civil usage :* which he assured me I should, and added, he would recommend the remaining work to the Queen, and doubted not of a reward : I returned, I would not have him throw such chaff before me : Mr Clark said that I was no covetous person : I desired to know (if I should let them have the Catalogue) *whether they would demand or desire any more of me ;* he answered " No, they would be fully satisfied : " I told him this was well, for I had by me 1000 observed places of the moon, and as many of the other planets, which I was glad I could now dispose of as I pleased, or to that purpose ; and that I now saw they understood not my business ; I added that the *neglect* of me, and the *ill usage* I had met with, was a dishonour to the Queen and the nation, *and would cause just reflections on the authors of it in future times :* which he seemed not to regard : I insisted much upon it : he answered with some suggestions of fair reward : I called them chaff, and desired him to spare them.'—Pp. 226–7.

The visitors having now resolved to put Flamsteed aside, and proceed with the printing of the Catalogue without his assistance, the superintendence of the press was undertaken by Halley. While the work was in progress, a correspondence was carried on between Flamsteed and Arbuthnot, in which the former strongly remonstrated against some alterations which Halley had made in the Catalogue, on pretence of improving and correcting it. He accuses Halley, first, of introducing confusion and rendering it useless by altering the descriptions of the stars ; and secondly, of corrupting the numbers. The first of these charges is thus explained by him in a letter to Sharp :—' April the ' 2d. I got the first printed sheet, and, soon after, the third, ' wherein I found that many of the names I used, which were ' translated from Ptolemy, and the same in sense with the Arab ' translations of Gaurieus, Copernieus, Clavius, Tycho, Kepler, ' Bullialdus, and Hevelius, were altered : instead of *dexter* and ' *sinister*, were put *antecedens* and *consequens ;* for *Bor.* and *Aust.* ' *superior* and *inferior ;* some names made nonsense ; some stars ' omitted ; others inserted in improper places ; and I learnt fur- ' ther, that Dr Halley looked after the press, and was the author ' of all this confusion. Till I knew this, I was willing to have ' filled up the copy of the Catalogue, but perceiving hereby that ' Halley was minding to spoil the work, and with more views than ' one or two, I sent Dr Arbuthnot an account of his villanous

'outrage, and desired he would permit me to print my own Cata-'logue at my own charge.'—P. 291. Such interference with a work on which he had bestowed great pains could not fail to be exceedingly offensive to Flamsteed. As it could not even be pretended that the alterations were essential or necessary, the conduct of Halley in making them has so much the appearance of gratuitous insult to Flamsteed, that we cannot be surprised at his resolution to withhold the remainder of the Catalogue, and decline all further intercourse with the visitors.

The other charge against Halley is of a still more serious kind. In that remarkable document which Flamsteed intended as the preface to the *Historia Cœlestis*, he says, 'I had told Dr Arbuth-'not in one of my letters (April 18, 1711), that one of Dr Halley's 'best friends, and the wisest of them, had said of him, "that the 'only way to have my business spoiled effectually, was to trust 'it to his management." Now the truth of this expression was 'proved: for I found not only the names of the stars in my Cata-'logue altered, but the numbers also in many places changed, 'and others put in their room, that *were sometimes* 15 *minutes* '*false;* and therefore it was very effectually spoiled.' Again— 'On June 23, 1711, he delivered to my niece, Mrs Hodgson, a 'fair copy of all the sheets of the Catalogue, but without any 'preface to it. When I examined it, I found more faults in it, 'and greater, than I imagined the impudent editor either could 'or durst have committed. He had taken no care to put those 'into their proper places which I had left digested to his hands; 'because I had not yet got occasion to complete the constella-'tions to which they belonged, particularly the stars of Hevelius's 'new constellations, with Hercules, Cassiopea, and the two 'Bears. In some places he had altered the stars' right ascension 'and distance from the pole, and made them false which were 'true before; and in the constellation Draco, there were not 'above 6 or 8 stars which he had not corrupted.'—Pp. 95–96.

That Dr Halley, as is here and in other passages represented, altered the correct numbers purposely, and with the intention of spoiling the Catalogue, for no other motive or reason than the paltry one of injuring Flamsteed, is a proposition to which no one, we think, will subscribe. The errors can be accounted for in a much more probable manner. It is particularly deserving of remark, that the constellations specified in the above extract are those which were not delivered with the rest of the Catalogue to Newton, and which Dr Arbuthnot repeatedly requested Flamsteed to give up to the Royal Society, but which he persisted in refusing to do. The visitors were therefore reduced to the necessity of employing computers to reduce the

stars from the observations in their hands: and it is probable that the reductions were not made so correctly as Flamsteed's, who took care to have them all made in duplicate. That the visitors really wished and endeavoured to make the work as accurate as possible, and also as useful according to their view of the case, is, we think, clearly proved in the following passage from one of Dr Arbuthnot's letters to Flamsteed, while the Catalogue was in the press:—

'Indeed, if it be true that the alterations Dr Halley has made in your numbers are erroneous, that is a fault, to remedy which I told you, if you would consent that the Catalogue should be once completed, if you would not stand to those corrections, yours should be printed entirely according to your own copy. But I own I am much mistaken if, when the numbers differ from yours, they are erroneous; and I do declare, if it were my own case, I should be glad the greatest enemy I had should correct my numbers or my writings in any thing before they appeared in public, and I should think it still better than the correction of the most complaisant friend. I can answer for myself that I have no design to rob you of the fruits of your labour, but to make the Catalogue correct, so as it may be fit to appear in public; and if you would have given in a complete one, it should have been done long ago: but since you are not pleased to do so, I will not delay any longer, but take the same method to make out the rest of the Catalogue that you have done, which is, to employ people to calculate from the observations what is wanting. And why we should not succeed as well in this piece of journey-work, I cannot imagine; and if, after all is ended, you do not like the performance, you shall be free to print your own. I promised to send you a copy of the sheets before the Catalogue is published, and so I will; and whether you send me the remaining part of the Catalogue or not, I will keep my promise. But I cannot but say it is a little hard that, when you can so easily supply what is wanting, you will not so far gratify those concerned as to let it be printed first in this manner; and then it shall be reprinted, changed, or altered which way you please.' —P. 285.

On the concluding sentence of this extract we must take leave to remark, that, if the visitors were so well prepared to reprint, change, or alter the Catalogue in any way Flamsteed pleased, they would have acted more honourably, and less unjustly, if they had printed it in the form in which he surrendered it to them, in the first instance, and given their own edition of it afterwards. Surely Flamsteed's great exertions in preparing the Catalogue (putting right and wrong out of the question), entitled him to this courtesy.

The breach between Flamsteed and his visitors was now complete. At a meeting which took place relative to the state of the Observatory, soon after the publication of the Catalogue, the fol-

lowing *scene* occurred, which he has described several times in various parts of the work, and nearly in the same terms. We extract the description which he gives of it in a letter to Sharpe, dated Dec. 22, 1711. The reader will bear in mind that Newton was now sixty-nine years of age, and Flamsteed upwards of sixty-five, and, moreover, so feeble, that he was obliged to be assisted up and down stairs :—

'I have had another contest with the President of the Royal Society, who had formed a plot to make my instruments theirs, and sent for me to a Committee, where only himself and two physicians (Dr Sloane, and another as little skilful as himself) were present. The President ran himself into a great heat, and very indecent passion. I had resolved aforehand his kn——sh talk should not move me ; showed him that all the instruments in the observatory were my own—the mural arc and voluble quadrant having been made at my own charge, the rest purchased with my own money, except the sextant and two clocks, which were given me by Sir Jonas Moore, with Mr Townley's micrometer, his gift some years before I came to Greenwich. This nettled him, for he has got a letter from the Secretary of State for the Royal Society to be visiters of the Observatory ; and he said, "*as good have no observatory as no instruments.*" I complained then of my Catalogue being printed by Raymer [Dr Halley] without my knowledge, and that I was *robbed of the fruits of my labours.* At this he fired, and called me all the ill names, puppy, &c. that he could think of.* All I returned was, I put him in mind of his passion, desired him to govern it, and keep his temper. This made him rage worse : and he told me how much I had received from the Government in 36 years I had served. I asked what he had done for the L.500 per annum that he had received ever since he settled in London. This made him calmer : but finding him going to burst out again, I only told him my Catalogue, half finished, was delivered into his hands, on his own request, sealed up. He could not deny it, but said Dr Arbuthnot had procured the Queen's order for opening it. This, I am persuaded, was false ; or it was got after it had been opened. I said nothing to him in return ; but, with a little more spirit than I had hitherto showed, told them that God (who was seldom spoke of with due reverence in that meeting) had hitherto prospered all my labours, and I doubted not would do so to a happy conclusion ; took my leave and left them. Dr Sloane had said nothing all this while ; the other Doctor told me I was proud, and insulted the President, and ran into

* In another account of this *scene*, Flamsteed says, 'he called me many 'hard names ; *puppy* was the most innocent of them. I desired him (as 'I had often done), to restrain his passion, keep his temper, &c. He 'said I called him *Atheist*. I never did ; but I know what other people 'have said of a paragraph in his *Optics*, which probably occasioned this 'suggestion. I thought it not worth while to say any thing in answer to 'this reproach. I hope he is none.'—Pp. 228–229.

the same passion with the President. At my going out, I called to Dr Sloane, told him he had behaved himself civilly, and thanked him for it. I saw Raymer after, drank a dish of coffee with him, and told him, still calmly, of the villany of his conduct, and called it *blockish*. Since then they let me be quiet; but how long they will do so I know not, nor am I solicitous; but I trouble you with a tedious relation.'—Pp. 294–295.

Great as was Flamsteed's mortification at this surreptitious publication of his Catalogue, the cup of his affliction was not yet full. He had formerly placed in the hands of the referees 175 sheets of his observations with the mural arc. From these the visitors made a selection of those stars which passed the meridian at the same time with the moon; and sent them, thus curtailed, to the press, with some places of the moon which he had given to Newton several years before, 'under the express stipulation that they 'should not be made public, because they were deduced from an '*approximate* Catalogue,' and not from those observations with which they were now joined. This was a proceeding which directly tended to injure his character as an astronomer, and which neither his impracticable temper, nor violent language, could in the least degree justify.

The following extract from a letter to Sharp shows what his feelings on this subject were:—

'On Wednesday last, in the evening, my man delivered to Mr Hall, a Bradford carrier, my Catalogue of the fixed stars, as it is corrupted and spoiled by Dr Halley. . . . With it, in the same cover, are bound up his sorry abstracts of the planetary observations taken with my mural arc; wherein he numbers the stars according to his own account, but no ways conformable to my own Catalogue. He is as lazy and slothful as he is corrupt. With my lunar observations he gives her true places and latitudes, which are copied from the three large synopses that I imparted to Sir Isaac Newton—*under this condition, that he should not impart them to any body without my leave.* Yet so true to his word and so candid is the knight, that he immediately imparted it to Halley, who has printed them as far as they reach, and afterwards thrust in the moon's places from the ephemerides, or rather, I believe, from the margin of my book of observations, which is now in his hands; for the *lazy and malicious thief* would scarce be at the pains to gather them himself from the almanacs.'—Pp. 322–3.

The spirit which Flamsteed displayed under these accumulated provocations is admirable. Immediately after Halley's spurious edition of the Catalogue was published, 'finding there was no 'longer any remedy,' he engaged the assistance of two computers, had the whole recopied, the errors corrected, the omissions or alterations restored, and the places of the stars which he had recently observed also computed, in order to print it at his own ex-

pense. And this it appears he actually did; though, from the great care which he took to prevent copies of this impression from getting abroad, it would seem he was not yet altogether satisfied with the work. On this subject he thus writes to Sharp:—

'Pray take care to keep up my printed Catalogue; you are the only person that has a copy of it. I have not trusted James Hodgson with one, for fear that Raymer should wheedle him out of it. I know he would part with one of his ears to get one. Pray, therefore, be very cautious how you let it be seen; and *whenever you find yourself ill*, commit it, sealed up, into the hands of some trusty friend, who, if the worst should happen, may immediately send it back with a letter directing me where to meet with it.'—P. 310.

But Flamsteed's persecutions were now approaching their termination. In 1714, the Queen died, and shortly after, Lord Halifax, Newton's great supporter at court. Another Ministry came into office; and the new Lord Chamberlain, who was acquainted with Flamsteed's merits, soon after caused it to be intimated to him that he might get the remaining copies of the volume of his observations, which had been printed at the expense of the Prince of Denmark, into his own possession. On this hint, he prepared a memorial and petition to the Treasury, which was answered by an order for the 300 copies remaining in the hands of the printer to be given up to him.

'"I brought them," says he, with some exultation, "down to Greenwich with me, and finding both Halley's corrupted edition of my Catalogue, and abridgement of my observations no less spoiled by him, I separated them from my observations, and some few days after, I made a *sacrifice of them to Heavenly Truth;* as I should do of all the rest of my editor's pains of the like nature, if the *author* of Truth should hereafter put them into my power; that none of them but what he has given away and sent into foreign countries may remain to show the ingratitude of two of my countrymen, who had been obliged by me more on particular occasions, than any other mathematical acquaintance; and who had used me worse than ever the noble Tycho was used in Denmark.' —Pp. 101–2.

It is hardly possible, we think, to reflect on the statements made in this extraordinary narrative, without coming to the conclusion, that the treatment of which Flamsteed complains, was, in a considerable degree, the natural consequence of his own jealous and impracticable temper. That that treatment was harsh and illiberal, is but too apparent, even through the dense cloud of abuse which he has raised; yet, the charges which he prefers are, in general, of so indefinite a kind, or made in so vague a manner, that it is very difficult to judge of the exact amount of blame that attaches to Newton. To the

often repeated accusation of endeavouring to subdue Flamsteed's independence by oppression, 'to force him to comply with his 'humour and cry him up;' or 'of doing all he could to spoil or 'sink the work,' it is not worth while to attempt to reply. There is, however, one part of Newton's conduct, of which Flamsteed had, unquestionably, great and just reason to complain,—we mean, the delivery of the sealed Catalogue to Halley. For this we confess we can see no excuse or ground of justification whatever. Could it be pretended that, as Flamsteed was a public servant, the Catalogue ought to be considered as public property? The idea is preposterous. Flamsteed received a salary of L.100 a-year, but the instruments were all his own; and in the preparation of this Catalogue he had expended upwards of L.2000 of his private fortune, over and above his allowances. To have claimed it as public property, under such circumstances, would have been an act of tyranny, which the worst government, in the worst times, would scarcely have attempted. The parties themselves never hinted at such a claim. It was given up to Newton as a pledge or security for the performance of certain conditions on the part of Flamsteed; and at that time it was evidently not contemplated on either side, that it was to be parted with, or published without Flamsteed's consent. This, however, was done; and when Newton was directly accused by Flamsteed of having *broken the seal*, he had recourse to the subterfuge, which we must call pitiful, of pleading that it was done by the Queen's order.

The observations which Flamsteed gave Newton for the second volume of the *Historia Cœlestis* shared the same fate as the Catalogue; for after Flamsteed had commenced legal proceedings against him for the recovery, it was found they also had been delivered up to Halley. It is just possible, however, that in this case Newton might be of opinion the observations ought to be regarded as public property. Flamsteed thought otherwise. In a letter to Sharp he says, 'Newton has put my 175 sheets into 'Halley's keeping: this is the height of trick, ingratitude, and 'baseness. But I never expected any better of him since he gave 'my Catalogue into Halley's hands. I can bear it; God forgive 'him all his falseness.'—P. 325.

There is nothing which strikes us as more remarkable throughout these lamentable proceedings, than the extraordinary contrast which Flamsteed's account of Newton's intemperate conduct presents to all we have been accustomed to read or hear, respecting the meekness of character of our great philosopher. Newton, till the present time, has been almost uniformly represented as possessing in a more than ordinary degree a calm and equable temper—less influenced by the love of distinction and vulgar

applause than almost any other man; and as exhibiting on all occasions a conduct influenced by high moral and religious feelings. 'In his life,' says Sir David Brewster, 'the moralist will 'trace the lineaments of a character adjusted to all the symmetry 'of which our imperfect nature is susceptible.' Yet if we may give credit to Flamsteed, who knew him intimately, and whose statements are fortified in many points by facts and details which leave no doubt as to their being substantially correct, Newton's temper was directly the reverse of what has been usually represented. Now, admitting Flamsteed's representation to be on the whole true, though exaggerated—and his character places him far beyond the suspicion of being capable of a wilful mistatement —how are we to account for the previous flattering picture? On considering the circumstances, the explanation will perhaps not appear very difficult. Most of the biographical sketches of Newton's life, and accounts of his character, have been taken directly, or at second hand, from Fontenelle's celebrated *Eloge*, the materials for which were furnished by Conduit, Newton's nephew, and the inheritor of his wealth. Conduit appears to have been a simple goodnatured person, who troubled himself as little with the quarrels as with the discoveries of philosophers; and who probably thought it in no way incumbent on him to dwell on the weak points of character of the man to whom he was indebted for his fortune. Succeeding writers viewed him at a distance, and the admiration universally bestowed on his discoveries in mathematics and philosophy was easily transferred to his private character. In the splendour of his intellectual greatness, the ordinary infirmities incident to humanity were unnoticed; and even the defective orthodoxy of his religious creed was pardoned for the sake of his *Scholium* in the *Principia*, and his writings on *Theology*.

Various allusions appear in Flamsteed's letters, which, though the incidents to which they refer are entirely unknown, prove clearly that Newton's conduct did not always escape opposition and censure from his contemporaries. For example, he tells Sharp (May 29, 1707), 'Worthy Sir I. Newton has twice or 'thrice been stopping the press; he does all he can to hinder it, or 'break off, and to perplex me; but an accident has lately happened 'that has discovered his proud and insolent temper, and exposes 'him sufficiently. He has been told calmly of his faults, and 'could not contain himself when he heard of them. My affair 'was not forgot. I hope God will turn it all to good. This 'accident was unexpected, and seems to be sent.'—P. 264.

There is also evidence of a different kind, which admits of no misconstruction, to prove that Newton allowed his conduct to be influenced by vindictive feelings. Several passages in the first

edition of the *Principia*, acknowledging the assistance he had received from Flamsteed, were, as Mr Baily remarks, *carefully suppressed* in the second; and in the *Theoriæ Lunæ*, 'there is 'not a single allusion to Flamsteed, though it is evident, from 'the preceding narrative, that Newton was indebted to him for 'most of the facts therein stated.'—P. 370.

But it was against Halley that Flamsteed's wrath blazed with fiercest indignation. Of the origin of this unfortunate quarrel, which began at an early period, and endured the whole of Flamsteed's life, we are not informed. Some aggressions on the part of Halley, in the first instance, the extreme jealousy of Flamsteed's disposition, and the frequent collision of two tempers of a totally opposite nature, afford sufficient explanation. Flamsteed, as our extracts have made evident, entertained a most exalted opinion of his own importance, and the superiority of his knowledge of astronomy. Halley commenced his scientific career as an astronomer, and by making a catalogue of stars; and therefore from the first was placed in a situation of direct rivalry with him. He had likewise acquired, by the versatility of his pursuits and employments, a large share of popular fame, of which Flamsteed appears to have been not a little envious. He had undertaken a voyage to St Helena to observe the southern stars—commanded a ship of war—descended in a diving bell,—and was frequently bringing forward new theories and discoveries in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*. Besides, he was better acquainted with Flamsteed's business, that is, with practical astronomy, than any other individual; and hence Flamsteed's anxiety, of which some amusing instances occur, to keep him in ignorance of what he was doing. In addition to all this, Halley was of a jovial and convivial disposition, fond of society and enjoyment,* and from Flamsteed's remarks on his disposition to raillery and banter, we may suppose that he sometimes exercised those talents at the expense of the astronomer; for which, indeed, the numerous salient points of his character afforded abundant temptation. Yet these companionable qualities would seem to have produced their usual effect even on the reserved and precise character of Flamsteed. 'I hate his ill manners, not the man; were he either honest, 'or but *civil*, there is none in whose company I would rather 'desire to be.'

It has been surmised that Flamsteed's aversion to Halley arose from the libertine conduct and infidel opinions which the latter

* 'Dr Wallis is dead—Mr Halley expects his place—who now talks, 'swears, and drinks brandy like a sea captain.'—*Letter to Sharp*, p. 215.

entertained, and took no pains to conceal. We have no evidence of this. At all events, if Halley's acquaintance was so disreputable, what is to be said for Newton and others, with whom Halley remained so many years in terms of intimate friendship?

The following is one of the few letters of Halley that appear in the present collection, and contrasts strongly with the violent language of Flamsteed:—

'*London, June* 23, 1711.

'Reverend Sir,—Though I am credibly informed that these sheets have been from time to time sent you from the press, yet, lest it should be otherwise, I have now sent you the catalogue of the fixed stars intended to be prefixed to your book, having spared no pains to make it as complete and correct as I could, by help of the observations you have given us, made before the year 1706. I desire you to find all the real faults you can, not as believing there are none, but being willing to have a work of this kind as perfect as possible, and if you signify what's amiss, the errors shall be noted, or the sheet reprinted, if the case require it. Pray govern your passion, and, when you have seen and considered what I have done for you, you may perhaps think I deserve at your hands a much better treatment than you for a long time have been pleased to bestow on your quondam friend, and not yet profligate enemy (as you call me.) Edm. Halley.'

Nevertheless, after every allowance is made for Flamsteed's exaggeration, sufficient proof remains that Halley's conduct towards him was not only extremely irritating, but altogether inexcusable. His alteration of Flamsteed's descriptions in publishing the Catalogue was an offence that could not be forgiven; and in the unfair and illiberal preface which he prefixed to the work, Flamsteed's reasons for withholding the six constellations were misrepresented, and his own services extravagantly magnified. He had the meanness even to harass Flamsteed's widow, as appears from the following extract of a letter written by Crosthwait to Sharp:—

'Yours of the 9th ultimo received, and hope you will pardon my long silence, which has been occasioned by the trouble we have met with from Dr Halley, who has been perpetually calling upon Mrs Flamsteed to remove. He gave us but a few days' time to do it in, which occasioned such confusion amongst Mr Flamsteed's papers, that I could not find a perfect copy of the last impression of his Catalogue, which, I presume, you have not seen. I left the Observatory the 7th instant, and he at the same time took possession.'—P. 334.

Flamsteed died in 1719. Halley was appointed his successor, and presided over the Observatory for twenty-two years. The observations which he himself made during that time have not yet been given to the public.

We have anxiously searched through the present volume for

some incident or passage tending to throw light on a subject which has recently excited much interest—we mean that illness in which the mind of Newton has been stated to have suffered a temporary derangement. But on this subject the volume affords no information whatever. Satisfactory evidence has been produced to prove, that if the calamity occurred at all, it must have occurred in the years 1692 and 1693.* Now it happens that there is no letter written by Newton in the present volume in either of those years. On the 10th of August, 1691, he wrote to Flamsteed, introducing Dr Gregory to him, and putting some questions respecting his observations. Flamsteed's answer is dated February 24, 1692; and from this date there is a total blank in their correspondence till the 7th of October, 1794, when Newton writes again, requesting to be furnished with observations for his theory of the moon. Thus the important period is passed over; and the question of Newton's illness is left without a word of direct testimony on the one side or the other. But the correspondence here brought to light affords a strong, and to our minds convincing evidence, that Newton's illness, whatever its nature may have been, was neither regarded nor even suspected by his friends to be accompanied with insanity. Even before the period in question, Flamsteed betrayed symptoms of jealousy of Newton; and in the quarrel which broke out after, he imputed to him every base motive which an active fancy, stimulated by a sense of real or supposed injuries, could suggest; but he no where insinuates, in the remotest manner, that his reason had ever been unseated. Had the slightest suspicion of such an infliction been entertained by their contemporaries, it would certainly not have escaped the ear of Flamsteed; and if a rumour to that effect had ever reached him, it is not supposable that he would have abstained from mentioning it to some of his correspondents; particularly to Sharp, whom he seems to have made the depositary of all his grievances. Instead of being silent on a subject of this kind, would he not rather, in some of his frequent fits of excitement, have taken occasion to prove, from the treatment he received, that Newton's recovery had not been complete? All this to be sure, would not invalidate the direct testimony of a credible witness. But such testimony does not exist in the present case. The whole turns on an *anecdote* mentioned to Huygens, a foreigner, by a person of whose character and opportunities of becoming accurately acquainted with the facts of the case, no-

* Brewster's *Life of Newton*, and No. CXI. of this Journal.

body knows any thing whatever.* As to the inferences which have been drawn from the circumstance that, after the publication of the *Principia*, he engaged in no work of importance,—they are evidently of no value in the argument. Newton became a courtier, and Flamsteed 'could not but take notice that as he 'was advanced in place, so he raised himself in his conversation, 'and became more magisterial.' The letters to Locke, and others, which seem to imply a disturbed state of mind, may easily be supposed to have escaped from him at a time when his temper, always misgiving and suspicious, was rendered more gloomy than usual by bodily ill health.

One point only remains on which we wish to say a few words. It was mentioned, near the commencement of this article, that Mr Baily had been favoured with an inspection of the Newton MSS. belonging to the Earl of Portsmouth, and which, as is well known, became the property of the present possessors, through the daughter of Mr Conduit, who married into the Lymington family. These manuscripts are by far the most voluminous (and indeed almost the only) mass of authentic documents existing that bear on the life and history of Newton; for those which are deposited in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and which are next in importance, relate almost wholly to one subject,—namely, the alterations to be made in the second edition of the *Principia*. Mr Baily informs us that he 'can state most de-'cidedly that there are amongst these MSS., many documents and 'much information connected with Newton's life and pursuits 'that are now highly interesting and not generally known.' In the hope which he expresses that such portions of these very interesting papers (for they are by far too numerous and extensive to be published at large) as may tend to illustrate the life and labours of our immortal countryman, will, at no distant period, be selected and given to the public, we most cordially join; and we rejoice to think that there is a prospect of its being realized. We have

* In the statement originally published by M. Biot, the name of the Scotchman who conveyed the information to Huygens, is said to have been *Colin*; and Sir David Brewster (*Life of Newton*, p. 223) supposes he was a person employed by Newton in making calculations, and who, therefore, must have had opportunities of being acquainted with the state of Newton's health. But it appears that in the original statement, an error was made respecting the name. In the *Exercitationes Mathematicæ* of Huygens, printed at the Hague in 1833 (from manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Leyden) it is stated, vol. ii. p. 171, that the name of the informant was not *Colin* but *Colm*. '*Ita nomen in MS. de-*'*lineatum est, non* Colin, *ut alii legisse videntur.*'

good reason to believe that the government would be disposed to print them at the public expense; and indeed we have been informed that an offer of this nature has been actually made to the Portsmouth family; some members of which have signified their assent, whilst others have objections which cannot for the present be removed. Surely if ever such a publication could be made with the most perfect propriety, it is at the present moment, when, indeed, it is not only required, but we may say *demanded*, as an antidote to any unfavourable impressions that may have been excited by the volume before us. The character of Newton may be considered a species of national property—it is in fact the nation's glory—we therefore trust that what we may call this *national* appeal to the Portsmouth family, will not be made in vain. At all events, if the proposal be not acceded to *now*, we hope that the papers will be put into a better state of order and arrangement than they are reported to be at present, and preserved with religious care in the anticipation of a more auspicious period.

Art. VI.—*An Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages. Containing an Examination of M. Raynouard's Theory on the Relation of the Italian, Spanish, Provençal, and French to the Latin.* By George Cornewall Lewis, Esq., A. M., Student of Christ Church. 8vo. Oxford. 1835.

Although this work relates to a subject which has not escaped the notice of continental critics, it is in a great measure new to the writers of this country. Nor is this at all surprising. A learned man in France, Spain, or Italy, might not unreasonably be disposed to feel a deeper interest in it, and to anticipate greater advantages from its results, than could be expected on the part of any British writer. To the former, as a topic surrounded on all sides with the enquiries most pleasing to a patriot and an historian, it could hardly fail to present an important and attractive subject of examination. It must throw no inconsiderable light on the conquests, migrations, habits, and civil institutions of his ancestors. It would engage him in tracing the origin of national literature, and the first feeble efforts of poetical genius among his countrymen. To the latter, on the contrary, it holds out nothing at all likely to attract popularity. To him, it can only offer the irksome task of illustrating the progress of a lan-

guage which never reached an advanced state of maturity, but, after a brief career of celebrity and a partial propagation, sunk into perpetual insignificance. The utmost he can hope for, is to gratify the spirit of antiquarian research, and to elucidate some intricate questions of foreign etymology. In spite of these great and inherent obstacles, however, the subject has at length attracted some attention amongst us; and an excursion has been made into this hitherto untrodden region, by one whose abilities and industry well qualify him for the task which he has had the courage to undertake. Though we are far from agreeing with Mr Lewis in all the principles he has laid down, as applicable to the present question, or in the positions which he has endeavoured to establish, —though it appears to us that his illustrations, some of which are rather detached and obscure, ought to have been more appropriate and confined,—though in the crowd of miscellaneous authorities which he has adduced, some, we think, are treated with exaggerated respect, and others with undeserved neglect, whilst many of distinguished reputation, as Huet, Fontanini, and Le Grand Daussy, are omitted altogether,—it is impossible to deny him the praise of great assiduity and penetration, or to hesitate in acknowledging the services he has rendered to this branch of literature.

Mr Lewis begins, by laying before his readers a summary of the opinions which his predecessors have severally adopted, as to the origin of the Romance dialect; and, after enumerating their different theories, he proceeds to state the results of his own enquiries. In every material particular his views appear to coincide with those of M. Schlegel, by whom this subject was canvassed, in a small treatise published some years ago, in Paris, which never attracted any degree of notice answerable to the reputation of its author. This is followed by a minute analysis of the materials of a Dictionary of the Romance language, accumulated by M. Raynouard, from which Mr Lewis endeavours, by means of a very long inductive process, to elicit a corroboration of the hypothesis which he has himself embraced. Mr Raynouard endeavours to prove, that after the irruption of the Barbarians, the Romance language succeeded to the Latin tongue in Lombardy, France, and Spain; and that the fragments of the poetry of the Troubadours, which have been transmitted to the present age, furnish us with correct and unadulterated specimens of that prevailing dialect. From this, as from a common source, flowed all the different languages of Europe, of which Latin is the groundwork; and in their respective idioms, as well as in the resemblance of particular words which they retain, enough remains to show, not only an identity of origin, but the existence of a

common intervening type in which all were moulded—to which all must be referred, and from which each has derived the inflexions of its phraseology, and the distinguishing varieties of its structure. In preparing for the support of this theory, M. Raynouard successfully attacks a doctrine advanced by Maffei in his 'History of Verona,' and which is indebted to his sanction for a degree of credit and notoriety it could never have derived from any consideration of its intrinsic merit. Maffei maintained, that in Italy, after the consolidation of the Roman empire, two different forms of speech prevailed, flowing, like the fabled streams of antiquity, in the same channel, for ever near, but yet for ever separated—

'Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam,'—

one employed in the writings of the government, and the conversation of the educated classes; the other familiar to the lower orders of the people, but not existing as a written tongue till the middle ages, when it was recognised as the Italian language. Such a theory scarcely deserved the notice of a serious examination. It is no slight proof, however, of the propensity of learned men to acquiesce in any etymological speculation, however preposterous, if the absurdities it involves are balanced by any degree of erudition and acuteness on the part of its propounders, that this hypothesis (so incredible in itself, so destructive of every principle that experience of the effect produced in other countries by the same causes, operating with an influence equally constant and inflexible, would lead us to entertain, and so utterly irreconcilable with the direct and positive testimony of ancient writers) should have found zealous champions among some of the most elegant scholars and profound etymologists of modern times.

Let us not, however, be misunderstood. That with the language of the lower orders at Rome in ancient times many impurities were intermingled—that in many instances these impurities reacted upon the diction of the more educated classes, and were thus insinuated into their current speech—that the discourse of the remote provinces was not equal in precision and elegance to the phraseology of the capital—are truths apparent to all who are acquainted with the philosophy of language, and who have examined the progress of its changes. Experience and analogy would lead us to conclude, in the absence of all direct testimony, that a speech so highly complicated and artificial must be liable to frequent mutilations among those by whom it was constantly employed and imperfectly understood. But the evidence on this point is of the clearest and most authentic nature. Salmasius has quoted as an instance of impurity, 'Caput de 'Aquila,' as the vulgar phrase for the head of an eagle. Vopis-

eus, cited by Bonami, uses 'tantum de chartis' for 'tantæ chartæ;' and in the works of the greatest masters of Roman idiom,—in the writings of Terence, Cicero, and Virgil,—we find the following expressions:—'Fulgor ab auro,'—'Fores a me'—'Satis 'hoc tempore dictum habeo de Cæsare,'—'Idque se jam effectum 'habere.' Quintilian cautions the student against the idiom of strangers, and barbarisms, as he emphatically calls them, sanctioned by the authority of Catullus and Persius. Gregory of Tours, the historian of the Merovingian kings (A. D. 396), complains, that he was unable to write Latin with any degree of grammatical purity; and Sidonius Apollonius, who wrote in the succeeding century, congratulates Avitus on his intention of banishing from Gaul the crust of Celtic barbarity—'Squamam Celtici 'sermonis.' The same fate had already befallen the Grecian tongue, which, modified by abbreviation, and polluted by a mixture with other languages, gradually degenerated into the Romaic jargon, in which many traces of ancient forms and dialects are still discernible. That corruption had been busy with the Roman speech in Italy itself, is abundantly proved by a document, cited by Mabillon, called the *Charta plenariæ securitatis*, granted to Ravenna, in the thirtieth year of the Emperor Justinian. But, for some time, in spite of the barbarisms, by which the conventional dialect of society was vitiated, the Latin tongue was written without much adulteration. At length, however, orthography was infected with the solecisms of conversation; and as it is the characteristic of error, when it has departed from the proper standard, to go on increasing in degree, the progress of corruption advanced, unchecked and irresistible. Nothing remained to circumscribe innovation within any fixed limits. There was no standard to adjust its varieties—no rule by which its fluctuations could be determined. A step more completed the usurpation, and in the ninth century the tongue of Cicero and Virgil was no more a living language.

We cannot, however, agree with Mr Lewis, where he says, that on this point 'it is difficult to ascertain the opinions of Muratori;' as they are, we think, expressed in a manner perfectly unequivocal. We are at a loss to conceive how this mistake could have originated. 'Le sçavant Muratori,' says Ginguené, 'a reconnu 'positivement la coopération immediate des langues barbares 'dans la formation de la langue Italienne.' From the monuments of the semi-barbarous ages, which he has collected with such uncommon judgment, that distinguished antiquary has pointed out the gradual degradation of the Roman tongue, not merely as a vehicle of discourse, but as the instrument of written communication; he has proved that the errors of speech became

embodied in writing; and that the perpetual accession of new words from affectation or necessity,—the introduction of new arts and new habits, joined to the violence of conquest, the emigration of different tribes, and the want of writers of acknowledged authority,—are sufficient to account for the numerous instances he has cited, and to which he confidently appeals, as demonstrative of the point in question. He has also proved, by the most decisive and convincing evidence,—by the evidence of documents of every kind in a regular series during each succeeding age,—its transition from a synthetic to that analytic form which all languages, when their foundation is loosened, have a tendency to assume; the manner in which the declensions and conjugations of the Latin were supplanted by the prepositions, articles, and auxiliary verbs of a less cultivated speech; and the increasing change its terminations underwent, until it at length settled into a type which was confirmed by the suffrage of future generations. For some time after the overthrow of the Roman power, the annals of Europe are the history of destruction. 'Les invasions,' says the President de Brosses, 'sont le fleau des idiomes comme 'celui des peuples, mais non pas tout-à-fait dans le même ordre. 'Le peuple le plus fort prend toujours l'empire; la langue la plus 'forte le prend aussi, et souvent c'est celle du vaincu qui soumet 'celle du conquérant. La première espèce de conquête se decide 'par la force du corps; la seconde par celle de l'esprit.' The process by which the Roman idiom was slowly transmuted into the Italian language, by the modification of old, rather than by the creation of new materials, furnishes a luminous commentary on this text. Embarrassed by the complex frame of the Latin tongue, the Barbarians who learnt it by rote, or imbibed it in conversation, soon discovered that the intricacies of its declensions opposed a constant impediment to the successful communication of their ideas; and they endeavoured to supply their deficiency by such coarse expedients as their scanty knowledge of its structure enabled them to provide. Instead of denoting the relation they desired to express by the appropriate inflexion of its specific case, they prefixed a preposition to a noun, the termination of which remained invariable: by the use of the auxiliary verbs (which being of a very abstract nature can only exist in the speech of a cultivated people) the conjugations were approximated to the uniformity by which the declensions had been already simplified.

Thus the refinements of language were fatal to themselves, and the purity of the Roman tongue became the principal instrument of its corruption. Until the social habits and civil institutions of men acquire precision and stability, little improvement can be

expected in their language. As it was in Italy, where the Roman policy had struck its deepest roots, that the fury of the barbarians first yielded to the superior refinement of the vanquished, and the strongly defined limits of ancient civilisation began slowly to emerge from the deluge which had overwhelmed, though it could not entirely obliterate, institutions so deeply impressed on the manners and existence of the people,—so it was in Italy that a language, which the sublime genius of Dante stamped almost at its birth with immortality, first began to adopt a lasting standard, and to invest itself with a precise and determined character.

The objections to which Mr Raynouard's theory is liable are stated by Mr Lewis with so much clearness, and enforced with so much strength of reasoning, that we cannot do better than present them in his own words.

'M. Raynouard does not adopt the absurd fancy that the Romance or the Italian existed as the language of the lower orders of Ancient Italy, in a shape little different from that which they bore in the thirteenth century. His theory is, that the Latin, by the influence of the Germans, was corrupted into an uniform language called the Romance, spoken for some centuries, and at least as late as the reign of Charlemagne, over the whole of Western Europe; that this language is preserved unchanged in the Troubadour poetry, and the early literature of Provence; and that it was gradually modified into the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, modern Provençal, and their various dialects, which are derived indirectly, indeed, from the Latin, but directly from the Romance, and retain, with different degrees of fidelity, the forms of that language. On the first statement of this hypothesis, it is obvious to enquire, in what manner M. Raynouard understands that an uniform language arose on the ruins of the Latin. Languages may be diffused by colonization or conquest, as the Greek was propagated in Asia Minor, Africa, Italy, Sicily, and Gaul, as the Latin in Gaul and Spain, as the Spanish and English in North and South America and the West Indies; but where were the conquests or the colonies of the Provençals? Or does he suppose that the Romance was diffused from Provence by the influence of the Troubadour literature? Nations, however, do not learn languages from poets, least of all from foreign poets; and some other cause must be found for the propagation of the Provençal language than the fame of the Provençal minstrels. If, on the other hand, M. Raynouard does not suppose that the Romance was diffused from Provence as from a centre, he must conceive that the Romans, over the chief part of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Gaul, and Spain, when invaded at different periods, by different Teutonic races agreed, without communication to corrupt the Latin into the self-same language; but unless he here calls in the assistance of a miracle, and supposes that, as at Babel, the tongues were confounded, so after the invasion of the Germans they were made uniform, it is difficult to understand how he accounts for such a prodigy. If he means that the Romance was spread over Western Europe from a common centre, he is contradicted by history, which

records no movements of population which could have brought about this effect; if he means that, accidentally, all the natives of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, coincided in forming one and the same new language, he supposes an agreement to which no parallel can be furnished, and which is utterly incredible.'

This reasoning is clear and strong. But it is now time that Mr Lewis's system should be presented to our readers; and in order to afford a correct view of it, we shall have recourse to his own words.

'There is, perhaps, no problem connected with language which admits of a completer solution than that which respects the modern European languages formed from the Latin. Unlike the origin of most languages, it lies within a purely historical period. The language of the native population, the changes which took place in their political condition, the race and languages of the invaders, and of the other foreign nations with which they came in contact, all are certainly known; and although the early stages of these Latin dialects, when they were merely barbarous and unfixed jargons, formed by the intercourse of natives and strangers, spoken chiefly among illiterate persons, and used neither as the language of the government, of legal instruments, nor of books, are not only (with the exception of a few words) wholly unknown, but lost without hope of recovery; yet the events which accompanied and occasioned their origin are matter of historical record; and if we cannot always say with certainty to what precise cause the changes which the Latin underwent were owing, our information enables us at least to obtain negative results and to exclude undoubtingly many hypothesis which might be tenable if we had merely the languages, without a contemporary history of the times when they arose.'

Again,

'This community of appellation does not afford any reason for supposing that there was no difference between the corruptions of the Latin in the different parts of Western Europe; there was a sufficient resemblance in their character, in the circumstances under which they had arisen, and in the classes of persons by whom they were spoken, to warrant their being included under a common name, in spite of minor differences. At the same time, it cannot be doubted that the differences between them were not at first so great as they are now, and that in their early youth the children more resembled their common parent and one another; as the English and Scotch, which were formed independently, under the same circumstances, have a closer resemblance, both in words and structure, the nearer they approach their respective sources.

'Now such, as I conceive, is the case of Romance languages; they all owed their origin to the same cause, viz., the permanent subjugation by Teutonic races, of a people speaking Latin; and there is nothing in their character which cannot be explained without supposing a nearer affinity. They have just the amount of resemblance which might have been expected in languages derived from the same original, and just the

amount of difference which might have been expected in languages formed under the same circumstances, independently of each other.'

We have quoted this passage, that it might afford us an opportunity of making a few observations on the general subject, and of pointing out some particulars in which Mr Lewis's work is essentially, and, considering the learning and abilities of the author, singularly defective. We are very willing, however, to admit that the errors to which we allude are far more easily remarked than supplied; and as the strictures we are about to offer must be limited to a very narrow compass, they can at most serve only as an outline to guide those who may be disposed to fill up the detail, and to examine at greater length the speculations of the authors whose authority we presume to controvert.

In no part of the work before us do we find any allusion to the rythmical form of composition which began to prevail in Europe about the eleventh century, and of which one of the earliest specimens of French literature now remaining affords so complete and remarkable an instance. Neither has the great and obvious effect produced by the Saracens on the imagery and composition adopted by the writers in the South of France, appeared to Mr Lewis worthy of notice, in the prosecution of this enquiry. It seems to us, nevertheless, that both these facts are eminently entitled to consideration in an attempt to account for the origin and constitution of that peculiar language, which, for two centuries, was throughout Western Europe the chosen, and almost the exclusive organ of reviving literature. We offer to our readers the following theory, sanctioned by Ginguené, as less exceptionable than any which has fallen under our notice, and as affording a solution of many circumstances which it is otherwise difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile or to explain.

1. The language which arose from the confusion of the dialects of the Franks, Vandals, Huns, and Lombards, and the stock of the Latin on which they were grafted, was termed Romance; to distinguish it from the jargon of the Barbarians on the one hand, and the pure Roman idiom (which fell into disuse, and was taught in the schools as a dead language), on the other. Thus we find that the French, Spanish, and Italian, and even English tongues, are separately termed Romance, in such records of those rude times as have escaped oblivion. The account given by Nitard, in the third Book of his History of the Convention between Charles the Bold and his brother Lewis, King of Germany, may be cited as a striking corroboration of this theory. 'Sacramenta,' says the historian, 'quæ subter notata sunt Ludo-'vicus Romanâ Carolus vero Teudescâ linguâ juraverunt, ac sic

'ante sacramenta, circum fusam plebem allocuti sunt, alter Ro-'manâ, alter Teudiscâ linguâ.' The lingua Romana is here used to describe the language spoken by the subjects of Charles; the lingua Teudisca to denote that in use among the subjects of his brother. Again, in the Epitaph of Gregory V., who died in the year 999, the distinction made is equally manifest and incontestable.

'Usus Francigenâ, vulgari, et voce Latinâ
Instituit populos eloquio triplici.'

There, the Francigena is the Teutonic, and the Vulgaris the Romance language. But there is a still more remarkable document extant in Du Cange, which brings us down to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and which places the very extensive signification of the word Romance in the clearest and most luminous point of view: we allude to the edict, promulgated in 1213 by James I., King of Arragon, in which the translation of the New Testament into the Romance language, as being the common dialect of the country, is prohibited. 'Statuimus ne 'aliquis libros veteris et Novi Testamenti in *Romancio* habeat, 'et si aliquis habet, tradat eos loci episcopo comburendos, quod 'nisi fecerit pro hæretico habeatur.' There is also in the *Specchio di vera Penitenza*, written by Jacopo Passavanti, in 1354, a complaint against the translations of the Bible into the vulgar tongue; some of which, he says, 'con accento aspro 'lannigiscono come sono i Romanzi.' It is worthy of observation, moreover, that Brunetto Latini, who wrote in 1234, declares that he composed his *Tesoro* in the 'Lingua Francisca cioè Romana 'come più dilettevole e più commune che tutte le altre lin-'guaggie;'—more delightful and better understood than any other language. It is in allusion to this circumstance that Giovanni Villani affirms, in the third Book of his History, that Brunetto was the first writer, 'che comminciasse a digrossare i 'Fiorentini, ed a fargli sentire il ben parlare.' To all these authorities, we may add the direct testimony of Dante, who, in the 12th chapter of his *Convito*, complains loudly of those Italians who cultivated the Provençal idiom, to the exclusion of their native language. And in his description of Arnoldo Daniello Purgatorio, canto 26, he celebrates the superiority of that poet to his contemporaries in the following lines:—

'Questi ch' io ti scerno
Col dito——
Fu miglior Fabro del parlar materno:
Versi d' amore et prose di Romanzi
Soverchiò tutti,'——

We may observe also, that Petrarch speaks of the same Ar-

noldo in terms of equal panegyric, and of equal importance to our argument—

> ‘ Fra tutti il primo Arnoldo Daniello,
> Gran Maestro d’ Amor, ch’ alla sua terra
> Ancor fa onor col suo dir nuovo e bello.’—

2. Having thus stated our opinion on the origin of the Romance language, we proceed to make a few additional observations on the dialects that prevailed in France under that denomination. The Roman language in France, was corrupted by the Franks in the North,—by the Ostrogoths, Saracens, and Visigoths in the South. Two dialects are thus produced, both springing from the same root, or rather each a branch of the same tree, of which the Roman was the trunk. One of these (the Langue d’oil), the Roman Wallon, as it was called, prevailed to the North of the Loire ; the other the (Langue d’oc) or Roman Provençal, was the idiom of Southern France. And each of the districts in which they respectively predominated was distinguished by the name of the affirmative particle peculiar to its own dialect. It happened that from the ninth to the thirteenth century, the sceptre of Provence was swayed by a dynasty of opulent and powerful princes, the last five of whom bore the name of Raymond Berenger; a circumstance that has misled several industrious antiquaries. These sovereigns were the protectors of literature, and their court was celebrated for luxury and refinement. Under their auspices a literature arose which was dedicated exclusively to the light and fantastic topics that suited the gay and frivolous courtiers among whom it sprung, and for whose amusement it was at first intended. The language, thus modified, was soon considered as the only appropriate vehicle in which the amorous and brilliant could hope to soften the rigour of a mistress by their complaints, or to captivate her imagination by the display of their wit and ingenuity. The Troubadours wandered from court to court, sharing the friendship of monarchs, and exciting the admiration of nobles and high born dames ; in whose presence they related many a tale of ‘ fierce war and faithful love,’ or discussed as casuists ‘ in that so sweet and secret art,’ some subtle and recondite point of amatory lore. Sometimes trite, sometimes childish, sometimes licentious, the legends collected by M. de St Palaye are, nevertheless, interesting from the state of society which they portray ; and which they describe with far more vivacity and truth than the monkish chroniclers, who, in the gloom and solitude of the cloister, affected to relate the scenes of that busy drama in which they had never acted, and the working of those passions which had never swelled within their breasts. But

although the effusions of the Troubadours are sometimes relieved by wit, and illuminated by flashes of imagination, the language in which they were embodied never became the engine of national policy, or the repository of civil wisdom It should, however, be remembered, that when the term Troubadour is used, it is by no means limited to those who dwelt between the Rhone and the Var; but is intended to designate all the poets whose verses are written in the Provençal Romance, including the natives of Catalonia, Aragon and Italy; between whom and the inhabitants of southern France existed a strict and intimate connexion, arising in part from similarity of manners, and in part from constant subjection to the same sovereign, and the collision of repeated emigrations. From the Garonne to the Rhone the religion and the customs of Arabia had been introduced by the victorious Moslem; and when the tide of conquest set in an opposite direction, the capture of Toledo, effected by the impetuosity of the French adventurers whom Alphonso VI. summoned to his aid, blended the inhabitants still more closely together, and diffused throughout the district a general resemblance of manners and opinions. In fact, during the Cimmerian darkness of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, Arabia was the great fountain of the learning and civility which still continued to exist among the nations of Europe. This opinion is supported by the striking and decisive peculiarity of Romance literature, which future ages have been unwilling or unable to eradicate. The use of rhymes soon became traditionary and inveterate among the inhabitants of Spain, France, and Italy: they were interwoven with the inmost texture of their language. Throughout this half illuminated period the Leonine verses, as they were called, appear on seals, vases, rings, and the glass of churches; they were employed in the most solemn rites of religion; in the praises of the living, and the epitaphs of the dead. It can hardly be necessary to call the attention of our readers to the admitted fact, that rhymes were certainly employed by the Romans, not only for the coarse effusions of military license, or the rustic vituperation of their village bards, but, as a passage preserved by Cicero, distinctly proves, on occasions of much solemnity, and in the most dignified forms of composition. As the language became corrupt and degenerate, and the more refined pleasure derived from elevated thoughts and well-chosen expressions, lost its effect upon the degraded Romans and the ignorant savages by whom they were overwhelmed, rhyme, which by the perpetual recurrence of similar sounds, obtrudes a mechanical text upon the organs of the rudest and most illiterate, at last superseded every other mode of versification. In the quaint

language of the president Fauchet, 'la consonance leur touchа 'plus les oreilles.' This position Muratori justifies by the most conclusive arguments; and, in addition to the proofs that he has advanced, the following passage from the preface to Petrarch's familiar letters, may be adduced in corroboration of his opinion. 'Pars mulcendis vulgi auribus assueta suis ipsa legibus utebatur, 'quod genus apud seculos, ut fama est, non multis, ante seculis 'renatum brevi per omnem Italiam, et longius manavit apud 'Græcorum et Latinorum, vetustissimos celebratum siquidem et 'Romanos rhythmico carmine uti solitos accepimus.' Again, the use of rhyme was common among the Arabians, and Sicily, till the year 1090, was subject to their dominion; a period which exactly coincides with the most flourishing and brilliant era of Romantic poetry. On the causes which led to the sudden extinction of the Langue d'oc, it is not our intention to expatiate. Undoubtedly its decline may be ascribed in a great measure to the nature of its florid legends, which, destitute of genuine sentiment, of the eloquence of narrative, and of the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry, contained but little to satisfy the understanding or to inform the judgment; but a principal cause may be traced to that sanguinary persecution of the thirteenth century, which changed the land of song into a wilderness, and replunged its inhabitants into barbarism.

The difference between our opinions, as detailed in the brief and very imperfect sketch which we have endeavoured to trace, and those of Mr Lewis, consists in the importance we attach to the use of rhyme as the characteristic feature of the languages in which it was successively employed; in the colouring which we think was given by the Arabian writers to the literature of western Europe;—and, above all, in the broad and emphatical distinction between the two dialects of the Romance Provençale and the Romance Françoise. The former extended over a very considerable space, and was universally employed by

'The classics of an age that heard of none;'—

but the periods of its ripeness and decay were almost coincident. The latter, limited in its extent, and tardy in its formation, was destined, when refined by learning, exalted by eloquence, and invigorated by philosophy, to become the social language of civilized Europe. In conclusion, we must repeat our strong sense of the merit of this work, and our admiration of that generous love of literature which inspired it, and which gives the promise that we may be indebted to it for other valuable productions.

ART. VII.—*Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics as a part of a Liberal Education.* By the Rev. WILLIAM WHEWELL, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College. 8vo. Cambridge: 1835.

WE saw the announcement of this pamphlet with no ordinary interest—from the subject—from the place of publication—and from the author.

The subject is one of great importance in the science of education. Whether, and to what extent, the study of mathematics conduces to the developement of the higher faculties, is a question which, though never adequately discussed, has been very confidently and very variously decided. The stream of opinions, and the general practice of the European schools and universities, allow to that study, at best, only a subordinate utility as a mean of liberal education;—that is, an education in which the individual is cultivated not as an instrument towards some ulterior end, but as an end unto himself alone; in other words, in which his absolute perfection as a man, not his relative dexterity as a professional man, is the scope immediately in view. But, at the same time, it cannot be denied, that signs of a revolutionary tendency in popular opinion regarding the objects and the end of education, are, in this nation at least, becoming daily more and more obtrusive; and as the extended study of mathematics is that mainly proposed in lieu of the ancient branches of discipline which our innovators would retrench, a professed enquiry, like the present, into the influence of this study on the intellectual habits, comes invested, independently of its general importance, with a certain local and temporary interest.

But the centre from which it proceeds enhances also the interest of the publication. In opposition to the general opinion of the learned world—in opposition to the practice of all other universities, past or present—in opposition even to the intention of its founders and legislators, the University of Cambridge stands alone in making mathematical science the principal object of the whole liberal education it affords; and mathematical skill the sole condition of the one tripos of its honours, and the necessary passport to the other:—thus restricting to the narrowest proficiency all places of distinction and emolument in university and college, to which such honours constitute a claim;—thus also leaving the immense majority of its alumni without incitement, and the most arduous and important studies void of encouragement and reward. It is true, indeed, that the effect of this contracted tendency of the public university is, in some degree, tempered by certain favourable accidents in the constitution of more than one of its private

colleges; but with every allowance for petty and precarious counteraction, and latterly for some very inadequate legislation, the University of Cambridge, unless it can demonstrate that mathematical study is the one best, if not the one exclusive mean of a general evolution of our faculties, must be held to have established and maintained a scheme of discipline, more partial and inadequate than any other which the history of education records. That no Cambridge mathematician has yet been found to essay this demonstration so necessary for his university, so honourable to his science, has always appeared to us a virtual admission that the thesis was incapable of defence. A treatise, therefore, apparently on the very point, and by a distinguished member of the university, could not fail of engaging our attention; and this, whether it proposed to defend the actual practice of the seminary, or to urge the expediency of a reform.

From the character of its author, the pamphlet before us likewise comes recommended by no mean claim to consideration. Mr Whewell has already, by his writings, approved to the world, not only his extensive acquirements in mathematical and physical science, but his talent as a vigorous and independent thinker. To a narrower circle, he is known as the principal public tutor of the principal college of his university; and in this relation, his zeal, and knowledge, and ability have concurred in raising him to an enviable eminence. Though more peculiarly distinguished by his publications in that department of science so exclusively patronised by the university, he has yet shown at once his intelligence and liberality, by amplifying the former circle of studies pursued in the college under his direction; and, in particular, we are informed that he has exerted his influence in awakening a new spirit for the cultivation of mental philosophy; in which department he has already introduced, or is in the course of introducing, a series of more appropriate authors than those previously in use.*

In these circumstances it was with more than usual expectation that we received Mr Whewell's pamphlet. Its perusal—must we say it?—has disappointed us. The confession is unavoidable. The very respect we entertain for the character and talents of the author compels us to be plain rather than pleasant with his work. As a writer, Mr Whewell has long out-grown the need of any critical dandling; the question he agitates is far too serious to tolerate the bandying of compliments; his authority, in oppo-

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* We are happy to announce, that the admirable treatise on the *History of Ethical Philosophy*, by Sir James Mackintosh, which forms part of the *Prolegomena* to the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, has lately been published in a separate form, with a Preface by Mr Whewell, containing an excellent view of its leading object sand doctrines.

sition to our conviction, is too imposing to allow of quarter to his reasoning; whilst we are confident that he is himself too sincere a champion of truth, to accept of any favour but what the interest of truth demands.

We say that we are disappointed with the pamphlet, and this on sundry accounts. We are disappointed, certainly, that its author did not here advocate for the university the liberal views which he had already extended to his college. But taking it for a vindication of mathematical study, as the principal mean in the cultivation of the reasoning faculty,—supposing also that the reasoning faculty is that whose cultivation is chiefly to be encouraged in the liberal education of a university,—considering it, in a word, from its own point of view alone, we say that we are disappointed with it, as failing signally in the accomplishment of what it proposes. In fact, had our opinion not previously been decided on the question, the perusal of this argument in defence of mathematical study would have only tended to persuade us of its comparative inutility.

Before entering on details, it is proper here, once for all, to premise,—in the first place, that the question does not regard the value of mathematical *science*, considered in itself, but the utility of mathematical *study*, as an exercise of the mind; and in the second, that the expediency is not disputed of leaving mathematics, as a co-ordinate, to find its level among the other branches of academical instruction. It is only contended that they ought not to be made the *principal*, far less the *exclusive* object of encouragement. We speak not now of *professional*, but of *liberal* education; not of that, which makes the mind an instrument for the improvement of science, but of this, which makes science an instrument for the improvement of the mind.

Of all our intellectual pursuits, the study of the mathematical sciences is the one, whose utility as an intellectual exercise, when carried beyond a moderate extent, has been most peremptorily denied by the greatest number of the most competent judges; and the arguments on which this opinion is established have hitherto been evaded rather than opposed. Some intelligent mathematicians, indeed, admit all that has been urged against their science as a principal discipline of the mind; and only contend that it ought not to be extruded from all place in a scheme of liberal education. With these, therefore, we have no controversy. More strenuous advocates of this study, again, maintain that mathematics are of primary importance as a logical exercise of reason; but unable to controvert the evidence of its contracted and partial cultivation of the faculties, they endeavour to vindicate the study in general, by attributing its evil influence to

some peculiar modification of the science; and thus hope to avoid the loss of the whole, by the vicarious sacrifice of a part. But here unfortunately they are not at one. Some are willing to surrender the modern analysis as a gymnastic of the mind; confessing that its very perfection as an instrument of discovery unfits it for an instrument of mental cultivation; its formulæ mechanically transporting the student with closed eyes to the conclusion, whereas the geometrical construction leads him to the end, more circuitously indeed, but by his own exertion, and with a clear consciousness of every step in the procedure. Others, on the contrary, disgusted with the tedious and complex operations of geometry, recommend the algebraic process as that most favourable to the powers of generalization and reasoning; for, concentrating into the narrowest compass the greatest complement of meaning, it obviates all irrelevant distraction, and enables the intellect to operate for a longer continuance, more energetically, securely, and effectually. The arguments in favour of the study, thus neutralize each other; and the reasoning of those who deny it more than a subordinate and partial utility, stands not only uncontroverted, but untouched.

Mr Whewell belongs to the class of thorough-going advocates; he would maintain the paramount importance of mathematical study in general; but willingly allows the worst that has been urged against it to be true of certain opinions and practices, to which he is opposed. The obnoxious modifications are not, however, with him coincident either with the geometric, or with the analytic, method; but though, we think, if fairly developed, his principles would tend to supersede the latter, as he has applied them, they merely affect certain alleged abuses in both departments of the science.

We were disappointed in finding so little said on the general argument; and the special reasoning we must be allowed to disregard, as we cannot recognise a suspected substance to be wholesome food, merely because certain bits of it are admitted to be deadly poison.—But the general argument is not only brief but inconclusive. A few of the usual generalities we have, in praise of mathematics, and of the logical habits, which it is assumed, that they induce; but he controverts none of the grounds, he refers to none of the authorities, which go to prove that the tendency of a too exclusive study of these sciences is, absolutely, to disqualify the mind for observation and common reasoning. We cannot now criticise its details, though to some we shall allude in the sequel; but the very conception of the argument is vicious. Mr Whewell contrasts mathematics and logic, and endeavours to establish the high and general importance of the former, by

showing their superiority to the latter as a school of practical reasoning. Now admitting, what we are far indeed from doing, that the merits of the two sciences are fully produced and fairly weighed against each other, still the comparison itself is invalid. Logic, by a famous distinction, is divided into Theoretical or General Logic (χωρὶς πραγμάτων, *docens*), in so far as it analyzes the mere laws of thought; and into Practical or Special Logic (ἐν χρήσει, *utens*), in so far as it applies these laws to a certain matter or class of objects. The former is one, and stands in the same common relation to all the sciences; the latter is manifold, and stands in proximate relation to this or that particular science, with which it is in fact identified. Now, as all matter is either necessary or contingent (a distinction which may be here roughly assumed to coincide with mathematical and non-mathematical), we have thus, besides a theoretical or general logic, two practical or special logics in their highest universality and contrast.

Theoretical Logic;

Practical Logic, as specially applied to *Necessary Matter* = Mathematical reasoning;	*Practical Logic*, as specially applied to *Contingent Matter*, = Philosophy and General reasoning.

Now, the question which Mr Whewell proposes to handle, is —*What is the best instrument for educating men to a full developement of the reasoning faculty?* and his answer to that question is—*Mathematics*. But the reasoning faculty of men, being in all principally, in most altogether, occupied upon contingent matter, comprising, what Mr Whewell himself calls, 'the 'most important employments of the human mind;' he was bound articulately to prove, what certainly cannot be presumed, that mathematics (the practical logic of necessary matter) cultivate the reasoning faculty for its employment on contingent matter, better than philosophy &c.,—the practical logic of contingent matter itself. But this he does not even attempt. On the contrary, after mistating the custom of 'our universities,' he actually overlooks the existence of the practical logic of contingent matter altogether;—then, assuming mathematics, the logic of necessary matter, to be the only practical logic in existence, he lightly concedes to it the victory over theoretical logic, on the ground, that 'reasoning, a practical process, must be taught by 'practice better than by precept.' The primary condition and the whole difficulty of the problem is thus eluded; for it behoved him to have proved, not to have assumed, the paradox—that the study of necessary reasoning alone is a better exercise of the

habits of probable reasoning, than the practice of probable reasoning itself, and that, also, illustrated by the theory of the laws of thought and reasoning in general. We may at once admit that theoretical logic realizes its full value only through its practical applications. But does it therefore follow, either that a useful practice is independent of theory, or that we shall come best trained to the hunting-field of probability by assiduous locomotion on the railroad of demonstration? But of this hereafter.

Having evinced, by this easy process, that mathematics are 'a means of forming logical habits better than logic itself,' Mr Whewell broaches the important question—

'How far the study thus recommended is justly chargeable with evil consequences?...Does it (he proceeds) necessarily make men too little sensible to other than mathematical reasonings? Does it teach them to require a kind of fundamental principles and a mode of deduction which are not in reality attainable in questions of morals or politics, or even of natural philosophy? If it does this, it may well unfit men for the most important employments of the human mind, &c. . . . But is this, in fact, usually the case? And if it happen sometimes, and sometimes only, under what circumstances does it occur? This latter question has, I think, important practical bearings, and I shall try to give some answer to it.

'I would reply, then, that if mathematics be taught in such a manner that its foundations appear to be laid in arbitrary definitions without any corresponding act of the mind;—or if its first principles be represented as borrowed from experience, in such a manner that the whole science is empirical only;—or if it be held forth as the highest perfection of the science to reduce our knowledge to extremely general propositions and processes, in which all particular cases are included;—so studied, it may, I conceive, unfit the mind for dealing with other kinds of truth.'—P. 8.

The developement and illustration of these three propositions occupy the remainder of the pamphlet.

Now it will be observed that Mr Whewell does not here or elsewhere, attempt any vindication of mathematics from those charges to which it is thus acknowledged to be obnoxious; for it is no defence of the study in general, against which alone these accusations have from all ages been advanced, to admit, nay, to exaggerate, the evil tendency of certain petty recent opinions, wholly uncontemplated by the accusers.

The principal value of Mr Whewell's pamphlet lies in the special illustrations of the first and third heads. There the mathematician is within his sphere. On these we should not have been indisposed to offer some remarks; but the technical nature of the subject could not interest the general reader; and the

Rabbinic apophthegm reminds us, *Dies brevis, et opus multum, et paterfamilias urget.*

The second head, in which Mr Whewell trenches on philosophy, we cannot altogether overlook.

'I will not suppose,' he says, 'that any person who has paid any attention to mathematics does not see clearly the difference between necessary truths and empirical facts; between the evidence of the properties of a triangle, and that of the general laws of the structure of plants. The peculiar character of mathematical truth is, that it is necessarily and inevitably true; and one of the most important lessons which we learn from our mathematical studies is a knowledge that there are such truths, and a familiarity with their form and character.

'This lesson is not only lost, but read backwards, if the student is taught that there is no such difference, and that mathematical truths themselves are learnt by experience. I can hardly suppose that any mathematician would hold such an opinion with regard to geometrical truths, although it has been entertained by metaphysicians of no inconsiderable acuteness, as Hume. We might ask such persons how Experience can show, not only that a thing *is*, but that it *must be*; by what authority she, the mere recorder of the actual occurrences of the past, pronounces upon all possible cases, though as yet to be tried hereafter only, or probably never. Or, descending to particulars; when it is maintained that it is from experience alone that we know that two straight lines cannot enclose space, we ask, who ever made the trial, and how? and we request to be informed in what way he ascertained that the lines with which he made his experiment were accurately straight. The fallacy is in this case, I conceive, too palpable to require to be dwelt upon.'—P. 32.

Now, in the first place, it is wholly beyond the domain of mathematics to enquire into the origin and nature of their principles. Mathematics, as Plato * observes, and Proclus,† are founded on *hypotheses*, of which they can render no account; and for this reason, the former even denies them the denomination of Science. 'The geometer, *qua* geometer' (says Aristotle,) 'can 'attempt no discussion of his principles;'‡ and Seneca observes that 'The mathematical is, so to speak, a superficial science; it 'builds on a borrowed site, and the principles, by aid of which 'it proceeds, are not its own: philosophy begs nothing from 'another; it rears its own edifice from its own soil.'¶ These authorities represent the harmonious opinion of philosophers and mathematicians, of ancient and of modern times.

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* *De Repub.* L. vi. and L. vii. † *In Euclid.* L. i. p. 22.
‡ *Post. Analyt.* L. i. c. 12, § 3. Compare *Phys.* L. i. c. 2, text 8.
¶ *Epist.* lxxxviii.

But, in the second place, if a mathematician know so little of his province as to make such an inroad into that of the philosopher, we cannot for our life imagine how a metaphysical flourish at the head of a mathematical system can affect the treatment of the science, and through that affect the mind of the student. We doubt, indeed, whether a mathematician in a hundred has ever possessed an opinion, far less the right to an opinion, on the matter.

In the third place, what are we to think of the assumption, that the study of mathematics is requisite to make us aware of the existence of necessary truths? That certain *judgments* there are which we are compelled to recognise as necessary, is a *fact* that was never unknown to, was never denied by, any rational being. Whether these necessary judgments are *truths*, has been indeed doubted by certain philosophers; but of this doubt mathematics can afford us no solution,—no proper materials for a solution. The very propositions on which these sciences build their whole edifice of demonstration, are as well known by the tyro when he opens his Euclid, as by the veteran Euler or Laplace; nay, they are possessed, even in prior property, by the philosopher, to whom, indeed, the mathematician must look for their vindication and establishment.

But, in the fourth place, if Mr Whewell 'can hardly suppose 'that any mathematician would hold the opinion that mathe-'matical truths are learned from experience,' we cannot understand why he takes the trouble of writing this treatise against such an opinion as actually held, and held by a whole 'school of 'mathematics?' Perhaps, he means by 'any mathematician'—any mathematician worthy of the name. But then if this 'school 'of mathematics' be so contemptible, why write, and that so seriously, against them? This, we may observe, is not the only contradiction in the pamphlet we have been wholly unable to reconcile.

But, in the fifth place, this contrast itself is an error. In regard to the exculpation of the mathematicians, we need look no farther than to the late Sir John Leslie for its disproof. 'Geometry' (says that truly original thinker, who surely was a mathematician) 'is thus founded likewise on observation; but of a kind so 'familiar and obvious, that the primary notions which it furnishes 'might seem intuitive.'* As to the inculpation of the metaphysicians,—why was Locke not mentioned in place of Hume? If

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* *Rudiments of Plane Geometry*, p. 18; and more fully in *Elements of Geometry and of Geometrical Analysis*, p. 453.

Hume did advance such a doctrine, he only sceptically took up what Locke dogmatically laid down. But Locke himself received this opinion from a mathematician; for this part of his philosophy he borrows from Gassendi: and, what is curious, he here deserts the schoolman from whom he adopted, as the basis of his philosophy, the twofold origin of knowledge, *Sense* and *Reflection;* for the unacknowledged master maintains on this, as on many other questions, opinions far more profound than those of his disciple. But in regard to Hume, Mr Whewell is wholly wrong. So far is that philosopher from holding 'that 'geometrical truths are learnt by experience,' that, while rating mathematical science, as a study, at a very low account, he was all too acute to countenance so crude an opinion in regard to its foundation; and, in fact, is celebrated for maintaining one precisely the reverse. On this point he was neither sensualist nor sceptic, but deserted Locke and Aenesidemus to encamp with Leibnitz.

In the sixth place, the quality of necessity is correctly stated by Mr Whewell as the criterion of a pure or *a priori* knowledge. So far, however, from this being a truism always familiar to mathematicians, it only shows that Mr Whewell has himself been recently dipping into the Kantian philosophy; of which he here adduces a famous principle and one of the ordinary illustrations. The principle was indeed enounced by Leibnitz, in whom mathematics may assert a share; but that philosopher failed to carry it out to its most important applications. In his philosophy, our conceptions of *Space* and *Time* are derived from experience. We can trace it also obscurely in Descartes, and several of the older metaphysicians: but assuredly it was nothing 'palpable,' nothing to which the mathematicians can lay claim. On this principle, as first evolved by Kant, *Space* and *Time* are merely modifications of the mind, and mathematics thus only conversant about necessary thoughts—thoughts which can even make no pretension to truth and objective reality. Are the foundations of the science thus better laid?—But to more important matters.

It is an ancient and universal observation, that different studies cultivate the mind to a different developement; and as the end of a liberal education is the general and harmonious evolution of its capacities in their relative subordination, the folly has accordingly been long and generally denounced, which would attempt to accomplish this result by the partial application of certain partial studies. And not only has the effect of a one-sided discipline been remarked upon the mind in general, in the disproportioned developement of one faculty at the expense of others; it has been equally observed in the exclusive cultivation of the same faculty

to some special energy, or in relation to some particular class of objects. Of this no one had a clearer perception than Aristotle; and no one has better illustrated the evil effects of such a cultivation of the mind, on all and each of its faculties.

'The capacity,' he says, 'of receiving knowledge is modified by the habits of the recipient mind. For, as we have been habituated to learn, do we deem that every thing ought to be taught; and the same object presented in an unfamiliar manner, strikes us not only as unlike itself, but, from want of custom, as comparatively strange and unknown. For the accustomed is the better known. How great indeed is the influence of custom is manifested in the laws; in which the fabulous and puerile exert a greater influence, through habit, than, through knowledge, the true and the expedient. Some, therefore (who have been overmuch accustomed to mathematical studies), will only listen to one who demonstrates like a mathematician; others (who have exclusively cultivated analogical reasoning) require the employment of examples; while others, again (whose imagination has been exercised at the expense of judgment), deem it enough to adduce the testimony of a poet. Some are satisfied only with an exact treatment of every subject; to others, again, from a trifling disposition, or an impotence of continued thought, the exact treatment of any is irksome. We ought, therefore, to be educated to the different modes and amount of evidence which the different objects of our knowledge admit.'*

And again—

'It is the part of a well-educated man to require that measure of accuracy in every discussion, which the nature of its object-matter allows; for it would not be more absurd to tolerate a persuasive mathematician, than to astrict an orator to demonstration. But every one competently judges in the matters with which he is conversant. Of these, therefore, he is a good judge,—in each, he who has been disciplined in each, absolutely, he who has been disciplined in all.'†

But the difference between different studies, in their contracting influence, is great. Some exercise, and consequently develope, perhaps, one faculty on a single phasis, or to a low degree; whilst others, from the variety of objects and relations they present, calling into strong and unexclusive activity the whole circle of the higher powers, may almost pretend to accomplish alone the work of catholic education.

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* *Metaph.* l. ii. (Αλφα το ἔλαττον) c. 3, text 14.

† *Eth. Nicom.* l. i. c. 3. The text universally received (Εκαστος δὲ κρίνει καλῶς ἃ γινώσκει, καὶ τούτων ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς κριτής. καθ' ἕκαστον ἄρα ὁ πεπαιδευμένος· απλῶς δὲ ὁ περὶ πᾶν πεπαιδευμένος), is at once defective and tautological. The cause of the corruption is manifest; the emendation simple and, we think, certain. Εκαστος δὲ κρίνει καλῶς ἃ γινώσκει· τούτων ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς κριτής, καθ' ἕκαστον, ὁ καθ' ἕκαστον πεπαιδευμένος, ἁπλῶς δὲ, ὁ περὶ πᾶν πεπαιδευμένος.

If we consult reason, experience, and the common testimony of ancient and modern times, none of our intellectual studies tend to cultivate a smaller number of the faculties, in a more partial manner, than mathematics. This is acknowledged by every writer on education of the least pretension to judgment and experience; nor is it denied even by those who are the most decidedly opposed to their total banishment from the sphere of a liberal instruction. Germany is the country which has far distanced every other in the theory and practice of education; and the three following testimonies may represent the actual state of opinion in the three kingdoms of the Germanic union which stand the highest in point of intelligence—Prussia, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg.

'It is asked' (says Bernhardi, one of the most intelligent and experienced authorities on education to be found in Prussia), it is asked, Do mathematics awaken the judgment, the reasoning faculty, and the understanding in general to an all-sided activity? We are compelled to answer,—No. For they do this only in relation to a knowledge of quantity, neglecting altogether that of quality. Further, is this mathematical evidence, is this coincidence of theory and practice, actually found to hold in the other branches of our knowledge? The slightest survey of the sciences proves the very reverse; and teaches us that mathematics tend necessarily to induce that numb rigidity into our intellectual life, which, pressing obstinately straight onwards to the end in view, takes no heed or account of the means by which, in different subjects, it must be differently attained.'*

The second authority we quote, is that of the distinguished philosopher who has long so beneficially presided over the Royal Institute of Studies in Munich.

'Mathematics and grammar (says Von Weiller), differ essentially from each other, in respect to their efficiency, as general means of intellectual cultivation. The former have to do only with the intuitions of space and time, and are, therefore, even in their foundation, limited to a special department of our being; whereas the latter, occupied with the primary notions of our intellectual life in general, is co-extensive with its universal empire. On this account, the grammatical exercise of mind must, if beneficially applied, precede the mathematical. And thus are we to explain why the efficiency of the latter does not stretch so widely over our intellectual territory; why it never developes the mind on so many sides; and why, also, it never penetrates so profoundly. By mathematics, the powers of thought are less stirred up in their inner

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* *Ansichten, &c.*, i. e. *Thoughts on the Organization of Learned Schools*, by A. F. Bernhardi, Doctor of Philosophy, Director and Professor of the Frederician Gymnasium, in Berlin, and Member of the Consistorial Council, 1818.

essence, than drilled to outward order and severity ; and, consequently, manifest their education more by a certain formal precision, than through their fertility and depth. This truth is even signally confirmed by the experience of our own institution. The best of our former *Real scholars*, when brought into collation with the *Latin scholars* could, in general, hardly compete with the most middling of these—not merely in matters of language, but in every thing which demanded a more developed faculty of thought.'*

The third witness whom we call, is one, be it remarked, with a stronger bias to *realism*, in the higher instruction, than is of late, after the experience of the past, easily to be found in Germany.

'We shall first of all admit (says Klumpp), that mathematics only cultivate the mind on a single phasis. Their object is merely *form* and *quantity*. They thus remain, as it were, only on the surface of things, without reaching their essential qualities, or their internal and far more important relations—to the feelings, namely, and the will—and consequently without determining the higher faculties to activity. So, likewise, on the other hand, the memory and imagination remain in a great measure unemployed ; so that, strictly speaking, the understanding alone remains to them, and even this is cultivated and pointed only in one special direction. To a many-sided culture,—to an all-sided harmonious excitation and developement of the many various powers, they can make no pretension. This, too, is strongly confirmed by experience, inasmuch as many mere mathematicians, however learned and estimable they may be, are still notorious for a certain one-sidedness of mind, and for a want of practical tact. If, therefore, mathematical instruction is to operate beneficially as a mean of mental cultivation, the chasms which it leaves must be filled up by other objects of study, and

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* From a *Dissertation* accompanying the *Annual Report of the Royal Institute of Studies, in Munich, for the year* 1822, by its Director, Cajetan von Weiller, Privy Counsellor, Perpetual Secretary of the Royal Academy of Sciences, &c. This testimony is worthy of attention, not merely on account of the high talent, knowledge, and experience of the witness, but because it hints at the result of a disastrous experiment made by authority of Government throughout the schools of an extensive kingdom ;—an experiment of which certain empirics would recommend a repetition amongst ourselves. But the experiment, which in schools organized and controlled like those of Bavaria, could be at once arrested when its evil tendency was sufficiently apparent, would, in schools circumstanced like ours, end only, either in their ruin, or in their conversion from inadequate instruments of a higher cultivation to effective engines of a disguised barbarism. We may endeavour, erelong, to prevent the experience of other nations from being altogether unprofitable to ourselves.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

that harmonious evolution of the faculties procured, which our learned schools are bound to propose as their necessary end.'*

To the same general fact, we shall add the testimony of one of the shrewdest of human observers.—'This also' (says Goethe, in a letter to Zelter) 'shows me more and more distinctly, what I 'have long in secret been aware of, that the cultivation afforded 'by the mathematics is, in the highest degree, one-sided and con- 'tracted. Nay, Voltaire does not hesitate somewhere to affirm, '"j'ai toujours remarqué que la géometrie laisse l'esprit ou elle 'le trouve." Franklin, also, has clearly and explicitly enounced 'his particular aversion for mathematicians; as he found them, in 'the intercourse of society, insupportable from their trifling and 'captious spirit.'†

Even D'Alembert, the mathematician, and professed encomiast of the mathematics, cannot deny the charge that they freeze and parch the mind: but he endeavours to evade it. 'We shall con- 'tent ourselves with the remark, that if mathematics (as is as- 'serted with sufficient reason) only make straight the minds which 'are without a bias, so they only dry up and chill the minds 'already prepared for this operation by nature.'‡ Yet what a confession! The Cambridge Catholicon is thus a dose which never bestows health, but tends to evolve the seeds of disease.

Nay, Descartes, the greatest mathematician of his age, and in spite of his mathematics, also its greatest philosopher, was convinced from his own consciousness, that these sciences, however valuable as an instrument of external science, are absolutely pernicious as a mean of internal culture. 'It was now a long 'time' (says Baillet, his biographer under the year 1623, the 28th of the philosopher) 'since he had been convinced of the small 'utility of the mathematics, especially when studied on their own 'account, and not applied to other things. There was nothing, 'in fact, which appeared to him more futile than to occupy our- 'selves with simple numbers and imaginary figures, as if it were 'proper to confine ourselves to these trifles (bagatelles) without 'carrying our view beyond. There even seemed to him in this

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* *Die Gelehrten Schulen, &c.*, i. e. '*Learned Schools, according to the principles of a genuine humanism, and the demands of the age.* By F. W. Klumpp, Professor in the Royal Gymnasium of Stuttgurt.' 1829, vol. ii. p. 41. An interesting account of the seminary established on Klumpp's principles, by the King of Wirtemberg, at his pleasure palace of Stetten, in 1831, is to be found in the *Conversations Lexicon fuer neuesten Zeit.* i. p. 727.

† *Briefwechsel Zwischen Goethe und Zelter*, 1833, i. p. 430.

‡ *Melanges*, t. iv. p. 184, ed. 1763.

'something worse than useless. His maxim was, that such application insensibly disaccustomed us to the use of our reason, 'and made us run the danger of losing the path which it traces.' (*Cartesii Lib. de Directione Ingenii, Regula* 4, MS.)—'In a letter 'to Mersenne, written in 1630, M. Des Cartes recalled to him that 'he had renounced the study of mathematics for many years; and 'that he was anxious not to lose any more of his time in the barren 'operations of geometry and arithmetic, studies which never lead 'to any thing important.'—Speaking of the general character of the philosopher, Baillet adds, 'In regard to the rest of mathe-'matics [he had just spoken of astronomy, which Descartes thought, 'though he dreamt in it himself, only a loss of time,'], 'those who know the rank which he held above all mathemati-'cians, ancient and modern, will agree that he was the man in 'the world best qualified to judge them. We have observed that, 'after having studied them to the bottom, he had renounced those 'of no use for the conduct of life, and the solace of mankind.'* We shall refer to Descartes again.

How opposite are the habitudes of mind which the study of the mathematical and the study of the philosophical sciences require and cultivate, has attracted the attention of observers from the most ancient times. The principle of this contrast lies in their different *objects*, in their different *ends*, and in the different *modes of considering their objects*;—differences in the sciences themselves, which calling forth, in their cultivators, different faculties, or the same faculty in different ways and degrees, determine developements of thought so dissimilar, that in the same individual a capacity for the one class of sciences has, not without reason, been considered as detracting from his qualification for the other.

As to their *objects*.—In the first place, the mathematical sciences are limited to the relations of quantity alone, or, to speak more correctly, to the one relation of quantities—equality and inequality; the philosophical sciences, on the contrary, are astricted to none of the categories, are coextensive with existence and its modes, and circumscribed only by the capacity of the human intellect itself. In the second place, mathematics take no account of things, but are conversant solely about notions; and their whole science is contained in the separation, conjunction, and comparison of these. Philosophy, on the other hand, is mainly occupied with realities; it is the science of a real existence, not merely of a conceived existence.

As to their *ends*, and their *procedure to these ends*.—Truth

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* *La Vie de Descartes*, P. i. pp. 111, 112, 225. P. ii. p. 481.

or knowledge is, indeed, the scope of both; but the kind of knowledge proposed by the one is very different from that proposed by the other. In mathematics, the whole principles are given; in philosophy, the greater number are to be sought out and established. In the former, the given principles are both material and formal, that is, they afford at once the conditions of the construction of the science, and of our knowledge of that construction (*principia essendi et cognoscendi*). In the latter, the given principles are only formal—only the logical conditions of the abstract possibility of knowledge. In mathematics, the whole science is virtually contained in its *data;* it is only the evolution of a potential knowledge into an actual, and its procedure is thus merely explicative. In philosophy, the science is not contained in *data;* its principles are merely the rules for our conduct in the quest, the proof, and the arrangement of knowledge: it is a transition from absolute ignorance to science, and its procedure is therefore ampliative. In mathematics we always depart from the definition; in philosophy, with the definition we usually end. Mathematics know nothing of causes; the research of causes is philosophy; the former display only the *that* (τὸ ὅτι); the latter mainly investigates the *why* (τὸ διότι). The truth of mathematics is the harmony of thought and thought; the truth of philosophy is the harmony of thought and existence.—Hence the absurdity of all applications of the mathematical method to philosophy.

It is, however, proximately in the different *modes of considering their objects* that mathematics and philosophy so differently cultivate the mind. In the first place, without entering on the metaphysical nature of Space and Time, as the basis of concrete and discrete quantities, of geometry and arithmetic, it is sufficient to say that Space and Time, as the necessary conditions of thought, are, severally, to us absolutely one; and each of their modifications, though apprehended as singular in the act of consciousness, is, at the same time, recognised as virtually, and in effect, universal. Mathematical science, therefore, whose conceptions (as number, figure, motion) are exclusively modifications of these fundamental forms, separately or in combination, does not establish their universality on any *a posteriori* process of abstraction and generalization; but at once contemplates the general in the particular. The universal notions of philosophy, on the contrary, are, with a few great exceptions, generalizations from experience; and as the universal constitutes the rule under which the philosopher *thinks* the individual, philosophy consequently, the reverse of mathematics, views the particular in the general.

In the second place, in mathematics, quantity, when not divorced from form, is itself really presented to the intellect in a lucid image of imagination, or in a sensible diagram; and the quanti-

ties which cannot thus be distinctly construed to imagination and sense, are, as only syntheses of unity, repetitions of identity, adequately, though conventionally, denoted in the vicarious combination of a few simple symbols. Thus both in geometry, by an ostensive construction, and in arithmetic and algebra, by a symbolical, the intellect is relieved of all effort in the support and presentation of its objects; and is therefore left to operate upon these in all the ease and security with which it considers the concrete realities of nature. Philosophy, on the contrary, is principally occupied with those general notions which are *thought* by the intellect but are not to be *pictured* by the imagination; and yet, though thus destitute of the light and definitude of mathematical conceptions, philosophy is allowed no adequate language of its own; and the common language, in its vagueness and insufficiency, does not afford to its unimaginable abstractions that guarantee and support, which, though less wanted, is fully obtained by its rival science, in the absolute equivalence of mathematical thought and mathematical expression.

In the third place, mathematics, departing from certain original hypotheses, and these hypotheses exclusively determining every movement of their procedure, and the images or the vicarious symbols about which they are conversant being clear and simple, the deductions of these sciences are apodictic or demonstrative; that is, the possibility of the contrary is at every step seen to be excluded in the very comprehension of the terms. On the other hand, in philosophy (with the exception of the science of logic), and in our reasonings in general, such demonstrative certainty is rarely to be attained; probable certainty, that is, where we are never conscious of the impossibility of the contrary, is all that can be compassed; and this also, not being internally evolved from any fundamental *data*, must be sought for, collected, and applied from without.

From this general contrast it will easily be seen how an excessive study of the mathematical sciences not only does not prepare, but absolutely incapacitates the mind, for those intellectual energies which philosophy and life require. We are thus disqualified for *observation either internal or external*—for *abstraction and generalization*—and for *common reasoning;* and disposed to the alternative of blind *credulity* or irrational *scepticism*.

That mathematics, in which the objects are purely ideal, in which the principles are given, in which, from these principles, the whole science is independently developed, and in which developement the student is, as Aristotle expresses it, not an *actor*, but a mere *spectator;*—that mathematics can possibly in their study educate to any active exercise of the powers of *observation*, either as reflected upon ourselves or as directed on the affairs of

life, and the phænomena of nature, will not, we presume, be maintained. But of this again.

That they do not cultivate the capacity of *generalization* is equally apparent. The ostensive figures of Geometry are no abstractions—but concrete forms of imagination or sense; and the highest praise, accorded by the most philosophical mathematicians, to the symbolical notation of arithmetic and algebra, is, that it has relieved the mind of all intellectual effort, by substituting a sign for a notion, and a mechanical for a mental process. In mathematics, genus and species are hardly known.

Geometry indeed has been justly considered as cultivating rather the lowest degree of the imagination* than any higher power of the understanding. 'The geometer' (says Philoponus) 'considers the divisible forms in the imagination; for he uses his 'imagination as his board.'† 'Those rejoice' (says Albertus Magnus), 'in the mathematical sciences whose organ of imagination for 'receiving figures is temperately dry and warm.'‡ 'Among philoso-'phers' (says Fracastorius, the mathematician, the philosopher, the poet) 'some delight to investigate the *causes* and *substances* of 'things, and these are the philosophers properly so called. Others 'again, enquiring into the relations of certain accidents, are 'chiefly occupied about these, such as *numbers* and *figures*, and, 'in general, *quantities*. These latter are principally potent in the 'faculty of imagination, and in that part of the brain which lies 'towards its centre; this, therefore, they have hot, and capa-'cious, and excellently conservative. Hence, they imagine well 'how things stand in their wholes and in relation to each other. 'But we have said that every one finds pleasure in those func-'tions which he is capable of performing well. Wherefore, these 'principally delight in that knowledge which is situate in the 'imagination, and they are denominated mathematicians.' ¶ Though no believers in Gall, there can, however, we think, be no doubt that in the same individual there are very different

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* In this country, the term *Imagination* has latterly been used in a more contracted signification, as expressive of what has been called the creative or productive imagination alone. Mr Stewart has even bestowed on the reproductive imagination the term *Conception;*—happily, we do not think; as both in grammatical propriety, and by the older and correcter usage of philosophers, this term is convertible with *general notion*, and in this sense is admirably rendered by the *Begriff* (the grasping up) of the Germans.

† *In Aristot. de Anima*, Sign. B. iv. ed. Trincavelli, 1535.—(Aristot. l. i. text 16.)

‡ *In Metaph. Aristot.* L. 1. tract i. c. 5.

¶ *De Intellectione*, L. ii. *Opera*, f. 148, ed 3. Venet. 1584.

degrees of imagination for different objects; and of these one of the most remarkable is, the peculiar capacity possessed by certain persons of presenting and retaining quantities and numbers—the condition of a mathematical genius. 'The study of mathema-'tics' (says Descartes, and he frequently repeats the observation) 'principally exercises the imagination in the consideration of 'figures and motions.'* Nay, on this very ground, he explains the incapacity of mathematicians for philosophy. 'That part of 'the mind,' says he, in a letter to Father Mersenne, 'viz., the 'imagination, which is principally conducive to a skill in mathe-'matics, is of greater detriment than service for metaphysical 'speculations.'† Sir Kenelm Digby acutely says, 'I may observe, 'as our countryman Roger Bacon did long ago, that those stu-'dents, who busy themselves much with such notions as reside 'wholly in the Fantasie, do hardly ever become idoneous for 'abstracted metaphysical speculations; the one having bulkie 'foundation of matter, or of the accidents of it, to settle upon (at 'least with one foot); the other flying continually, even to a 'lessening pitch, in the subtile air. And, accordingly, it hath 'been generally noted, that the exactest mathematicians, who 'converse altogether with lines, figures, and other differences of 'quantity, have seldom proved eminent in metaphysics or specu-'lative divinity; nor again, the professors of these sciences, in 'the other arts. Much less can it be expected that an excellent 'physician, whose fancy is always fraught with the material 'drugs that he prescribeth his apothecary to compound his medi-'cines of, and whose hands are inured to the cutting up, and 'eyes to the inspection of anatomized bodies, should easily, and 'with success, flie his thoughts at so towering a game as a pure 'intellect, a separated and unbodied soul.'‡ The dependence of mathematics on the lower imagination is recognised in like manner in the Kantian philosophy and its modifications.

But the study of mathematical demonstration is mainly recommended as a practice of reasoning in general, and it is precisely as such a practice that its inutility is perhaps the greatest. General reasoning is almost exclusively occupied on contingent matter; if mathematical demonstration therefore supplies, as is contended, the best exercise of practical logic, it must do this by best enabling us to counteract the besetting tendencies to error, and to overcome the principal obstacles in the way of our probable reasonings. Now, the dangers and difficulties of such reasoning lie wholly in its *form*, its *vehicle*, and its *matter*.

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* *Lettres*, p. i. let. xxx. † *Epist.* p. ii. ep. xxxiii.

‡ *Observations on Sir Thos. Brown's Religio Medici*, sub initio.

As to the *form*, the study of mathematics educates to no sagacity in detecting and avoiding the fallacies which originate in the thought itself of the reasoner. Demonstration is only demonstration, if the necessity of the one contrary and the impossibility of the other be, from the nature of the object-matter itself, absolutely clear to consciousness at every step of its deduction. Mathematical reasoning, therefore, as demonstrative, allows no room for any sophistry of thought; the necessity of its matter necessitates the correctness of its form; and, consequently, it cannot forewarn and arm the student against this formidable principle of error. Mr Whewell indeed says, that 'In mathema-'tics the student is rendered familiar with the most perfect 'examples of strict inference; compelled habitually to fix his 'attention on those conditions on which the cogency of the de-'monstration depends; and in the *mistaken and imperfect attempts* '*at demonstration* made by himself or others, he is presented with 'examples of the *most natural fallacies*, which he sees exposed and 'corrected.'—(P. 5). We must be pardoned for observing that we should have wished the connexion of the first clauses of this sentence and the last, had been instructed by something better than an 'and'; and that the novel assertions in this last itself had been explained and exemplified. Were the truth of our argument not sufficiently manifest of itself, we might appeal to the fact, noticed by Aristotle and confirmed by all subsequent experience, that of the sciences, mathematics alone have continued to advance without 'shadow of turning,' and even (as far as their proper objects are concerned) without dispute. Mathematics have from the first been triumphant over the husk; philosophy is still militant for the kernel. Logic, therefore, as the doctrine of the form of reasoning, so valuable in every other subject, is practically valueless in mathematics; and, so far from 'forming logical habits better than logic itself,' as Mr Whewell intrepidly asserts, mathematics cannot in this relation conduce to 'logical habits' at all. The art of reasoning *right* is assuredly not to be taught by a process in which there is no reasoning *wrong*. We do not learn to swim in water by previous practice in a pool of quicksilver. Yet, if mathematics are to be recommended as counteracting our natural tendency to err, why not also propose the mercury as counteracting our natural tendency to sink? Mr Coleridge is right, when he says, 'It is a great 'mistake to suppose geometry *any* substitute for logic.'* †

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* *Table Talk*, i. 16.

† Since writing the above, we have met with the following passage of Du Hamel:—'I do not find' (says that distinguished philosopher

But if the study of mathematics do not, as a logical discipline, warn the reason against the fallacies of thought, does it not, as an invigorating exercise of reason itself, fortify that faculty against their influence? To this it is equally incompetent. The principles of mathematics are self-evident; and every transition, every successive step in their evolution, is equally self-evident. But the mere act of intellect, which an intuitive proposition determines, is of all mental energies the easiest—the nearest, in fact, to a negation of thought altogether. But as every step in mathematical demonstration is intuitive, every step in mathematical demonstration calls forth an absolute minimum of thought; and as a faculty, is always evolved in proportion to its competent degree of exercise, consequently mathematics, in determining reason to its feeblest energy, determines reason to its most limited developement.

In the inertion of this study, the mind, in fact, seldom rises to the full consciousness of self-activity. We are here passively moved on, almost as much as we spontaneously move. It has been well expressed, *Mathematicae munus pistrinarium est, ad molam enim alligati, vertimur in gyrum aeque atque vertimus.* The routine of demonstration, in the gymnastic of mind, may, in-

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and mathematician) 'that geometers are mighty solicitous whether their arguments be, in formula, compounded according to logical prescription; and yet there are none who demonstrate either more precisely or with greater conviction. For they usually follow the guidance of nature; descending step by step, from the simpler and more general to the more complex, and defining every term, they leave no ambiguity in their language. Hence it is *that they cannot err in the form of their syllogisms*—for we seldom deviate from logical rules, except when we abuse the ambiguity of words, or attribute a different meaning to the middle term in the major and in the minor, proposition. It is also the custom of geometers to prefix certain self-evident axioms or principles from which all that they are subsequently to demonstrate flow. Finally, their conclusions are deduced, either from definitions which cannot be called in question, or from those principles and propositions known by the light of nature, which are styled axioms, or from other already established conclusions, which now obtain the cogency of principles. They make no troublesome enquiry into the mood or figure of a syllogism, nor lavish attention on the rules of logic; for such attention, by averting their mind from more necessary objects, would be detrimental rather than advantageous.'—(*De Mente Humana*, l. iii. c. 1. *Opera*, t. ii. p. 351.)

Leibnitz (*Opera.* t. ii. p. 17) commemorates the notable exploit of two zealous, but thick-headed logicians—Herlinus and Dasypodius by name—who actually reduced the first six books of Euclid into formal syllogisms.—See also Fonseca *in Metaph. Aristot.* L. ii. c. 3, q. 3, sect. 3.

deed, be compared to the routine of the treadmill, in the gymnastic of body. Each determines a single power to a low but continuous action; all, not disabled in the ordinary functions of humanity, are qualified to take a part in either; but as few without compulsion are found to expatiate on the one, so few without impulsion are found to make a progress in the other. Both are conversant about the necessary; both depart from *data;* of both the procedure is by steps; and in both, the first step being conceded, the necessity of every other is shown on evidence equally intuitive. The one is ever moving, never advancing; the other ever varying to infinity only the expression of the same identity. Both are abstract occupations; and both are thought to disqualify for the world; for though both corrective disciplines, a prejudice prevails towards the one, against the *moral habits* of its votaries, towards the other, against their *moral reasoning.* Among many other correspondences, both, in fine, cultivate a single intellectual virtue; for both equally educate to a mechanical continuity of attention; as in each the scholar is disagreeably thrown out, on the slightest wandering of thought.

Nor is this facility of mathematics any paradox. 'No one, 'almost,' says Cicero, 'seems to have intently applied himself to 'this science, who did not attain in it any proficiency he pleased;'* 'Mathematics are the study of a sluggish intellect,' says 'the 'Helvetian Pliny;'† and Warburton calls 'the routine of de- 'monstration the easiest exercise of reason, where much less of 'the *vigour* than of the *attention* of mind is required to excel.'‡ Among the Greeks in ancient, as in the school of Pestalozzi, and others in recent times, mathematics were drawn back to the primary elements of education. Among a hundred others, Aristotle observes that not youths only, but mere boys easily become mathematicians, while yet incapable of practical or speculative philosophy.¶ And in regard to boys, it is acknowledged by one of the highest authorities, in education, of our age 'that it is no- 'torious in all schools that the minds which manifest a partiality 'for this class of abstract representations, possess the feeblest 'judgment in reference to other matters.' § 'The mathematical 'genius' (says the learned Bishop of Avranches, an admirer of

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* *De Oratore,* L. i. c. 3.

† Zuingerus *in Ethic. Nicom.* L. vi. c. 9.

‡ *Julian, Pref. Works,* iv. p. 345.

¶ *Eth. Nic.* L. vi. c. 8.

§ Niemeyer *Ueber Pestalozzi,* 1810, p. 51. See also Klumpp, *ut supra,* vol. ii. p. 41.

mathematics, and himself no contemptible geometer) 'requires 'much phlegm, moderation, attention, and circumspection. All, 'therefore, that goes to the formation of those brilliant minds, to 'whom has been conceded by privilege the title of *beaux-esprits*, 'I mean copiousness, variety, freedom, readiness, vivacity,—all 'this is directly opposed to mathematical operations, which are 'simple, slow, dry, forced, and necessary.'*

This leads us to observe, that to minds of any talent, mathematics are *only difficult because they are too easy*.—Pleasure is the concomitant of the spontaneous and unimpeded energy of a faculty or habit; and Pain the reflex either of the compulsion of a power to operation beyond its due limits, whether in continuance or degree, or of the compulsory repression of its spontaneous tendency to action. A study, therefore, will be agreeable, in proportion as it affords the conditions of an exercise, spontaneous and unimpeded, to a greater number of more energetic faculties; and irksome in proportion as it constrains either to a too intense or too protracted activity, or to no activity at all. It is by reason of this principle that mathematics are found more peculiarly intolerable by minds endowed with the most varied and vigorous capacities; for such minds are precisely those which the study mulcts of the most numerous and vivid pleasures, and punishes with the largest proportion of intensest pains. It cannot, certainly, be said that the cultivation of these sciences fatigues a single faculty, by urging it to an activity at any moment too intense; in fact, they are felt as irksome, in a great measure, because they do not allow even the one power they partially occupy, its highest healthy exercise. In mathematics we attain our end—*non vi sed saepe cadeno*. But the continued and monotonous attention they necessitate to a long concatenated deduction, each step in the lucid series calling forth on the same eternal relation, and to the same moderate amount, the same simple exertion of reason;—this, added to the inertion to which they condemn all the nobler and more pleasurable energies of thought, is what renders mathematics, in themselves the easiest of all rational studies,—the most arduous for those very minds to which studies in themselves most arduous are easiest.

In mathematics dulness is thus elevated into talent, and talent degraded into incapacity. 'Those' (says the Chian Aristo) 'who occupy themselves with Mathematics to the ne-'glect of Philosophy, are like the wooers of Penelope, who, un-'able to attain the mistress, contented themselves with the

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* *Huetiana*, ch. 123.

'maids.'* Hipponicus, a mathematical genius, and general blockhead, of whom his pupil, the philosopher Arcesilaus, used to say, that his science must have flown into his mouth when yawning,† is the representative of a numerous class. 'The mathe-'matician is either a beggar, a *dunce*, or a visionary, or the 'three in one,' was long an adage in the European schools.‡ 'Lourd comme un géometre'¶ (dull as a mathematician) has also, by the confession of its objects, obtained a proverbial currency in the most mathematical (which, be it also remembered, was, till lately, the least philosophical) nation of Europe. 'A dull 'and patient intellect,' says Joseph Scaliger, the most learned of men, 'such should be your geometers. A great genius can-'not be a great mathematician.'‖ 'We see,' says Roger Bacon, a geometer above his age, 'that the very rudest scholars are 'competent to mathematical learning, although unable to attain 'to any knowledge of the other sciences.'§ On the other hand, to say nothing of less illustrious examples, Bayle, the impersonation of all logical subtilty, is reported by Le Clerc 'to have 'confessed that he could never understand the demonstration of 'the first problem of Euclid;'** and Wolf, 'the philologer,'—the mightiest master of the higher criticism, we are informed, by his biographer and son-in-law, 'was absolutely destitute of all 'mathematical capacity;' nay, remained firmly convinced (what, as gymnasiarch and professor, he had the amplest opportunities of verifying) 'that the more capable a mind was for mathematics, 'the more incapable was it for the other noblest sciences.'††

We are far from meaning hereby to disparage the mathematical genius which invents new methods and formulæ, or new and felicitous applications of the old; but this we assert—that the most ordinary intellect may, by means of these methods and formulæ, once invented, reproduce and apply, by an effort nearly mechanical, all that the original genius discovered. The merit of a mathematical invention is, in fact, measured by the amount of thought which it supersedes. It is the highest compliment to the ingenuity of a Pascal, a Leibnitz, and a Babbage, in their invention

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* *Stobaei Floril.*, Tit. iv. 110.—We accept, but do not pledge ourselves to defend, the interpretation of the omniscient Gesner.

† *Laert*, L. iv. seg. 32.

‡ *Alstedii Didactica*, c. 12; and *Muelleri Paræmiæ Academicæ*, p. 38.

¶ *Encyclopédie*, t. iv. p. 627.

‖ *Scaligerana Secunda*, p. Ed. Des Maizeaux.

§ *Opus Majus*, P. iv. c. 3.

** *Bibl. Choisie*, t. xii. p. 223.

†† Kortum, *Leben Wolfs des Philologen*. 1833. Vol. i. p. 23.

of the arithmetical machine, that there would not be required in those who use it more than the dexterity of a turnspit. The algebraic analysis is not an instrument so perfect; it still requires a modicum of mind to work it.

Unlike their divergent studies, the inventive talents of the mathematician and philosopher seem to approximate. To metaphysical intellects like those of Descartes and Leibnitz, mathematical discovery shows almost as an easy game. Both were illustrious inventors, almost as soon as serious students, of the science; and when the former, at the age of forty-two, published the work which, embodying his boyish discoveries, determines the grand æra in the progress of the modern analytic, he had for seventeen years, as he expressly tells us, completely forgotten even the elementary operations of arithmetic. Yet so far was the puerile play of the philosopher in advance of the veteran study of the mathematicians, that it is only about four years, since Fourier practically demonstrated how a great principle of Descartes, previously unappreciated, affords the best and the most rapid method for the analysis of numerical equations.

In regard to the *vehicle:* Mathematical language, precise and adequate, nay, absolutely convertible with mathematical thought, can afford us no example of those fallacies which so easily arise from the ambiguities of ordinary language; its study cannot, therefore, it is evident, supply us with any means of obviating those illusions from which it is itself exempt. The contrast of mathematics and philosophy, in this respect, is an interesting object of speculation; but, as imitation is impossible, one of no practical result.

In respect of the *matter:* Mathematics afford us no assistance either in conquering the *difficulties* or in avoiding the *dangers* we encounter in the great field of probabilities in which we live and move.

As to the *difficulties:* Mathematical demonstration is solely occupied in deducing conclusions; probable reasoning, principally concerned in looking out for premises. All mathematical reasoning flows from, and—admitting no tributary streams—can be traced back to its original source: principle and conclusion are convertible. The most eccentric deduction of the science is only the last ring in a long chain of reasoning, which descends, with adamantine necessity, link by link, in one simple series, from its original dependence. In contingent matter, on the contrary, the reasoning is comparatively short; and as the conclusion can seldom be securely established on a single antecedent, it is necessary, in order to realize the adequate amount of evidence, to accumulate probabilities by multiplying the media of inference;

and thus to make the same conclusion, as it were, the apex of many convergent arguments.* In general reasoning, therefore, the capacities mainly requisite, and mainly cultivated, are the prompt acuteness which discovers what materials are wanted for our premises, and the activity, knowledge, sagacity, and research able competently to supply them. In demonstration, on the contrary, the one capacity cultivated is that patient habit of suspending all intrusive thought, and of continuing an attention to the unvaried evolution of that perspicuous evidence which it passively recognises, but does not actively discover. Of Observation, Experiment, Induction, Analogy, the mathematician knows nothing. What Mr Whewell, therefore, alleges in praise of demonstration, 'that the mixture of *various grounds of con-* 'viction, which is so common in other men's minds, is rigorously 'excluded from the mathematical student's,' is precisely what mainly contributes to render it useless as an exercise of practical reasoning.—In short, the *subtilty of mind*, the *multiformity of matter*, lie far beyond the ken of demonstration: mathematics are not the net by which *Psyche* shall be caught; nor the chain in which *Proteus* can be fettered.

As to the *dangers:* How important soever may be the study of general logic, in providing us against the fallacies which originate both in the *form* and in the *vehicle* of reasoning, the error of our conclusions is, in practice, far less frequently occasioned by any vice in our logical inference from premises, than by the sin of a rash assumption of premises materially false. Now if mathematics, as is maintained, do constitute the true logical *catharticon*, the one practical *propædeutic* of all reasoning, it must of course enable us to correct this the most dangerous and prevalent of our intellectual failings. But, among all our rational pursuits, mathematics stand distinguished, not merely as affording us no aid towards alleviating the evil, but as actually inflaming the disease. The mathematician, as already noticed, is exclusively engrossed with the deduction of inevitable conclusions from *data* passively received; the cultivators of the other departments of knowledge, mental and physical, are, for the most part, actively occupied in the quest and scrutiny, in the collection and balancing of probabilities, in order to obtain and purify the facts on which their premises are to be established. *Their* pursuits accordingly, from the mingled experience of failure and success, have, to them, proved a special logic, a practical discipline—on the one hand, of skill and confidence, on the other, of caution and sobriety: *his*, on the contrary, have not only not

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* Compare Aristot. *Anal. Post.* I. 12, § 13.

trained him to that acute scent, to that delicate, almost instinctive, tact which, in the twilight of probability, the search and discrimination of its finer facts demand ; they have gone to cloud his vision, to indurate his touch, to all but the blazing light, the iron chain of demonstration, and left him, out of the narrow confines of his science, to a passive *credulity* in any premises, or to an abolute *incredulity* in all.

Before, however, proceeding articulately to show how, in different dispositions, these opposite vices are, both, the natural consequences of the same common cause, we may first evince that our doctrine in regard to the general tendency of mathematical study is the universal opinion of those who, from their knowledge and powers of observation, are the best qualified to pronounce a judgment. We quote the authorities that chance to linger in our recollection ; a slight research might multiply them without end.

On such a question we, of course, prefer the testimony of mathematicians themselves ; they shall constitute our first class, and under this head we include those only who have distinguished themselves by mathematical publications. Of these the oldest we shall adduce is that miracle of universal genius—

Pascal.—' There is a great difference between the *spirit of Mathematics* * and the *spirit of Observation.* † In the former, the principles are palpable, but remote from common use ; so that from want of custom it is not easy to turn our head in that direction ; but if it be thus turned ever so little, the principles are seen fully confessed, and it would argue a mind incorrigibly false, to reason inconsequently on principles so obtrusive, that it is hardly possible to overlook them.—But, in the spirit of observation, the principles are in common use, and before the eyes of all. We have no need to turn our head, or make any effort whatever. Nothing is wanted but a good sight ; but it must be good ; for the principles are so minute and numerous, that it is almost impossible that some of them should not escape. But the omission of a single principle leads to error ; it is therefore requisite to have a sight of the clearest, to discern all the principles ; and then a correct intellect to avoid false rea-

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* In the original—*l'esprit de Geometrie. Geometrie*, as is usual in French, is here employed by Pascal for mathematics in general.

† In the original—*l'esprit de Finesse.* It is impossible to render this quite adequately in English. *Fin* is here used for *acute, subtile, observant ;* and *esprit de finesse* is nearly convertible with *spirit of acute observation*, applied especially to the affairs of the world. But as the expressions *observant* and *spirit of observation* with us actually imply the adjective, the repetition of which would be awkward, we have accordingly translated the original by these alone.

sonings on known principles.—All mathematicians would thus be observant had they a good sight; for they do not reason falsely on the principles they know; and minds of observation would be mathematical could they turn their view towards the unaccustomed principles of mathematics.—The cause why certain observant minds are not mathematical, is, because they are wholly unable to turn themselves towards the principles of mathematics; but the reason why there are mathematicians void of observation is, that they do not see what lies before them; and that accustomed to the clear and palpable principles of mathematics, and only to reason after these principles have been well seen and handled, they lose themselves in matters of observation, where the principles do not allow of being thus treated. These objects are seen with difficulty; nay, are felt rather than seen; and it is with infinite pains that others can be made to feel them, if they have not already felt them without aid; they are so delicate and so numerous, that to be felt they require a very fine and a very clear sense; they can also seldom be demonstrated in succession as is done in mathematics; for we are not in like manner in possession of their principles, while the very attempt would of itself be endless. The object must be discovered at once, by a single glance, and not by course of reasoning—at least up to a certain point. And thus it is rare, that mathematicians are observant, and that observant minds are mathematical; because mathematicians would treat matters of observation by rule of mathematics, and make themselves ridiculous by attempting to commence by definitions and by principles—a mode of procedure incompatible with this kind of reasoning. It is not that the mind does not perform the process; but performs it silently, naturally, and artlessly; for its expression surpasses all men, and the consciousness of it appertains to few.—On the other hand, minds of observation, habituated to form their judgment at a single glance, are so amazed when propositions are laid before them, whereof they comprehend nothing, and wherein to enter, it behoves them to pass through definitions and barren principles, which they are also unaccustomed thus to consider in detail—that they are revolted and disgusted. But false minds are never either observant or mathematical.—Mathematicians who are mere mathematicians, have thus their understanding correct, provided always that every thing be well explained to them by definition and principle, otherwise they are false and insupportable; for they are only correct upon notorious principles. And minds of observation, which are only observant, are incapable of the patience to descend to the first principles of matters speculative and of imagination, of which they have had no experience in the usage of the world.' *

Berkeley is the second mathematician. He asks, and his queries are intended to be answered in the negative,—

" Whether tedious calculations in algebra and fluxions be the likeliest method to improve the mind? And whether men's being accustomed to

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* *Pensées,* I. Partie, art. 10, sect. 2.

reason altogether about mathematical signs and figures, doth not make them at a loss how to reason without them?—Whether whatever readiness analysts acquire in stating a problem, or finding apt expressions for mathematical quantities, the same doth necessarily infer a proportionable ability in conceiving and expressing other matters?' *

S' Gravesande, our third mathematical testimony, after praising geometry, as an useful exercise of intelligence, inasmuch as its principles are simple, its conclusions undoubted, and as it ascends from the easiest and simplest to the most difficult and most complex; and the method of analysis as cultivating the invention, from the necessity it imposes of discovering the intermediate terms requisite for bringing given extremes into comparison (this advantage, be it noticed, cannot be allowed to the mere study of the method), proceeds—

'But it is not sufficient to have applied the mind to one science; the more widely different among themselves are the ideas which the intellect acquires, and concerning which it reasons, the more expanded becomes its intelligence. In the mathematical sciences, by a well ordered exercise, the above-mentioned faculties are improved. But there is required, moreover, that these same faculties should be exercised upon ideas, now of one kind, now of another, and different from mathematical. Those who are habituated to the consideration of ideas of a single class, however skilful they may be in the handling of these, reason absurdly upon other matters. A pliant genius ought to be acquired; and this is only to be compassed by applying the mind to a plurality of studies, wholly different from each other....We ought to be peculiarly attentive to this—that the mind be inured to abstract consideration. Where ideas are to be compared, things are never more clearly illustrated than when we examine these ideas separately from all others. In such an exercise of mind the study of metaphysics is peculiarly useful, provided that all confused ideas be removed, and the others expounded in a natural order.' †

D'Alembert is the fourth mathematical authority.

'It seems as if great mathematicians ought to be excellent metaphysicians, at least upon the objects about which their science proper is conversant: nevertheless, this is very far from being always the case. The logic of some of them is comprehended in their formulæ, and does not extend beyond. The case resembles that of a man who has the sense of sight contrary to that of touch, or in whom the latter of these senses is only perfected at the expense of the former. These bad metaphysicians in a science in which it is so easy not to reason wrong, would infallibly be much worse, as experience proves, on matters in which they had not the calculus for a guide.' ‡

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* *Analyst*, Qu. 38, 39.

† *Introductio ad Philosophiam, &c.*, § 887, sq.

‡ *Elémens de Philosophie*, c. 15.

To this category we may also not improperly refer Dugald Stewart, for though not an author in mathematical science, he was in early life a distinguished professor of mathematics ; whilst his philosophical writings prove that, to the last, he had never wholly neglected the professional studies of his youth. In other respects, it is needless to say that his authority is of the very highest value.

'How accurate soever the logical process may be, if our first principles be rashly assumed, or if our terms be indefinite and ambiguous, there is no absurdity so great that we may not be brought to adopt it; and it unfortunately happens that, while mathematical studies exercise the faculty of reasoning or deduction, they give no employment to the other powers of the understanding concerned in the investigation of truth. On the contrary, they are apt to produce a facility in the admission of *data*, and a circumscription of the field of speculation by partial and arbitrary definitions. . . . When the mathematician reasons upon subjects unconnected with his favourite studies, he is apt to assume, too confidently, certain intermediate principles as the foundation of his arguments. . . . I think I have observed a peculiar proneness in mathematicians, on occasions of this sort, to avail themselves of principles sanctioned by some imposing names, and to avoid all discussion which might lead to an examination of ultimate truths, or involve a rigorous analysis of their ideas.'*

And much more to the same effect, which we do not quote, as the work is, or ought to be, in the hands of every one to whom a discussion like the present can be of any interest.

The other authorities we shall take also in the order of time.

Of these (after Sir Kenelm Digby, already quoted p. 426, and to whom we here again refer) the oldest is that of Sorbiere, Historiographer Royal of France, who, if not a mathematical author himself, was the intimate friend of the most distinguished mathematicians of his age,—as Gassendi (of whose philosophy he was acknowledged even by Bernier to be the most accomplished disciple), Mersenne, Fermat, Carcavi, &c.

'It is certain,' (he says, speaking of Gassendi's disregard of the higher geometry and algebra, and his valuing mathematics in general, only as the instrument of more important sciences), 'it is certain that the abstrusest mathematics do not much conduce, to say nothing worse of them, to the acquisition of right reasoning, and the illustration of natural phænomena ; as every one is aware that mathematicians, distinguished in the higher branches of their science, are sometimes none of the most clear-sighted in matters beyond its province.'†

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* *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, iii. pp. 271, 288, 290.

† *Vita Gassendi ; Praef. Operum Gassendi.*

And in another work—

'It is an observation which all the world can verify, that there is nothing so deplorable as the conduct of some celebrated mathematicians in their own affairs, nor any thing so absurd as their opinions on the sciences not within their jurisdiction. I have seen of them, those who ruined themselves in groundless lawsuits; who dissipated their whole means in quest of the philosopher's stone; who built extravagantly; who embarked in undertakings of which every one foresaw the ill success; who quaked for terror at the pettiest accident in life; who formed only chimeras in politics; and who had no more of our civilisation than if born among the Hurons or the Iroquois.' (After a curious example.) 'Hence, sir, you may form some judgment of how far algebra conduces to common sense, when the question is not about an affair of figures, and if there be not reason to believe that its abstractions are themselves of a noxious influence in the commerce of the world. They are too minute for the ordinary usage of civil society; and it is requisite to incorporate them with something less spiritual, in order that the thought may not be so piercing, so decisive, and so difficult to control.'*

Clarendon.—'The Earl of Leicester was a man of great parts, very conversant in books, and much addicted to the *mathematics;* but though he had been a soldier, and commanded a regiment in the service of the states of the United Provinces, and was employed in several embassies, as in Denmark and France, was, in truth, rather a speculative than a practical man, and expected a greater certitude in the consultation of business, than the business of this world is capable of, which temper proved very inconvenient to him through the course of his life.' †

Le Clerc.—'There is also sometimes to be considered so great a number of Modes and Relations, and these so minute, that they cannot, without a far greater expense of time than we can afford them, be arranged in geometric order. And yet to form a correct judgment in regard to these, is a matter of much greater importance to us than concerning mathematical problems. Such are the various affections of the minds of men and of the affairs of life, concerning which, the most expert geometers do not judge better than their neighbours, nay, frequently worse. It is a question, for instance, whether a certain plan or undertaking is to have a prosperous result. In that undertaking there are a multitude of ideas which cannot be brought to an issue unless in a great variety of ways, which again depend on innumerable circumstances. Those accustomed to mathematical ideas, which are very easily observed, and very easily discriminated from each other, when, by the rules of their science they attempt to judge of the administration of public or private affairs, arrive at conclusions the most absurd. For they take into account only the abstract possibilities, omitting in their reasonings certain dispositions of things and persons, which by their multiplicity and minuteness, almost

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* *Lettres*, let. lxviii.

† *History*, &c. vol. ii., p. 153, Ed. 1704.

elude the acutest observation. It also happens, for the most part, that they who judge correctly in regard to such matters are wholly wrong in regard to mathematical questions, if, indeed, they do not eschew them as difficult, and alien from their habits.' *

Buddeus.—' Such is the nature of the human mind, that, if habituated to certain kinds of thought, it cannot forthwith divest itself thereof, when passing to the consideration of other objects, but conjures up notions concerning these, analogous to those already irradicated in it by custom. This is the real cause of errors almost infinite. Thus they, who inconsiderately carry over mathematical notions into morals and theology, seem to themselves to find in these new sciences the same necessary connexion which they originally discovered in the old.' †

Barbeyrac,—speaking of the notes on Grotius *de Jure Belli*, &c. by Feldenus, professor of mathematics at Helmstadt, of which Salmasius ' had promised mountains and marvels,' he says, ' Never was there seen aught more wretched; and we might be surprised that a mathematician could reason so ill, had we not other, and far more illustrious examples, which clearly evince that the study of the mathematics does not always render the mind more correct in relation to subjects beyond the sphere of these sciences.' ‡

Warburton.—' It may seem, perhaps, too much a paradox to say, that long habit in this science (mathematics) *incapacitates* the mind for reasoning at large, and especially in the search of moral truth. And yet, I believe, nothing is more certain. The object of geometry is demonstration, and its subject admits of it, and is almost the only one that doth. In this science, whatever is not demonstration is nothing, or, at least, below the sublime enquirer's regard. *Probability*, through its almost infinite degrees from simple ignorance up to absolute certainty, is the *terra incognita* of the geometrician. And yet here it is, that the great business of the human mind is carried on—the search and discovery of all the important truths which concern us as reasonable creatures. And here too it is, that all its vigour is exerted; for to proportion the assent to the probability accompanying every varying degree of moral evidence, requires the most enlarged and sovereign exercise of reason. But the harder the use of any thing, the more of habit is required to make us perfect in it. Is it then likely that the *geometer*, long confined to the routine of demonstration, the easiest exercise of reason, where much less of the *vigour* than the *attention* of mind is required to excel, should form a right judgment on subjects whose truth or falsehood is to be rated by the probabilities of moral evidence?' §

Basedow.—' Mathematics tolerate no reasoning from analogy. Of the coacervation of proofs from many probable grounds; of arguments from the certainty and adaptation of thought; of the collision of proofs; of

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* Clerici. *Logica*, Pars. iii. c. 3, §§ 13, 14.
† *Isagoge Historico-Theologica*, l. i., c. 4.
‡ *Preface to his Grotius*, t. i., p. ix., Ed. 1724.
§ *Julian*, Pref. p. xix., *Works*, vol. iv., p. 345.

useful probabilities; of exceptions from ordinary truths in extraordinary circumstances—of all these they take no account. Every thing, on the contrary, is determinately certain from the commencement; of exceptions no mathematician ever dreams. But is this character of thought applicable to the other branches of our knowledge? The moment we attempt to treat logic, morals, theology, medicine, jurisprudence, politics, criticism, or the theory of the fine arts in this mathematical method, we play the part, not of philosophers but of dreamers, and this to the great detriment of human reason and happiness,' &c. &c.*

Walpole.—'The profound study of mathematics seems to injure the more general and useful mode of reasoning—that by induction. Mathematical truths being, so to speak, *palpable*, the moral feelings become less sensitive to impalpable truths. As when one sense is carried to great perfection, the others are usually less acute, so mathematical reasoning seems, in some degree, to injure the other modes of ratiocination.' †

Gibbon.—'From a blind idea of the usefulness of such abstract science, my father had been desirous, and even pressing, that I should devote some time to the mathematics; nor could I refuse to comply with so reasonable a wish. During two winters I attended the private lectures of M. de Traytorrens, who explained the elements of algebra and geometry, as far as the conic sections of the Marquis de l'Hôpital, and appeared satisfied with my diligence and improvement. But as my childish propensity for numbers and calculations was totally extinct, I was content to receive the passive impressions of my professor's lectures, without any active exercise of my own powers. As soon as I understood the principles, I relinquished for ever the pursuit of the mathematics; nor can I lament that I desisted before my mind was hardened by the habit of rigid demonstration so destructive of the finer feelings of moral evidence, which must, however, determine the actions and opinions of our lives.' ‡

Kirwan—'Some have been led to imagine "that the true way of acquiring a habit of reasoning closely, and in train, is to exercise ourselves in mathematical demonstrations; that having got the way of reasoning which that study necessarily brings the mind to, they may be able to transfer it to other parts of knowledge as they shall have occasion." This, however, is an egregious mistake; the mode of reasoning of mathematicians being founded on the relation of identity or equality, is not transferable to any other science into which mathematical considerations do not enter, as ethics, jurisprudence, whether natural or municipal, medicine, chemistry, &c., theology, metaphysics, &c., which are founded on relations entirely different. On the contrary, the habit of mathematical reasoning seems to unfit a person for reasoning justly on any other subject; for, accustomed to the highest degree of evidence, a mathematician frequently becomes insensible to any other.' §

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* *Philalethie*, Bd. ii., §. 179.
† *Walpoliana*, vol. i., p. 113.
‡ *Life in Miscellaneous Works*, vol. i., p. 92, Ed. 1814.
§ *Logick*, vol. i., Pref. p. iii.

De Staël—'The study of languages, which in Germany constitutes the basis of education, is much more favourable to the evolution of the faculties, in the earlier age, than that of mathematics, or of the physical sciences. Pascal, that great geometer, whose profound thought hovered over the science which he peculiarly cultivated, as over every other, has himself acknowledged the insuperable defects of those minds which owe their first formation to the mathematics. This study, in the earlier age, exercises only the mechanism of intelligence. In boys, occupied so soon with calculations, the spring of imagination, then so fair and fruitful, is arrested; and they acquire not, in its stead, any pre-eminent accuracy of thought—for arithmetic and algebra are limited to the teaching, in a thousand forms, propositions always identical. The problems of life are more complicated; not one is positive, not one is absolute: we must conjecture, we must decide by the aid of indications and assumptions, which bear no analogy with the infallible procedure of the calculus. Demonstrated truths do not conduct to probable truths; which alone, however, serve us for our guide in business, in the arts, and in society. There is no doubt a point at which the mathematics themselves require that luminous power of invention, without which it is impossible to penetrate into the secrets of nature. At the summit of thought the imaginations of Homer and of Newton seem to unite; but how many of the young, without mathematical genius, consecrate their time to this science! There is exercised in them only a *single faculty*, whilst the *whole moral being* ought to be under developement at an age when it is so easy to derange the soul and the body in attempting to strengthen only a part. Nothing is less applicable to life than a mathematical argument. A proposition, couched in ciphers, is decidedly either true or false. In all other relations the true and the false are so intermingled, that frequently instinct alone can decide us in the strife of motives sometimes as powerful on the one side as on the other.'*

We have already noticed in general that, beyond the narrow sphere of necessary matter, mathematicians are disposed to one or other of two opposite extremes—*credulity* and *scepticism*. The cause is manifest.

Alienated, by the opposite character of their studies, from those habits of caution and confidence, of skill and sagacity, which the pursuit of knowledge in the universe of probability requires and induces, they are constrained, when they venture to speculate beyond their diagrams and calculations, on the one hand, to accept their facts either on authority or on imagination—or, on the other, to repudiate altogether, as unreal, what they are themselves incapable of verifying. These opposite dispositions are not, however, incapable of conjunction; they are indeed often united in the same individual, but in relation to different objects.

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* *De l'Allemagne*, t. i. c. 18. p. 163.

This twofold tendency of mathematical study has frequently been noticed. In special reference to philosophy, it is observed, by a distinguished German metaphysician, 'that the 'study of mathematics, unless special precaution be taken, is 'rather a hinderance than an aid.' 'For,' he adds, 'in so far 'as the mathematician, accustomed to his own mode of think-'ing, and ignorant of any other, applies, or does not apply it 'to the supersensible—what must follow? In the former case, 'the supersensible world is denied, inasmuch as it cannot be 'mathematically demonstrated; and, in the latter, affirmed only 'on the ground of feeling and imagination. Thus, on the one 'alternative, the mathematician becomes necessarily a *Material-'ist;* on the other, a *Mystic.*' *

Of the two extremes, that of *credulity*, as relative, at least, to the affairs of life, is by far the more frequent and obtrusive. Mr Dugald Stewart seems even not indisposed to explain the apparent manifestations of the opposite tendency, on the ground of credulity alone. 'In the course,' he says, 'of my own experience, 'I have never met with a mere mathematician who was not 'credulous to a fault—credulous not only with respect to human 'testimony, but credulous also in matters of opinion; and prone, 'on all subjects which he had not carefully studied, to repose 'too much faith in illustrious and consecrated names. . . . . 'The atheism and materialism professed by some late mathema-'ticians on the continent, is, I suspect, in many cases, to be as-'cribed to the very same cause; a credulity yielding itself up as 'blindly to the fashionable disbelief of the day, as that of their 'predecessors submitted itself to the creed of the Infallible 'Church.' †

Our limits, we regret, preclude us from adverting to Mr Stewart's ingenious suggestion of one cause, at least, of the disposition shown by mathematicians to fanaticism; but we shall quote his testimony to the phænomenon.

'It is a certain fact, that, in mathematicians who have confined their studies to mathematics alone, there has often been observed a proneness to that species of religious enthusiasm in which imagination is the predominant element, and which, like a contagion, is propagated in a crowd. In one of our most celebrated universities, which has long enjoyed the proud distinction of being the principal seat of mathematical learning in

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* *Grundzuege der allgemeiner Philosophie;* by J. Sulat, Ordinary Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Landshut, &c. 1820.

† *Elements*, vol. iii. pp. 271, 280.

this island, I have been assured, that if, at any time, a spirit of fanaticism has infected (as will occasionally happen in all numerous societies) a few of the unsounder limbs of that learned body, the contagion has invariably spread much more widely among the mathematicians than among the men of erudition. Even the strong head of Waring, undoubtedly one of the ablest analysts that England has produced, was not proof against the malady, and he seems at last (as I was told by the late Dr Watson, Bishop of Llandaff) to have sunk into a deep religious melancholy, approaching to insanity.' *

On this principle of facile credence, it is to be explained why of metaphysicians, the most fanciful and most confident speculators have been usually the most mathematical. Pythagoras, Plato, Cardan, Descartes, Mallebranche, and Leibnitz, are names not more distinguished for their philosophical genius than for their philosophical credulity. Conversant, in their mathematics, only about the relations of ideal objects, and exclusively accustomed to the passive recognition of absolute certainty, they seem in their metaphysics almost to have lost the capacity of real observation, and of critically appreciating comparative degrees of probability. In their systems, accordingly, hypothesis is seen to take the place of fact; and reason, from the mistress, is degraded to the handmaid, of imagination.

'Mathematical science,' says the marvellous Prince of Mirandola, 'does not bestow wisdom; it was therefore, by the ancients, 'made the discipline of boys. On the contrary, though preparing 'for philosophy, if previously sipped in moderation, when raised to 'an object of exclusive study, it affords the greatest occasions 'of philosophical error. To this Aristotle bears evidence.'†

'Descartes,' says Voltaire, 'was the greatest mathematician 'of his age; but mathematics leave the intellect as they find it. 'That of Descartes was too prone to invention. He preferred 'the divination to the study of nature. The first of mathemati-'cians produced nothing almost but romances of philosophy.'‡ A more felicitous expression had been preoccupied by Father Daniel; 'The philosophy of Descartes is the romance of nature.'

In regard to Leibnitz, even his intelligent and learned friend, the first Queen of Prussia, was not blind to the evil influence of his mathematics on his philosophy. She was wont to say, with

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* Ibid. p. 291.

† Joannes Picus Mirandulanus *in Astrologiam*, l. xii. c. 2. See also his nephew's (John Francis) *Examen Vanitatis Doctrinæ Gentium*, l. iii. c. 6.

‡ *Le Siècle de Louis*, xiv. c. 29.

an eye to the 'Pre-established Harmony' and 'Monads,' 'that, 'of all who meddled with philosophy, the mathematicians satisfied 'her the least, more especially when they attempted to explain 'the origin of things in general, or the nature of the soul in par-'ticular; and that she was surprised, that, notwithstanding their 'geometrical exactness, metaphysical notions were, for most of 'them, lost countries, and exhaustless sources of chimeras.*

'There are four celebrated metaphysicians,' says Condillac— 'Descartes, Mallebranche, Leibnitz, and Locke. The last alone 'was not a mathematician, and yet, how greatly is he superior to 'the other three?'†

But, if such be even the metaphysical, what, out of their sciences, are other mathematicians? It is enough to say, that astrology was the least visionary of Kepler's beliefs; and that Napier and Newton sought and found their fancies in the Apocalypse.

The causes that determine the mathematician to an irrational belief, determine him also to an irrational confidence in his opinions.

'From the same source,' says Poiret, that deep-thinking mystic, 'mathematicians are also infested with an overweening 'presumption, or incurable arrogance; for, believing themselves 'in possession of demonstrative certainty in regard to the objects 'of their peculiar science, they persuade themselves that, in like 'manner, they possess a knowledge of many things beyond its 'sphere. Then, co-ordinating these with the former, as if de-'monstrated by equal evidence, they spurn every objection to 'every opinion, with the contempt or indignation they would 'feel at an endeavour to persuade them that two plus two are 'not four, or that the angles of a triangle are not equal to two 'right angles,' &c.‡

'But,' says Warburton, 'besides this acquired inability' (v. *supra*, p. 439), 'prejudice renders the veteran mathematician 'still less capable of judging of moral evidence. He who hath 'been so long accustomed to lay together and compare ideas, 'and hath reaped demonstration, the richest fruit of speculative 'truth, for his labour, regards all the lower degrees of evidence 'as in the train only of his mathematical principality; and he 'commonly ranks them in so arbitrary a manner, that the *ratio* '*ultima mathematicorum* is become almost as great a libel upon

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* *Hist. Crit. de la Republique des Lettres*, l. xi. p. 128.

† *Œuvres Philosophiques*, t. vi. p. 225. Ed.

‡ *De Eruditione Solida*, &c. Ed. 1692, p. 306.

'common sense as other sovereign decisions. I might appeal for 'the truth of this to those wonderful conclusions which Geome-'ters, when condescending to write on history, ethics, or theo-'logy, have made of their premises. But the thing is notorious; 'and it is no secret that the oldest mathematician in England is 'the worst reasoner in it.' *

'The study of mathematics,' says De Staël, 'habituating us 'to certainty, inflames us against all opinions in contradiction 'with our own,' &c.†

'The bias now mentioned,' says Dugald Stewart, 'is 'strengthened by another circumstance,—the confidence which 'the mere mathematician naturally acquires in his powers of 'reasoning and judgment,—in consequence of which, though he 'may be prevented in his own pursuits from going far astray, by 'the absurdities to which his errors lead him, he is seldom apt to 'be revolted by absurd conclusions in the other sciences. Even 'in physics, mathematicians have been led to acquiesce in con-'clusions which appear ludicrous to men of different habits.' ‡ We must refer to the original for some curious and instructive instances of this, in Euler, Leibnitz, D. Bernoulli, Grandi, La Place, Leslie, Pitcairn, and Cheyne.

The opposite bias—the *scepticism* of the mathematician, is principally relative to the spiritual or moral world. His studies determine him to this in two ways:—In the first place, by abstracting him from the view, and disqualifying him for the observation, of the phænomena of moral liberty in man; and in the second, by habituating him to the exclusive contemplation of the phænomena of a mechanical necessity in nature. But an ignorance of the one order, and an extensive and intimate acquaintance with the other, are tantamount to a negation of the unknown; for on the one hand, as we naturally believe to exist that only which we know to exist; and on the other, as all science tends to unity, while reason forbids us to assume, without necessity, a plurality of causes; consequently the mathematician, if he think at all, is naturally and rationally disposed to hold as absolutely universal, what is universal relatively to his own sphere of observation.

It is chiefly, if not solely, to explain the one phænomenon of *free-will*, that we are warranted in assuming a second and hyperphysical substance, an immaterial principle of thought. It is only on

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* *Julian, Pref.* p. xx.; *Works*, iv. p. 346.
† *De l'Allemagne*, i. c. 18.
‡ *Elements*, iii. p. 272.

the supposition of a moral liberty in man, that we can attempt to vindicate as truths a moral order, and a moral governor, in the universe. It is only on the hypothesis of a soul within us, that we can assert the reality of a God above us;—*Nullus in microcosmo Spiritus, nullus in macrocosmo Deus.*

In the hands of the materialist, or physical necessitarian, every argument for the existence of a deity is either annulled, or transformed into a demonstration of atheism. In his hands, with the moral worth of man, the inference to a moral ruler of a moral world is gone. In his hands, the argument from the adaptations of end and mean, everywhere apparent in existence, to the primary causality of intelligence and liberty, if applied, establishes, in fact, the primary causality of necessity and matter: for as this argument is only an extension to the universe of the analogy observed in man; if in man, design—intelligence be only a phænomenon of matter, only a reflex of organization—this consecution of first and second in us, extended to the universal order of things, reverses the absolute priority of intelligence to matter, that is, subverts the fundamental condition of a deity. Thus it is that our theology is necessarily founded on our psychology; that we must recognise a God from our own minds, before we can detect him in the universe of nature.

Now, the mathematical sciences, on the one hand, by leaving wholly unexercised the capacity of philosophical reflection, prevent the mind from rising to a clear consciousness of those fundamental facts on which its moral freedom is established; and on the other, by accustoming it to the exclusive contemplation of the laws of physical necessity, indisposes it to tolerate so extraordinary an assumption, so indemonstrable an anomaly as a moral order, an hyperphysical liberty, and an immaterial subject.

This tendency of mathematical study has been always sufficiently notorious. Hence—(to take only the three contemporary fathers)—by St Austin these are said 'to lead away from God;'* by St Jerome to be 'not sciences of piety,'* while St Ambrose declares that 'to cultivate astronomy and geometry is to aban-'don the cause of salvation, and to follow that of error.'†

We may here again refer to Sir Kenelm Digby's testimony, previously adduced (p. 426).

'The mathematical genius' (says Poiret, who, though a mystic in religion, was one of the profoundest thinkers of his age), is wont, unless guarded against, to imbue the minds of its too intemperate votaries with the most pestilent dispositions. For it infects

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* Vide Agrippam, *De Van. Scient.* c. xi. † *Officiorum*, l. i. 26.

them with fatalism, spiritual insensibility, brutalism, disbelief, and an almost incurable presumption. For when, in the handling of their numbers, figures, and machines, they perceive all things to follow each other, as it were by fate, to the exclusion of liberty; they hence become so accustomed to the consideration of necessary connexion alone, that they altogether eliminate free-will from the nature and government of things spiritual, and establish the universal supremacy of a fatal necessity—in themselves against the voice of consciousness, and in God himself to the denial of his sufficiency.*

'It cannot be disputed,' (says Bayle) 'that it is rare to find 'much devotion in persons who have once acquired a taste for 'the study of the mathematics, and who have made in these 'sciences an extraordinary progress.'†

'He,' (says Gundling) 'who too zealously devotes himself to 'the physical and mathematical sciences may lightly lapse into an 'atheist. Hence we find that all the more ancient philosophers 'were atheists, and this because too exclusively absorbed in physical and mathematical contemplations.'‡

Berkeley, himself no vulgar mathematician, asks, 'Whether the 'corpuscularian, experimental, and mathematical philosophy, so 'much cultivated in the last age, hath not too much engrossed 'men's attention; some part whereof it might have usefully employed?—Whether from this, and other concurring causes, the 'minds of speculative men have not been borne downward, to 'the debasing and stupifying of the higher faculties? And whether we may not hence account for that prevailing narrowness 'and bigotry among many who pass for men of science, their incapacity for things moral, intellectual, or theological, their 'proneness to measure all truths by sense and experience of animal life?' §

Dr John Gregory, of a family to which mathematical genius seems almost native, and one of the most distinguished founders of the Edinburgh School of Medicine, in his 'Lectures on the 'Duties and Qualifications of a Physician,' after confessing that he distrusted his own judgment in relation to the study of mathematics, as afraid of his partiality to a science which he viewed with a kind of innate and hereditary attachment, and which had been at once the business and the pleasure of his early years, thus warns his pupils:—'Let me also desire you to guard against its

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* *De Eruditione Solida*, p. 304. Ed. 1692.

† *Dict. Hist.* voce Pascal, note G.

‡ *Historie der Gelehrheit*, vol. i. *Disc. prelim*, p. 8.

§ *Analyst*, Qu. 56, 57.

'leading you to a disposition to scepticism and suspense of judg-
'ment in subjects that do not admit of mathematical evidence.' *

'Those,' (says Monboddo) 'who have studied mathematics much,
'and no other science, are apt to grow so fond of them, as to be-
'lieve that there is no certainty in any other science, nor any
'other axioms than those of Euclid.' †

'The mathematics' (says De Staël) 'lead us to lay out of ac-
'count all that is not proved; while the primitive truths, those
'which sentiment and genius apprehend, are not susceptible of
'demonstration.'‡

This tendency in their too exclusive cultivation, to promote a disbelief in any other than an order of necessity and nature, is common to the physical and the mathematical sciences; hence, in reference to the former, the old adage—*Tres Medici duo Athei.* It is, however, when the two classes of science are conjoined and carried out to the most extensive sphere of application, that this tendency is more powerfully and conspicuously manifested—that is, in astronomy. In the following sublime passage, Kant, with a different intention indeed, finely illustrates the opposite influences of material and mental studies, and this in relation to the two noblest objects of their contemplation.

'Two things there are, which the oftener and the more steadfastly we consider, fill the mind with an ever new, an ever rising admiration and reverence,—*the Starry Heaven above, the Moral Law within.* Of neither am I compelled to seek out the existence, as shrouded in obscurity, or only to surmise the possibility, as beyond the hemisphere of my knowledge. Both I contemplate lying clear before me, and connect both immediately with the consciousness of my being. The one departs from the place I occupy in the outer world of sense; expands, beyond the limits of imagination, that connexion of my being with worlds rising above worlds, and systems blending into systems; and protends it also to the illimitable times of their periodic movement—its commencement and duration. The other departs from my invisible self, from my personality; and represents me in a world truly infinite indeed, but whose infinity is to be fathomed only by the intellect, with which also my connexion, unlike the fortuitous relation I stand in to the world of sense, I am compelled to recognise as necessary and universal. In the former, the first view of a countless multitude of worlds annihilates, as it were, my importance as *an animal nature,* which, after a brief and incomprehensible endowment with the powers of life, is compelled to refund its constituent matter to the planet—itself an atom in the universe—on which it grew. The aspect of the other, on the contrary, elevates my worth as

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* *Works,* vol. iii., p. 107. † *Ancient Metaphysics,* i., p. 394.
‡ *De l'Allemagne,* i., c. 18.

an intelligence, even to infinitude; and this through my personality, in which the moral law reveals a faculty of life independent of my animal nature, nay, of the whole material world:—at least, if it be permitted to infer as much from the regulation of my being, which a conformity with that law exacts; proposing, as it does, my moral worth for the absolute end of my activity, conceding no compromise of its imperative to a necessitation of nature, and spurning in its infinity the limits and conditions of my present transitory life.' *

(Spirat enim majora animus seque altius effert
Sideribus, transitque vias et nubila fati,
Et momenta premit pedibus quaecunque putantur
Figere propositam natali tempore sortem.) †

As a pendant to this, we shall adduce another testimony by a profound philosopher of an opposite school—by him whom his countrymen have hailed the Plato of the latter age.

'What, in opposition to Fate, constitutes the ruling principle of the universe into a true God, is termed Providence. Where there is no forecast there is no intelligence, and where intelligence is, there also is there providence. This alone is mind, and to what is of mind alone respond the feelings that manifest its existence in ourselves—Wonder, Veneration, Love. We can, indeed, decide an object to be beautiful or perfect, without a previous knowledge that it is the work of foresight or not: but the power by which it was produced, *that* we cannot admire, if, without thought, and without a purpose, it operated in obedience to the laws of a mere physical necessity. Even the glorious majesty of the heavens, the object of a kneeling adoration to an infant world, subdues no more the mind of him who comprehends the one mechanical law by which the planetary systems move, maintain their motion, and even originally form themselves. He no longer marvels at the object, infinite as it always is, but at the human intellect alone, which, in a Copernicus, Kepler, Gassendi, Newton, and Laplace, was able to transcend the object, by science to conclude the miracle, to reave the heaven of its divinities, and to disenchant the universe.—But even this, the only admiration of which our intelligent faculties are now capable, would vanish, were a future Hartley, Darwin, Condillac, or Bonnet, to succeed in displaying to us a mechanical system of the human mind, as comprehensive, intelligible, and satisfactory as the Newtonian mechanism of the heavens. Fallen from their elevation, Art, and Science, and Virtue, would no longer be to man the objects of a genuine and reflective adoration. The works and actions of the heroes of mankind—the life of a Socrates and Epaminondas—the science of a Plato and Leibnitz—the poetical and plastic representations of a Homer, Sophocles, and Phidias—these might still pleasurably move, might still rouse the mind to an enjoyment rising into transport; even so as the sensible aspect of the heavens might still possibly affect and

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* *Cr. d. pr. V.* Beschluss.
† Prudent. *Contra Sym.* ii. 479.

gratify the disciple of a Newton or Laplace; but we must no longer ask about the principle of our emotion, for reflection would infallibly chide our puerile infatuation, and dash our enthusiasm by the suggestion, *that wonder is only the daughter of ignorance.*'

We shall terminate our cloud of witnesses with the testimony of a celebrated metaphysician, a distinguished professor also of mathematics and physics in one of the principal universities of Germany:

'But' (says Fries, in his Lectures on Astronomy), 'it is rejoined, You explain every thing by your omnipotent gravitation—what is the origin of that? I answer, this, too, we know full well! The daughter of the old blind Fate, her servants magnitude, number, and proportion, her inheritance a universe without a God, which requires no God. . . . When the great astronomer Lalande denied a deity—could trace in the heavens no God, in the movement of the stars no finger of God, we are compelled to allow the logical consequence of his reasoning. That high order and adaptation of end and means is only the product of the rigid mechanism of necessary physical laws; there, above, is only a blind mindless destiny, the absolute ruler of its universe. But I appeal to the truth of the saying in St John—in the spirit only shall we worship God; and in what only our science is for mind is its dignity and value to be found. He only can style the order of the universe an adaptation of means to end, who brings to its observation a belief in the reality of design. But the true interpretation of the order of design, lies far more clearly apparent in the mind of man. The infinite spirit does not bail itself under proportion and number! The play with number is an easy play—its joy *only* the joy of the imprisoned spirit at the clank of its fetters.'*

Are mathematics then of no value as an instrument of mental culture? Nay, do they exercise only to distort the mind? To this we answer, that their study, if pursued in moderation and efficiently counteracted, may be beneficial in the correction of a certain vice, and in the formation of its corresponding virtue. The vice is the habit of mental distraction; the virtue the habit of continuous attention. This is the single benefit, to which the study of mathematics can justly pretend, in the cultivation of the mind; and it is the only one accorded to it by the most intelligent philosophers. Bacon, who in his earlier writings had rashly admitted the utility of mathematics in sharpening the intellect, significantly recalled this opinion in his maturer works; and instead of mathematics, recommended a study of the school philosophy as the discipline of subtilty and discrimination.† In like manner (probably with Bacon in his eye) the mathematical

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* *Vorlesungen ueber die Sternkunde*, p. 16, 18, 227.

† In the first edition of his *Essays*, published in 1597, Bacon says,

philosopher Du Hamel seems to accord no other mental advantage to the mathematics; and at the same time observes that 'they 'have this of vice, that for the most part they render us alien and 'abhorrent from the business of life.' * Of mathematical science Warburton holds, that besides affording us a knowledge of its peculiar method, 'all its use, for the purpose in question (the im-'provement of the powers of reasoning), seems to be only habi-'tuating the mind to think long and closely; and it would be well 'if this advantage made amends for some inconveniences, as in-'separable from it.' † This, likewise, is all that is admitted of the study by one of the most acute and cautious observers of the human mind and its modifications, and whose predilections, if we could suppose him biassed, were naturally all in favour of its importance—we mean Mr Dugald Stewart. A skilful mathematician, his writings abound with allusions to that science; but we make bold to say, that there is not to be found in the whole compass of his works a single passage attributing another or a higher advantage to mathematical study, in relation to the mind, than that of 'strengthening the power of steady and concatenated thinking.' Nay, when contraverting Mr Hume's contemptuous estimate of the utility and importance of mathematics, and when thus

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'Mathematiks make men subtill;' but having learned better in the interval, in the second, which appeared fifteen years thereafter, he withdrew this commendation, and substituted the following, which stands unaltered in all the after editions;—'If a man's wit be wandering let him study the mathematiks; for in demonstrations if his thought be called ever so little away he must begin again; if his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences [*i. e.* be not subtile], let him study the schoolmen, for they are the *Cymini sectores*.'—By the by a mistake as to the meaning of the adage.—(*Essay on Studies.*) In like manner, in *The Advancement of Learning*, published in 1605, he says of mathematics, 'If the wit be too dull, they sharpen it; if too wandering, they fix it; if too inherent in the sense, they abstract it.' (Book II. *Mathematique.*) But in the relative place of the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, the great work in which, after a meditation of eighteen years, the *Advancement* was corrected, remodelled and greatly enlarged, he disallows the first and third of these utilities, and admits only the second. 'Si cuipiam ingenium tale est quale est avium, ut facile abripiatur, nec per moram (qualem oportet) intentum esse sustineat; remedium huic rei præbebunt mathematica, in quibus si evagetur paulo mens, de integro renovanda est demonstratio.' (L. vi. c. 4.) Nor in any of Bacon's writings is there to be found any thing to invalidate this proof of the contrast of his earlier and his maturer opinion.

* *De Mente Humana*, L. i. c. 8.

† *Julian Pref.* p. xviii.

called on to specify their various uses, he ascribes to them any value, not as affording a profitable exercise of mind, but, exclusively, 'as an organ of physical discovery, and as the foundation 'of some of the most necessary arts of civilized life.' * And, in the chapter of his *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, entitled, *The Mathematician*—admirable alike for its depth and its candour,—the improvement of the power of continuous attention is the only benefit he admits; and that, likewise, to the express exclusion of the mechanical process of the algebraic analysis—an exclusion in which he is supported by the highest practical authorities in education. 'This command of attention, however, it may be proper 'to add, is to be acquired, not by practice of the modern me-'thods, but by the study of the Greek geometry; more particu-'larly, by accustoming ourselves to pursue long trains of de-'monstration, without availing ourselves of the aid of any sensi-'ble diagrams; the thoughts being directed solely to those ideal 'delineations which the powers of conception and of memory 'enable us to form.' †

But mathematics are not the only study which cultivates the attention; neither is the kind and degree of attention which they tend to induce, the kind and degree of attention which our other and higher speculations require and exercise. In the study of mathematics we are accustomed, if we may so express ourselves, to a protensive, rather than to either an extensive, a comprehensive, or an intensive application of thought. It does not compel us to hold up before the mind, and to retain the mind upon, a multitude of different objects; far less does it inure us to a steady consideration of the fugitive and evanescent abstractions and generalities of the reflective intellect. As Mr Kirwan observes, 'As 'to mathematics habituating the mind to intense application, 'there is no science that does not equally require it, and, in 'studying it, the habit is much more advantageously obtained.' ‡ And M. de Staël admirably says, 'I shall be told, I know 'that Mathematics render the attention peculiarly close' (appliquée); 'but they do not habituate to collect, to appreciate, to 'concentrate; the attention they require is, so to speak, in a 'straight line; the human mind acts in mathematics as a spring 'tending in one uniform direction.' §

We should remember also that the minds for whose peculiar malady a course of mathematics, as the appropriate specific, is

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* *Dissertation*, &c. p. 171.
† *Elements*, vol. iii. p. 269.
‡ *Logick*, I., preface, p. 6.
§ *De l'Allemagne*, I., c. 18.

prescribed, are precisely those which will not, in fact, *cannot*, submit to the prescription. 'In vain' (observes Du Hamel) 'do 'we promulgate rules for awakening attention, if the disposition 'be headlong, unstable, presumptuous. Besides, all application 'of the mind is an act of will, and the will cannot be compel-'led.'*—After all, we are afraid that D'Alembert is right; mathematics may distort, but can never rectify, the mind.

But although of slender, and even ambiguous utility, as a gymnastic of the intellect, mathematics are not undeserving of attention, as supplying to the metaphysician and psychologist some interesting materials of speculation. The notions, and method, and progress of these sciences are curious, both in themselves, and in contrast to those of philosophy. Although, therefore, the inscription over Plato's school be but a modern fiction, we are willing to admit its truth—nay, are decidedly of opinion, that mathematics ought to be cultivated, to a certain extent, by every one who would devote himself to the higher philosophy. But, on the other hand, we agree with Socrates, who 'disapproved of 'the study of geometry' (and he says the same of astronomy) 'when carried the length of its more difficult diagrams. For, 'though himself not inconversant with these' (which he had studied under the celebrated geometer, Theodorus of Cyrene), 'he 'did not perceive of what utility they could be, calculated as 'they were to consume the life of a man, and to turn him away 'from many other and important acquirements.'†

We must now abruptly terminate. Our limits are already greatly exceeded. But we must still state, in a few words, what many sentences would be required to develope.

In extending so partial an encouragement to mathematical and physical pursuits, thus indirectly discouraging the other branches of liberal education, the University of Cambridge has exactly reversed every principle of academical policy.—What are the grounds on which one study ought to be forced, in such a seminary, in preference to others?

The first and principal condition of academical encouragement is, that the study tends to cultivate a greater number of the nobler faculties in a higher degree. That the study of mathematics effects this, at best, in the most inadequate and precarious manner, while its too exclusive cultivation tends positively to incapacitate and to deform the mind, it has been the scope of the preceding argument to establish.

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* *De Mente Humana*, l. i. c. 8.

† *Xenophontis Memorabilia*, l. iv. c. 7, §§ 3, 5.

The second condition is, that the protected study comprehends within its sphere of operation a larger proportion of the academic youth. It can easily be shown that in this respect mathematics have less claim to encouragement than any other object of education.

The third is, that it is of greater general utility for the conduct of the *business*, or for the enjoyment of the *leisure*, of after life. In regard to the business, for men in general, no study is more utterly worthless than that of mathematics. In regard to the leisure, for which, as Aristotle properly observes, a liberal education ought equally to provide, this study is of even less importance than for the business. No academical pursuit has so few extra-academical votaries. The reasons are manifest. In the first place, mathematics, to be spontaneously loved, require a more peculiar constitution of mind and temperament than any other intellectual pursuit. In the second, as observed by Plato, no study forced in the school is ever voluntarily cultivated in life—(Ψυχῇ ϑίαιον οὐδὲν ἐμμενὲς μάθημα). In the third, to use the words of Seneca, 'some things, once known, stick fast; others, 'it is not enough to have learnt, our knowlege of them perishing 'when we cease to learn. Such are mathematics.'* The maxim, 'Non scholæ sed vitæ discendum,' is thus, in every relation, by the University of Cambridge, reversed.

The fourth is, that, independently of its own importance, it is the passport to other important branches of knowledge. In this respect mathematical sciences (pure and applied) stand alone: to the other branches of knowledge they conduce—to none directly, and if indirectly to any, the advantage they afford is small, contingent, and dispensable.

The fifth is, that, however important absolutely and relatively, it is yet of such a nature, that, without an external stimulus, it will not be so generally and so thoroughly cultivated as it deserves. Mathematics, certainly, from the nature of their study, require such stimulus: the question is, do they deserve it?

We cannot conclude without strongly expressing our sincere respect for the venerable school of which, in this article, we have endeavoured to expose a modern abuse. With all its defects, there is even now, in the spirit of the place, what, were its mighty means all as well directed as some already are, would raise it in every faculty, in every department, to the highest rank among the European universities. Some parts of the reform are difficult, and must be accomplished from without.

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* *De Beneficiis*, l. iii. c. 5.

Others are comparatively easy, and, it is not too much to hope, may be determined from within. Of these, the first and most manifest improvement would be the establishment of three Triposes of co-ordinate and independent honours; of which one should comprise the different departments of philosophy proper, ancient and modern — another the mathematical and physical sciences—and a third the multifarious branches of classics, classical philology, history, &c. We cannot add a word in reference to the expediency and details of such a plan; but, in allusion to a philosophical Tripos, a noble testimony to the influence of metaphysical and moral studies in the improvement of the mind, rises to our recollection, which, as peculiarly appropriate to the occasion, we cannot refrain from adducing. It is by one of the acutest of thinkers—the elder Scaliger:—'Harum indagatio subtilitatum etsi non est utilis ad machinas 'farinarias conficiendas, exuit tamen animum inscitiae rubigine, 'acuitque ad alia. Eo denique splendore afficit, ut praeluceat 'sibi ad nanciscendum primi opificis similitudinem. Qui ut 'omnia plene et perfecte est, et praeter, et supra omnia; ita 'eos qui scientiarum studiosi sunt, suos esse voluit, ipsorumque 'intellectum rerum dominum constituit.' *

Art. VIII.—*Papers relative to the Cape of Good Hope.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed. 1835.

It is melancholy to observe with what slow and faltering steps humanity treads the soil of our possessions in South Africa. In vain does the British Government prescribe a course of enlightened policy in relation to the aboriginal inhabitants of the land: the strong current of private interest sets irresistibly in the opposite direction. Too often have the authorities at the Cape, forgetting the interests of the mother country and the injunctions of the home government, allowed themselves to be carried along by the tide of colonial sentiments; and to be entrapped in a specious 'necessity, the tyrant's plea,' of persevering in an iniquitous system. A rapid history of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope will set this matter in a clear light.

The Dutch first took formal possession of the Cape in the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1652, Van Riebeck, the

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* *De Subtilitate*, Exerc. cccvii. 3.

first governor of the new colony, landed there with a handful of men, to whom he enjoined above all things caution and forbearance in their dealing with the natives. The object of the Dutch in making this settlement, was not the acquisition of an extensive territory. They looked on the Cape only with the eyes of judicious navigators; and sought merely to obtain for their shipping engaged in the trade with India, a convenient resting place, where they might refit and obtain provisions. Hence the domain of the Cape Colony was at first extremely circumscribed; nor was it till twenty years after its foundation (that is in 1672,) that a considerable extent of the surrounding country, since called the Cape District, was purchased from the natives and annexed to it. The cattle and other provisions required for the colonists, and for the shipping, were sought to be obtained by trade with the Hottentots. But as these were constantly outwitted in their dealings with the white men, and avenged every wrong of force or fraud with sanguinary violence, the frontier of the colony was a constant scene of trouble and confusion,—of secret pillage or open warfare. The free trade in cattle with the natives was sometimes interdicted under the severest penalties, and again thrown open. It was found ridiculous to promulgate laws which could not be enforced. The disorders arising out of this trade, as it was called, are plainly set forth in the following extract from the notes of Mr Borcherds, in the Papers now before us. 'An unhappy 'result followed the indulgence shown to the inhabitants by 'the placard of the ult. Feb. 1700' (a proclamation opening the trade.) 'The free trade in cattle was entirely misapplied. 'The farmers, instead of trading, proceeded in parties of eighty 'or ninety beyond the boundaries, and being armed, forced the 'natives (and even murdered them in some instances) to give up 'their cattle, and afterwards divided the plunder.'

While the boors or Dutch farmers thus carried their depredations to a great distance in the country of the Hottentots, the government at Cape Town had no choice but to follow the backwoodsmen as far as possible with the shadow of authority; and thus by slow and inevitable degrees,—impelled by a kind of necessity rather than design,—wrested an immense extent of country out of the hands of its aboriginal possessors. In the middle of the last century, the Cape Colony comprised three districts, viz. that of the Cape, Swellendam, and Stellenbosch; its territory extending northwards to the Hantam and Roggevaldt mountains, and eastwards to the Camtoos river. But this was not yet sufficient; and in 1771 Governor Van Plettenberg fixed the boundary line beyond the Snieeuwbergen or Snow Mountains, so as to

extend the measure of the colonial territory to about 100,000 square miles. His object in this, however, was not properly to enlarge the colony, but to overtake and to restrain within the limits of law and authority, the ever rambling boors. He drew the new boundary line so as to embrace the country which they had appropriated, and forbade their wandering beyond it.

Thus, it appears, that within a hundred and twenty years after the foundation of the Dutch colony at the Cape, its territory had increased to more than ten times the extent of the Dutch territory in Europe. Yet assuredly the Dutch Government had never contemplated such an increase, nor could they have expected any advantage from it. The seeds of encroachment on the rights of the natives were mixed undesignedly, though amply, with the purposes and local circumstances of the new colony; and they more easily escaped notice, since the economical system with which they insensibly grew up was totally foreign from the European habits of the settlers. It being the chief object of the colony to procure cattle and provisions in abundance, the farmers all became cattle breeders; so that in the course of a single generation, influenced by the circumstance of soil and climate, the sober and industrious Dutch peasant had become a wandering herdsman, and attained in the fullest degree the adventurous disposition and lawlessness of the nomadic life. In his dealings with the Hottentots, he soon discovered the weakness of the latter, and robbed or defrauded them of their cattle as occasion prompted. The natives, deprived of their support, perished in great numbers; the injustice with which they were treated on all hands gradually worked their extermination. Thus, according to our view of the history of the Cape Colony, the boors alone were the conquerors of South Africa. The Government at the Cape, as well as in Holland, did its utmost by threats and proclamations to keep them in check, and to protect from aggression the aboriginal owners of the soil, but in vain; the boors marched onward with continually increasing herds; wherever they found pasture, they made themselves masters of the country, and the Colonial Government had no part to choose but to follow them and claim the sovereignty of their conquests.

This brief historical sketch, the accuracy of which is incontestable, saves us the trouble of enquiring into the wrongs of the respective parties. In the quarrels in which the natives were continually involved with the colonists, they were often, no doubt, the aggressors; but the career of conquest and extermination prosecuted by the boors, whilst the voice of a humane and enlightened government vainly endeavoured to restrain them, was one of palpable and flagrant injustice.

Up to the period to which we have followed the progress of the boors, they had only to do with the Hottentots; a weak and irresolute race, whose divided clans were easily overcome. From the early Dutch writers, we may conclude that South Africa, in its aboriginal state, was by no means thinly peopled. We can hardly suppose that the Hottentot tribes, occupying what is now the colonial territory, were, in the middle of the seventeenth century, less than two hundred thousand souls. At the present day, what is called the Hottentot population of the colony, falls short of twenty thousand; but of these, by far the greater number are people of mixed breed, and Hottentots by caste only. The Hottentots of pure breed, within the limits of the colony, do not at present exceed 5000 souls, and of these only a few hundreds can speak the language of their forefathers; so that this remarkable race of mankind is now nearly extinct in the very soil where, at no great distance of time, it chiefly flourished. When the eastern limits of the colony were extended to the Camtoos river, the boors came into contact, for the first time, with more formidable opponents. They passed the boundary of the colony, of course, and carried on an illicit trade with the Caffres, who at that time inhabited both banks of the Great Fish river. The Government, unable to bring back the stragglers, and unwilling to lose their hold of them, followed them as usual, and in 1780 the Great Fish river was proclaimed the eastern boundary of the colony. The Caffres settled on the western bank of the river lived for some time intermingled with the boors; but such a state of things could not continue long; mutual offence soon sprang up; the Caffres were obliged to retire to the eastern side of the river, whence they sallied forth occasionally to carry off the cattle of the boors; a *commando*, or armed expedition, was set on foot to punish the depredators; and from that time to the present day, the security of peace has been unknown on the eastern frontier of the colony.

The march of encroachment from Cape Town to the Great Fish river was effected by obscure steps,—unattended by any struggles calculated to alarm the Colonial Government at the time, or to awaken an historical interest thereafter. But as soon as the boors, on reaching that river, encountered the determined opposition of the Caffres, affairs assumed another aspect. The fear of a high-spirited barbarian enemy, filled the colonists, and even the Government, with great, perhaps excessive apprehension. Every petty robbery, every border feud, was magnified into importance; and the attempts made by the colonial authorities to maintain the peace of the frontier, displayed too often the vindictive spirit of conscious weakness, embittered by constant dread.

Of the shallow and vacillating policy which has at all times regulated the intercourse between the colonists and their black neighbours on the eastern frontier, sufficient proof will be found in a brief recital of the chief transactions which have arisen out of that intercourse, from its first commencement till the recent war.

We have seen that the Great Fish river was proclaimed the eastern boundary of the Cape Colony, as early, at least, as 1780; but it was only a theoretical boundary; the boors were not sufficiently numerous to occupy the whole territory added to the colony by this extension of its limits; and the Caffres, unmoved by frequent bickerings, continued to feed their herds on the western side of that river. About the year 1793, Gaïka, or Ghyka, a chief of high rank and much influence, was obliged, on coming of age, to have recourse to arms in order to recover his patrimony from his uncle Tslambi, who was also his guardian; and he drove the latter over the Great Fish river. This turbulent chieftain could not, of course, be permitted to establish himself within the limits of the colony, and a *commando* was ordered to dislodge him. This, however, was not effected. The boors captured and drove off a quantity of cattle, while the Caffres remained in possession of the country. In 1795 the British became, by a voluntary cession, masters of the Cape Colony; and from a kind of necessity, adopted, in their dealings with their Caffre neighbours, the same shortsighted make-shift policy as their Dutch predecessors. They made a treaty with Gaïka in 1798, the object of which was not to establish the terms of a friendly intercourse between the parties, but to prevent their intercourse altogether—to cut off all communication between the colonists and the Caffres—and to constitute the Great Fish river an impassable barrier between the two races. How far the intentions and stipulations of this treaty transcended what was practicable, is evident from the fact, that the district named the Zuurveld (or sour plain, so called from the rankness of the grass), between the Great Fish and the Bushman's rivers, comprising a great part of the present province of Albany, continued in the occupation of the Caffres till 1812, when Tconga and his people were forcibly driven from it.

The continual troubles of the eastern frontier gave birth to a series of misbegotten and abortive political contrivances on the part of the Colonial Government. One of these was the treaty made with Gaïka in 1817, in which he was recognised as the paramount chief of all the Caffre tribes—a rank to which he neither had nor pretended any title. It was certainly most desirable that the Caffre nation should acknowledge the control of one supreme authority, to whom all negotiations might be direct-

ed; but the license of wilful delusion was carried far beyond all venial limits, when the fact was deemed established merely because it was convenient that it should be so. The necessary consequence of this blunder was, that when Gaïka's usurped superiority embroiled him with the other chiefs of his nation, the British became involved in his quarrels. A *commando* was actually sent to support him in his pretensions, and the colony took a part in the intestine feuds of the Caffres. Hence the war of 1819, in which the Caffres exceeded their former boldness, and pouring into the colony in great numbers, made a formidable attack on Graham's Town. Strong measures were thought requisite to repress this alarming audacity. The invaders were driven beyond the Keiskamma, and then Gaïka was called on to cede the whole territory between that river and the Great Fish river, the boundary of the colony;—a tract of country 80 miles in length, with an average breadth of 35 miles, as a neutral territory or a forbidden ground between the two races. Gaïka yielded, of course, with much readiness, a territory which never belonged to him; while the other chiefs, despoiled of their lands by a cession to which they were not parties, were obliged for the time to conceal their resentment.

The idea of preserving unoccupied, or in a state of waste, a large tract of habitable country on the frontiers of the Cape Colony, was altogether chimerical. It was accordingly soon given up, and Lord Charles Somerset, the author of that scheme, after annulling the grants made by Sir Rufane Donkin, of portions of the neutral territory, located a part of it himself; and the boors again became settled in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caffres, who were permitted to re-occupy some of their lands westward of the Keiskamma and Kat rivers. The unhappy consequences of such contiguity necessarily followed, and produced the troubles of 1829; when Macomo, the son of Gaïka, was driven from his lands on the Kat river, and the limits of the colony in that quarter (for the neutral territory had now become, to all intents and purposes, a part of the colony) were more strictly defined.

Before we proceed to make any remarks on the preceding historical summary, let us turn our eyes for a moment to the Caffre nation. The name Caffre (the Arabic Kafir, an unbeliever or Pagan) was given by the early Portuguese navigators to the natives of the entire eastern coast of Africa. The Dutch settlers at the Cape, therefore, when they found, on going eastward, a race of men, distinct from the Hottentots, called them, in accordance with the then prevailing geographical nomenclature, Caffres. This name admits, therefore, of an extensive application; but colonial usage has almost appropriated it to the tribe in closest contact with the

colony, and who call themselves Amakósa. The name of their northern neighbours, the Amatêmbu, metamorphosed by the Dutch boors into Tembooger, has been still further corrupted by the English into Tambookies. To the eastward of these dwell the Amapónda or Amambo, called, by a similar process of corruption, Mambookies. These last are the most industrious of the three nations—the Amakósa are considered the most warlike, and with them alone we have to do.

Descriptions of the Caffres (Amakósa) have appeared in the writings of Barrow, Lichtenstein (who obtained his information respecting them chiefly from the missionary Van der Kemp), Alberti, and others of more recent date. The vivid and attractive representation given by the first-named of these writers of their physical endowments, their noble demeanour, their frankness and good sense, made a great impression at the time. The Caffres, whatever may be their capabilities, are still only barbarians. 'The 'Caffres,' says Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, in a despatch now before us (Papers, part II., p. 78) 'are as yet uncivilized, but they 'cannot with truth be called a nation of savages. Very much, 'I am convinced, may be effected with them by mildness and 'forbearance.' Alberti, the officer stationed on the eastern frontier, while the colony was in the hands of the Dutch, from 1802 to 1806, expressly affirms, that the misunderstandings which took place between the colonists and Caffres, originated altogether in the fraud and violence of the former; and that the latter people were quite capable of entering into a reciprocally advantageous intercourse with a civilized nation, if treated with equity and humanity.

A little reflection on the history of the Cape Colony, and particularly of its eastern frontier, will enable us easily to determine the question of right between the European settlers and the aboriginal people. It is needless to sift each separate complaint, or to enquire, in each instance, who stole the cattle, or gave the first insult. It will be more to the purpose to examine into the general equity of that order of things, under which this continual series of injury and aggression has taken place.

The first thing that strikes us is, that the extraordinary advance of the colony on the country of the Caffres always was and is a wrong. The Cape Colony, previous to the recent war, embraced a territory exceeding in extent 140,000 square miles, and had a population of 130,000 souls. A population not much exceeding that of the parish of St Marylebone, spread over a surface double that of Great Britain, still elbows its neighbours for more room! Graham's Town, the capital of the eastern district, and about twenty miles from the Great Fish river, is 400 geo-

graphical, or, by route, 580 statute miles (seven days' journey by courier) from Cape Town; and it is yet some miles further eastward, or from 600 to 700 miles from the seat of government, that we quarrel with the aboriginals for the possession of a few running streams and green meadows, and drive them from the fields which they inherited from their fathers. Such has evermore been the system pursued by the boors. Previous to 1778, or while the Camtoos river was the eastern boundary of the colony, the colonial territory had not above two-thirds of its present extent, but neither was it occupied by one-half of its present population. Yet the boors, desiring fresh pastures, approached the Caffres, traded with them, cheated them; and when the latter retaliated by stealing their cattle, instead of retiring from so dangerous a neighbourhood, drove the aboriginals from their lands, which, as far as they could, they occupied. For all the calamities which have followed the too close proximity of the two races, the colonists alone are accountable. Whatever offences the Caffres may have committed, they expiated them by the loss of their lands; but no retreat could save them from the pertinacious tyranny of the boors, who always followed them more closely than is consistent with good neighbourhood among a pastoral people.

To call the Caffres a nation of robbers, is to do them a great injustice; but they, like other nations, have many dishonest individuals among them. The superiority of the colonial to their own breed of cattle, and the general custom of buying wives with cows, give them the temptation and the impulse to steal; and the numberless injuries they have received, make them regard the pillage of the colony as just retaliation. Moreover, the population of the frontiers is so thin and scattered, and the herds and flocks are so little guarded, that the cattle-stealer has no serious difficulties to overcome. In fact, herds and flocks, in the most civilized countries of Europe, as ill protected as they are on the borders of Caffreland, would be equally liable to depredations. But in Europe, severe laws would not be enforced for the protection of property if the owner took no pains to guard it —in South Africa, on the other hand, when a boor, encroaching as far as possible on the pastures of a numerous aboriginal people, finds that his cattle do not roam as securely as in a desert, he cries out that the natives ought to be exterminated—and it is truly surprising how many are found to sympathize with his selfishness.

In the second place, we may observe, that the non-intercourse system, which aimed at preventing any communication whatever between the colonists and the Caffres,—a system first introduced by the Dutch, and adopted from them for some time by the Bri-

tish,—was in the highest degree mischievous and absurd. It reached its height, and developed all its absurdity, in the chimerical project of an unoccupied neutral territory. It would be impossible to devise any other experiment so well calculated to prove the impotency of the local government. Backwoodsmen and South African boors must be controlled by the hand of power, and not by the promulgation of edicts. To enact severe laws for the regulation of those remote frontiers of a colony where the authority of law is least, is to bring contempt on the magistrate, by involving him in a perpetual and unsuccessful contest with the people. The laws prohibiting intercourse with the Caffres, restrained only the respectable portion of the colonial population; but they did not prevent the contamination of vice and discontent from crossing the boundary, and infecting a people, who, treated with a rational and considerate liberality, might easily have been rendered useful neighbours. No attempt has ever been made to civilize, scarcely any to conciliate, the Caffres, or to attach them to the colony by the sentiments of interest or gratitude. Thus, unprotected by enlightened humanity, they, like other rude nations, have sustained a positive injury from the vicinity of civilized man. The economy which dictated this neglect of the moral welfare of the aboriginals, has by this time cost the colony very dear.

Thirdly, The *commando* system, which consisted in arming the boors, and in authorizing them to wreak their vengeance on the aboriginals, was directly calculated to enhance the barbarity of the former, and to impress irreconcilable hatred on the minds of the latter. Every page of the history of the Cape Colony shows us, that the Government always meant well towards the aboriginal people; but that the practical treatment of them devolved entirely on the boors, who sought to exterminate them. The iniquities of the *commando* system were long ago fully exposed by Mr Barrow, who, though he may have erred by a too indiscriminate censure of the Dutch farmers, yet had the merit of boldly exposing enormities which would never have yielded to timid treatment. The strong words of a strong-minded man could alone touch the blunt sensibility of the boors. The results of the *commandoes* against the Bushmen are thus described by Colonel Collins in the papers now before us (Part I. p. 40). 'The original population of the north-eastern frontier must 'have been very considerable, if any credit can be attached to 'the accounts given by the old inhabitants of the exploits of their 'younger days. I have heard one man, who is represented as 'an estimable character in other respects, declare, that, within a 'period of six years, parties under his orders had either killed or 'taken 3200 of these unfortunate creatures. Another has stated

'to me, that the actions in which he had been engaged had 'caused the destruction of 2700.' Again, Mr Maynier, Landdrost of Graaff Reynet in 1792, states his conviction, 'that the 'complaints of the boors about depredations from the Caffres 'were often altogether unfounded, and always exaggerated; 'originating from a design to enrich themselves with the cattle 'they were in the habit of taking from the Caffres in the com-'mandoes which they were allowed to conduct,' &c.

The Papers before us abound with proofs of the impolicy and danger of arming the boors against the aboriginals. But the mischievous capabilities of the *commando* system were not fully developed till Sir Lowry Cole, a few years ago, authorized *commandoes* to pursue stolen cattle (and the vaguest fabricated rumours might occasion the pursuit), and having, or supposing to have, traced them to a Caffre hamlet, to take thence cattle to an equal amount;—thus substituting headlong retaliation for justice, and uniformly punishing the innocent for the guilty. This measure has contributed, more than any other, to keep alive a spirit of bitter animosity on the eastern frontier. But, in order to comprehend the intelligence which dictated this measure, we have only to look to the despatch of Sir Lowry Cole in reply to a letter of Mr Secretary Stanley, calling for information respecting the *commando* system. That despatch, dated 15th November, 1833, contains the following assertion:—'The boundary line of the 'colony, except in front of Caffraria, has not been advanced for a 'great number of years. That to the north and north-east was fixed 'full sixty years ago, and no colonist is allowed to occupy lands be-'yond that line.' Now we find, that a great accession of territory on the north and north-east was made in 1823; respecting which, the Commissioners of Enquiry thus expressed themselves in a letter to Captain A. Stockenstrom, dated 30th June, 1826:—'From a reference to the map of the colony in our possession, it 'would appear, that the line of boundary that you have described 'to have been drawn, pursuant to these instructions, has included 'an extension of territory beyond the former boundary of not 'less than 330 miles of mean length, and 150 of mean breadth, 'containing an area of 50,000 square miles.' In reply to this letter, the enlightened and patriotic Stockenstrom observes, that the new boundary line which he had recommended was intended not to justify migrations, but to prevent their further extension. 'The encroachments on the aboriginals,' he continues, 'began 'at Cape Town, and never ceased to extend by degrees, until 'the colonists had got to where they now are. As a tract of 'country became what they call full, the more enterprising again 'set forward, and were followed as before.'

Now again we find the acting governor, Lieutenant-Colonel

Wade, writing to Mr Secretary Stanley to the following effect in January, 1834:—'But besides these, there are also the farmers, who, in defiance of the law and the severity of its penalties, migrate beyond the boundaries; and, at the same time that they supply the natives with the means of desolating the colony (that is, with fire-arms), unfortunately furnish them also with something of a reasonable pretext for doing so by dispossessing the weak and unarmed, and occupying all the fertile spots and springs; and, it is asserted upon good authority, not unfrequently disgracing themselves by atrocities hardly less barbarous than those which the banditti inflict on the settlement. In the country between the frontier line and the upper Orange river, and between the latter and the Caledon river, there are at this moment upwards of 100 heads of families with their slaves thus situated, having seized on the district that best suited them, without any regard whatever to the right of property of the natives; and it cannot therefore be matter of surprise that the latter should seek to retaliate.' Thus it appears, that Sir Lowry Cole, whilst defending *commandoes*, which under his authority had grown more vexatious, manifested great ignorance of the history of the colony and of its character: his eyes seem to have been closed to that spirit of encroachment which has extended the colonial territory to its present inconvenient magnitude, and which is still as active as when it first commenced.

We shall now proceed to recount the events of the recent calamitous war with the Caffres; and as but few authentic documents relating to it have been as yet published, we shall treat it briefly. The strictures which we have already made on the history of the Cape Colony will save us from the necessity of commenting at any length on late occurrences. The longing of the colonists for the well-watered valleys of the Caffres, and of the latter for the colonial cattle, are now, as heretofore, the sources of irritation. It has been said that the late invasion of the colony by the Caffres was wholly unprovoked. That it was not so is evident from Sir B. D'Urban's despatch to Mr Secretary Rice, dated 28th October, 1834. In this despatch, the governor, after premising 'that it is sufficiently obvious that a complete and effectual reformation of our system of proceeding with the native tribes (if that may be called a system which seems to have been guided by no fixed principle, certainly by no just one) has become absolutely necessary,' proceeds as follows: 'For many years past the tribes of the chiefs Macomo, Bothma, and Tyali had been allowed by the Colonial Government to reside and graze their cattle immediately within (on the western side of) the river Keiskamma, upon the Gaga, Chumie, and Mancasana.

'In the November of last year the acting governor, under the 'impression that this indulgence had been abused (which pro- 'bably it might have been to a certain extent), ordered their 'immediate expulsion from the whole of that line, and they were 'expelled accordingly. This unfortunately happened when a 'period of severe drought was approaching; so that these tribes '(I am afraid but too certainly) suffered much loss in their herds 'in consequence. Hence arose the feeling (of discontent and 'ill-will towards the colony) to which I have adverted, and which 'combined with it, in this instance, a spirit of retribution.'

This sensible and candid statement of the governor, written about six weeks before the breaking out of the war, completely reveals its origin. The Caffres, if we may borrow the expressions of one of their own orators, 'are men, and they love their 'cattle—their wives and children live upon milk—they fight for 'their property;—they hate the colonists, who covet their all, and 'aim at their destruction.' The expulsion of the three chiefs from their lands took place in November, 1833; but at the close of 1834 the depredations in the colony had reached an alarming extent; and when the attempt was renewed to force the Caffres beyond the Keiskamma, they manifested a determination to maintain their ground. Tyali declared that he would and must occupy and graze his cattle on the Mancazana valleys; and his herdsmen showed themselves in the thickets fully armed. Three horses being stolen from the colony about the same time, a patrol was sent to retaliate on the Caffres; and, attempting to drive off the cattle belonging to a village, was defeated by the inhabitants, and with difficulty effected a retreat. Such was the immediate occasion of the war. Even the most savage people cannot be safely dealt with on the principle that might is right.

The lamentable events which followed may be shortly told. During the latter half of December, 1834, and the succeeding January, the Caffres poured into the colony in great numbers—wasted the farms, drove off the cattle, and murdered not a few of the inhabitants. The sanguinary temper exhibited by the Caffres in the late irruption is contrary to their usage, and affords a strong proof of their increasing hatred to the colony. They had reckoned up forty-four of their countrymen killed by the colonists in retaliatory marauding expeditions, and whose deaths they vowed to avenge. The whole country, as far as the Bushmen's river, was abandoned to them; their parties hovered round Algoa Bay, and even threatened Graham's Town. The eastern frontier, when the irruption took place, was defended by little more than 700 men—a force inadequate, at any time, to provide for the security of a line 100 miles in length. Troops, ammunition, and military

stores had to be sent from Cape Town, a distance of 600 miles. The general consternation was great. Several thousand persons, fleeing for their lives, abandoned all their property to the enraged enemy; and the misery consequent upon such a step in a new country, where such losses are not easily repaired, may be better imagined than described. At length aid arrived; and in the beginning of February the main body of the Caffres was expelled from the colony. To the consummate ability and unwearied exertion, in the hour of danger, of Colonel Smith and the governor, who subsequently reached the eastern frontier, may be ascribed the speedy repression of the hostile ravages.

It was deemed advisable, however, not merely to repulse the Caffres, but also to punish them; and in March an army of 4000 men entered Caffreland, to drive back the cattle which had been so inadequately protected by a frontier force of only 700. On the 15th of April the main division of the army crossed the river Kaï or Ky, and destroyed the villages of Hintza, the paramount chief of Caffreland, capturing 15,000 head of cattle. A fortnight after, Hintza, accompanied by fifty of his followers, entered the camp to sue for peace, which was granted on the following conditions, viz. the Caffres were to give 25,000 head of cattle and 500 horses within five days, and an equal number in twelve months. Hintza sent messengers to collect the stipulated quantity of cattle, and remained voluntarily in the British camp. On the 10th of May, a new thought seems to have entered the governor's mind; and he declared the river Ky, from its source in the Stormberg mountains to the sea, to be the boundary of the colony, which thus received an accession of about 7000 square miles;—a large portion of which extent is the country of the Amatembu, and not liable, therefore, to be forfeited for the misdeeds of the Amakósa. On the Buffalo river was selected the site of King William's Town, the future capital of Adelaide province, as the newly acquired territory is called. The names Wellington, Peel, Aberdeen, &c., given to the surrounding localities, seem to show that the news of the change of ministry, reached Sir B. D'Urban at this important juncture; and we must be pardoned for suspecting, that to this circumstance his sudden determination (for he entertained no such thought when he first entered Caffreland) to add 7000 square miles to the colony is to be ascribed. He perhaps hoped (but the hope was certainly a fallacious one) that Lord Aberdeen would be less obstinately averse to an invasion of the rights of the aboriginals than the minister from whom he received his instructions.

But to return to our narrative. Two days after the announcement of the new boundary, Hintza, leaving his son and brother as

hostages in the camp, proceeded at his own desire with an escort towards his country, eastward of the Ky, to expedite by the authority of his presence the collection of the cattle. In ascending a hill near the river Bashee, he pushed on before the others as if attempting to escape; pistols were snapped at him, and he fled the faster. At length a musket-shot in the leg slackened his speed; a second ball through the ribs brought him to the ground; but he recovered himself sufficiently to descend the slope into the bed of the river. Here the wounded man, up to the waist in water, leaned against a rock for support, and begged for mercy. The Hottentots heard his prayer and spared him; but a British officer climbing the rock above him shot the unfortunate chief. With the recital of the barbarities subsequently perpetrated on the dead body we shall not sully our pages, nor pain the ear of manhood. Such revolting enormities we would gladly conceal; but the concealment of them is impossible. Since, however, it is evident, that even in civilized communities may be found barbarians, we leave it to the candour and prudence of the African boors, and their disciples, to decide whether it is wise to taunt the Caffres any longer with *their* barbarism.

The four months which followed the death of Hintza, seem to have been spent by the colonial force in punishing the other refractory chiefs by the devastation of their country. At length, on the 17th of September, treaties of peace were concluded with the chiefs of the families of Gaïka and Tslambi; by which treaties tracts of country are assigned to those chiefs and their respective tribes,—viz. a tract on the northern side of Amakósina, adjoining the country of the Amatêmbu, to the family of Gaïka, and a tract along the sea-coast, between the rivers Kahoon and Bashée, to the descendants of Tslambi. Locations are also assigned or guaranteed to some Caffre chiefs of other families. All the chiefs who are parties to these treaties acknowledge themselves to be the subjects of the King of Great Britain; and are to pay annually each a fat ox as a quit-rent for his lands. They are now amenable to the penalties of English law; but some respect is to be paid to their customs and domestic usages. They are to deliver up all their fire-arms, to denounce all attempts to disturb the peace of the colony, and to receive such missionaries, teachers, magistrates, and government agents, as may be appointed to reside among them. They also promise to discontinue their ordeals for witchcraft—an indiscreet promise, unless knowledge can advance among them with more rapid strides than it has ever done in Europe. The articles of these treaties which bring the Caffres within the pale of the English government, are dictated in the spirit of tardy wisdom. Positive and effective mea-

sures ought to have been taken long since to civilize the aboriginals on the frontiers of the colony; but to visit them at once with the penalties of English law, seems a hazardous proceeding. Is not polygamy illegal? and as it is constantly denounced by the missionaries, can its illegality be dissembled? Yet to punish polygamy, at present, in Caffreland, would be to make a very dangerous and hopeless attack on domestic customs. Much skill and prudence will be required to guide the steps by which these people must advance in civilisation.

The articles in the treaties of September which relate to the disposal of the territory, deserve a narrow scrutiny; but yet, in the absence of official explanations, it would be unjust to criticize them unreservedly. Those treaties do not appear to annul the declaration made in May, which constituted the Ky the boundary of the colony; and consequently the Amatêmbu or Tembookies, who gave no offence, have lost their independence, and are now included within the limits of the colony. The river Ky certainly offers a convenient line from the Stormberg to the sea; yet justice ought not to be thus summarily cut short for the sake of a boundary. The river Ky, we are told, offers great advantages as a frontier—its banks being open and free from bushes: good! if the work of extermination be carried on in a straightforward manner,—if the Caffres be expelled from three-fourths of their territory, and driven beyond the Ky,—then we may boast of the advantages of that river as a defensible frontier; but if they are to remain within the new province, then the Ky is evidently rather a line of demarcation than of defence. Can it be imagined that the removal of the nominal boundary of the colony will remove also at once the annoyance of cattle stealing from the former frontier? Will not the line between the Caffres and the colonists require still to be guarded as heretofore? So that, for the future, there will be two frontiers to guard instead of one. Nay, more—the line of forts which are to extend through the middle of the new province, will have, on the east, the Caffre tribes of Hintza's family; on the north, the tribes of Gaïka's; on the south, those of Tslambi's kinsmen; and on the west, the Fingos (Amafingo, or poor outcasts),—a body of fugitives from the country of Natal, living in servitude among the Caffres previous to the war, and now located (16,000 in number) on the right bank of the Keiskamma. These are, at the best, weak friends, requiring to be well watched. The colony, in short, will now have to defend the Ky and the Keiskamma; and also a line joining these two rivers, and having Caffres on both sides. If this line be occupied merely for the sake of civilizing the Caffres, we fear that the system of education intended for them, besides being exceedingly

operose and expensive, will finally prove a failure. To impoverish a rude people,—to take from them half their lands and half their cattle, and to bring them into constant and painful collision with the authors of their misfortunes,—is not a judicious mode of restoring them to tranquillity and contentment.

But if it be intended to grant to white settlers those portions of the province of Adelaide of which the aboriginals have been deprived, then, we say, let the Caffres be driven at once beyond the Ky, or into the sea: the direct method of extermination will prove, in the end, to be the cheapest and least inhumane. That the coloured races cannot prosper in close contact with civilized men, has been adopted in the United States as a principle of legislation,—as we learn from the late message of the President to Congress; but that is a melancholy truth which has been as fully confirmed by experience in South Africa as in the New World. The eager longing of the colonists to break bounds must be watched with the greatest jealousy. The craving after new pastures towards the east is deeply implanted in the constitution of the South African farmer. Nor is this surprising. When he looks towards Caffreland he turns his back on the desert Karoo,—on plains tormented by locusts, mildew, drought, and sometimes by floods; before him are lively streams and evergreen valleys—a land flowing with milk and honey. Let him gain this, and then the well-cultivated fields of the Smaponda will tempt him still farther; and then the much-coveted plains of Natal are just before him. And who profits by all this acquisition of territory? Not this country certainly. If wars are to be waged to gratify the Dutch boors or their English yokemates, Great Britain is sure to be a loser by the result. The colonists, therefore, ought not to be allowed to set a foot beyond the old frontier at the Keiskamma. Experience shows, that where these lawless herdsmen are permitted to move one step, there is no predicting the termination of their march. The new province ought to be held solely for the sake of giving the Caffres some social organization,—such as may enable them to maintain a stricter police on their frontier, and treat on more equal terms with their formidable neighbours. Such is the line of conduct which we hope to see pursued. In the Papers before us, the despatches of the Secretaries for the Colonies, to whatever party they may have belonged, are all characterised by an enlightened solicitude for the interests of the aboriginal tribes; and we do not think it likely that those interests will be disregarded at the present important crisis.

ART. IX.—1. *Report: Orange Lodges, Associations or Societies in Ireland.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 20th July, 1835.

2. *Second Report from the Select Committee appointed to Enquire into the Nature, Character, Extent, and Tendency of Orange Lodges, Associations or Societies in Ireland, with the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6th August, 1835.

3. *Third Report: Orange Lodges, Associations, or Societies in Ireland.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 6th August, 1835.

4. *Report: Orange Institutions in Great Britain and the Colonies.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th September, 1835.

5. *Report of the Select Committee appointed to Enquire into the Origin, Nature, Extent, and Tendency of Orange Institutions in Great Britain and the Colonies, and to Report the Evidence taken before them, and their Opinion to the House.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th September, 1835.

Two distinct Committees were appointed during the last Session of Parliament to enquire into the origin, nature, extent, and tendencies of Orange Associations in Great Britain and the Colonies, and in Ireland.

The Committee on the Orange Associations in Ireland originally consisted of twenty-seven members, of whom thirteen were Conservatives, one or two neutrals, and the remainder Liberals. Amongst the Conservatives were Mr Shaw, Sergeant Jackson, Colonel Conolly, Colonel Perceval, Colonel Verner, Mr Maxwell, and Sir Edmund Hayes; the last three gentlemen being Orange Grand Officers and directing members of the institution. During the long period, above five months, which the Committee sat, some changes of its members took place. Mr Shaw, Colonel Perceval, Colonel Conolly, were exchanged for other Conservatives; as Mr Spring Rice, Mr Cutlar Ferguson, &c. were replaced by other Liberals, on the formation of the present Administration. The Committee on Orange Associations in Great Britain contained a larger proportion of Liberals. The Irish Committee closed their labours without making any Report. The English Report is full and satisfactory.

The evidence taken before these Committees spreads over the occurrences of the last forty years. Two-and-twenty witnesses

were examined by the Irish Committee. Eight of these are grand officers, or leading members of the Irish Orange Association, and are of course strongly impressed with the virtues of Orangeism. The remainder consist of four officers of police, two lords-lieutenant of counties, three magistrates, two lawyers, a physician and two farmers. They all reside in, or have been connected with, the districts where Orangeism is most active: they are of various religious persuasions, but chiefly of the Church of England, and express opinions unfavourable to the institution. The English Committee examined eighteen witnesses; of whom thirteen were active Orangemen. The only witness not an Orangeman, who was examined respecting Orange transactions, was Mr Innes, a member of the Scotch bar. The other witnesses gave evidence respecting official or unimportant subjects. The documents submitted to the two Committees consist generally of extracts from the official correspondence and records of the two grand lodges of England and Ireland.

We have been thus exact in our analysis of the two Committees, and of the evidence and witnesses brought before them, because in a report of the Irish Grand Lodge, which appeared in the newspapers in November last (Morning Chronicle, Nov. 23), there are some violent reflections on them, and more especially on that for Ireland. This report bears the signature of Lord Cole and Mr Henry Maxwell. Its object is to impugn the evidence we are about to examine, and more especially that taken before the Irish Committee. It asserts that this Committee wasted its time in the examination of a number of malignant and ignorant enemies of Orangeism; and closed its proceedings without affording time for the Orange witnesses to be re-examined, contrary to a distinct pledge. Now this committee sat forty-one days;—twenty for the examination of Orange witnesses, and twenty-one for those who were not Orangemen; amongst whom were Lord Caledon, Lord Gosford, Mr Sharman Crawford, M.P., Mr Kernan, Sir Frederick Stovin, &c. And it is a fact worthy of Mr Maxwell's and Lord Cole's explanation, that the last four days of the Committee's sitting were wholly occupied by the examination of Lieut.-Colonel William Blacker, a well-known Orangeman of forty years' standing, and member of the committee of the Grand Lodge of Dublin; by the re-examination of Hugh Ryves Baker, Esq., Deputy Grand Treasurer of the association; and Lieut.-Colonel Verner, Deputy Grand Master of the association; and that it closed its labours by the examination of Henry Maxwell, Esq., Grand Secretary of the institution, who thinks fit to make those loose assertions.

The first Orange lodge was formed on the 21st September, 1795, at the house of a man named Sloan, in the obscure village of Loughgall. The immediate cause of those disturbances in the north that gave birth to Orangeism, was an attempt to plant colonies of Protestants on the farms or tenements of Catholics who had been forcibly ejected. Numbers of them were seen wandering about the country hungry, half naked, and infuriated. Mr Christie, a member of the Society of Friends, who appears to have passed 60 or 70 years on his property as quietly as a man may in the neighbourhood of such violent neighbours, gives a painful account of the outrages then committed. He says (5573), 'he heard sometimes of 12 or 14 Catholic houses 'wrecked in a night, and some destroyed.'—(5570.) 'That 'this commenced in the neighbourhood of Church-hill,' 'be-'tween Portadown and Dungannon, and then it extended over 'nearly all the northern counties. . . . . In the course of 'time, after the Catholics were many of them driven from the 'county, and took refuge in different parts of Ireland, I understood 'they went to Connaught. Some years after, when peace and 'quietness was in a measure restored, some returned again; pro-'bably five or six years afterwards. The property which they left 'was transferred, in most instances, to Protestants; where they had 'houses, and gardens, and small farms of land, it was generally 'handed over by the landlords to Protestant tenants. That oc-'curred within my knowledge.' He further says, 'It continued 'for two or three years, but was not quite so bad in 1796 and '1797 as it was earlier. After this wrecking, and the Catholics 'were driven out, what was called the Break-of-Day party, 'merged into Orangemen; they passed from the one to the other, 'and the gentlemen in the county procured what they termed 'their Orange warrants to enable them to assemble legally, as 'they termed it. The name dropped, and Orangeism succeeded 'to Break-of-Day Men.'—(5575.)

At first the association was entirely confined to the lower orders; but it soon worked its way upwards; and so early as November 1798, there appears a corrected report of the rules and regulations officially drawn up, and submitted to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, under the presidency of Thomas Verner, Esq., Grand Master; J. E. Beresford, Esq., Grand Secretary; and others. The state of the country, soon after the formation of these Societies, is faithfully described in an address which the late Lord Gosford, as Governor of Armagh, submitted to all the leading magistrates of the county. His lordship stated that he had called them together to submit a plan to their consideration for checking

the enormities which disgraced the county. He then proceeds:—
'It is no secret that a persecution, accompanied with all the 'circumstances of ferocious cruelty which have in all ages distin-'guished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this country. 'Neither age nor even acknowledged innocence as to the late dis-'turbances is sufficient to excite mercy, much less afford protec-'tion. The only crime which the wretched objects of this mer-'ciless persecution are charged with, is a crime of easy proof; it 'is *simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith.* A lawless 'banditti have constituted themselves judges of this species of 'delinquency, and the sentence they pronounce is equally concise 'and terrible; it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, 'and immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and 'surely unnecessary, to detail the horrors that attended the exe-'cution of so wide and tremendous a proscription, which certainly 'exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin 'and misery, every example that ancient or modern history can 'afford. For where have we heard, or in what history of human 'cruelties have we read, of *more than half the inhabitants of a 'populous country deprived at one blow of the means as well as of 'the fruits of their industry, and driven in the midst of an inclement 'winter to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families 'where chance may guide them?* This is no exaggerated picture 'of the horrid scenes now acting in this country; yet surely it is 'sufficient to awaken sentiments of indignation and compassion in 'the coldest heart. *Those horrors are now acting, and acting with 'impunity.* The spirit of impartial justice (without which law 'is nothing better than tyranny) has for a time disappeared in 'this country, and the supineness of the magistracy is a topic of 'conversation in every corner of this kingdom.'—(*Evidence*, 3251.)

The resolutions moved by his Lordship were adopted and signed by all the leading magistrates, who thus bore undeniable testimony to the persecution the Catholics were then suffering in that county, which was the cradle, and has ever been the hot-bed of Orangeism.

We have carefully examined the documents submitted by the Orange society to the Committee respecting the objects of their institution, the motives of its members, and the qualifications necessary for candidates; and nothing apparently can be more humane, tolerant, moral, and praiseworthy. Certain doubtful features occasionally, however, do peep through this coating of amiable professions. For instance, this society, professing ultra loyalty, enforced on its members an oath of qualified allegiance. 'I, A. B. do solemnly swear,' &c. 'that I will to the utmost of

'my power support and defend' the king and his heirs, 'so 'long as he or they support the Protestant ascendency.' Another suspicious article (No. 5) declares, 'We are not to carry 'away money, goods, or any thing from any person whatever, 'except arms and ammunition, and those only from an enemy,' —enemy no doubt meaning Catholic.

But our business is with later proceedings. We shall, therefore, only say that the Orange society spread far and wide in Ireland. It spread also to England, and especially to the manufacturing districts. A grand lodge was established in 1808 at Manchester, which forthwith issued warrants to the whole Orange body in England. The seat of government was transferred to London in 1821. Frequent mention has been made in Parliament of the Orange associations. In 1813, Mr Wynne brought forward a motion, for a Committee to examine into their nature and extent. A long debate ensued, in which scarcely a voice was raised in their defence. But Lord Castlereagh persuaded Mr Wynne to withdraw his motion; upon the understanding that the Orange body, who were fast decaying, would expunge those matters which gave their society an illegal character. Further Parliamentary notices and acts reduced the Irish grand lodge to the necessity of abdicating their functions; but the English grand lodge aided them in evading the law, by issuing all warrants and instructions from London. On the death of the Duke of York in 1827, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland accepted the office of grand master of the Orange lodges in England (573); and in the following year the Orange institution of Ireland was revived under the auspices of his Royal Highness, who then became Imperial Grand Master of the two associations of England and Ireland.—(560.)

From this period we take up our view of Orangeism. Its official rules and regulations were revised and confirmed in June, 1835, under the name and sanction of his Royal Highness—of the Bishop of Salisbury, grand Prelate—and a long catalogue of Conservative noblemen, gentlemen, and clergymen, figuring as its grand chaplains and deputy grand masters. These rules and regulations constitute the acknowledged code of the association; and from them and the explanations of the grand officers before the Committee of the House of Commons, we will endeavour to give a general view of the organization and form of government of the society as it now exists. We may premise, that, whenever the law has endeavoured to repress the society, modifications of the letter rather than of the spirit of the original code have taken place. Thus the Orangeman's oath of qualified allegiance, the

oaths of supremacy, abjuration of the Pope, and declaration against transubstantiation, no longer appear. Even the oath, or declaration, of secrecy, is now omitted; but a certain solemn ritual of admission is retained, or substituted for it; which 'while it evades the grasp of the act,' appears practically to bind with equal force all the members to keep secret their signs, passwords, and mysteries.

The objects of the society are declared to be—the preservation of the *true* religion, by *law* established; the Protestant succession of the Crown, and the defence of the persons and property of Orangemen. 'The association is declared to be exclusively Protestant, but at the same time most tolerant in 'spirit.' The qualifications of an Orangeman are faith, piety, courtesy, and compassion. He is to be sober, honest, wise and prudent; to love rational society, and to hate swearing.

The Irish rulers do not define the powers of the grand master. Mr Swan, the deputy grand secretary, states, that he may order the assembling of the whole Orange body, at any one place, or time, from all parts of the country (1179). By the English code, his office is declared to be permanent and uncontrolled.

The grand dignitaries consist of the grand master and all the deputy grand masters; the prelate, the grand chaplains, the grand treasurer, and grand secretary, with their several deputies, and assistant grand secretaries. These form the court and the cabinet;—they are, in fact, the ministers. They are elected annually, but are rarely changed.

Between these and the grand lodge exists the grand committee, or privy council, subject to an annual re-election: its duties are declared to be 'to watch over the interests of the Orange 'society, while the grand lodge is not sitting, and to decide upon 'applications from subordinate lodges.' Its members form also a court of council for the support and control of the grand officers or ministers; and, in conjunction with them, arrange all the proceedings, and draw up a programme of the business to be transacted at the half-yearly meetings of the grand lodge.

The grand lodge is composed of all the grand dignitaries of the society, of the grand officers of counties, and of the grand committee. This is the real governing body; and, without its sanction and the confirmation of the grand master, nothing permanent or essential can be effected. They meet twice a-year for the transaction of business—in May, and on the 5th November—when minutes of their proceedings and resolutions are carefully taken by the grand secretary, or his deputy, and assistants. These, after having been submitted to the revision

of the grand committee, are published and distributed, as circulars, to every lodge, for the edification and good government of the whole.

Such is the constitution of the central body. Its ramifications are spread far and wide. First in order of subordination come the grand county lodges, then the district, and, finally, the private lodges. The grand lodges of the counties maintain a correspondence with their respective district lodges, for whose due obedience and money contributions they are severally responsible: they also require returns of the names, stations, and addresses of their several officers, and the numbers of their members. These district lodges, in like manner, control, correspond with, and are responsible for, the numerical and financial returns of their respective circuits of private lodges, which vary in number from three to five-and-twenty. Private lodges may be established any where, by a congregation of a few of the faithful; provided a guinea be remitted to the grand lodge at Dublin, and its sanction or warrant be duly obtained through the district lodge, and thence through that of the county, where the new lodge is sought to be established. Every pious and exclusive Protestant, above eighteen years of age, is eligible by ballot. Each lodge is composed of a master, a deputy-master, a treasurer, a secretary, a committee, and where a clergyman can be obtained, a chaplain. These officers, in the larger lodges, have deputies. The lodge annually elects its own officers and committee; the appointment of the master being subject to the approbation of the district lodge.

Every year, the masters and deputy-masters of the lodges of each district assemble and elect the officers of their district lodge, subject to the confirmation of the grand county lodge. In like manner, the six officers of the grand county lodge are elected by the officers of the district lodges. These last have seats in the grand lodge at Dublin, and are, in fact, the representatives of the Orangeism of their county.

The expenses of the grand lodge are supported by the contributions of individuals, and of the grand officers, the fees on the establishment of lodges, and an annualrent, whose minimum is three shillings and sixpence, collected from each private lodge by the district masters, and by them transmitted to the grand treasurer through the county lodges. The county, district, and private lodges, provide for their own expenses. The proceedings of the lodge are always opened and closed with a prayer; the usual place of meeting being a public-house. But we will not transcribe these political prayers, nor the sacred mummery, which is read on the initiation of a candidate for the Orange or

purple order. The Bishop of Salisbury, the grand prelate of all Orangeism, no doubt approves of a politico-religious ceremony within hearing of the tap-room, where a candidate is brought in with the Bible in one hand and the book of Orange regulations in the other (Appendix, p. 70); and where the questions and admonitions of the initiating master, or grand master, are so artfully contrived as to leave an impression on the mind of the neophyte, that the preservation of the secrets of the one is to be kept in proportion to his reverence for the other.

Appended to this code of Orange laws, is 'a very business-like 'registry, containing the names and addresses of the grand offi-'cers, grand officers of counties, and members of committee of 'the Orange institution of Ireland, and the numbers of all war-'rants in existence, together with the names and residences of 'the several masters, and the places, districts, and counties, 'where the different lodges are held' (Appendix, p. 35). This is, in fact, the muster-roll of the noble army of Orangemen. We learn by it that there is an imperial grand master, having under his absolute control in Ireland alone, a council or a military staff consisting of fourteen deputy grand masters (of whom eleven are Peers), twelve grand and thirty-two deputy grand chaplains (many of whom are dignified and beneficed clergymen), and a grand committee of 186 leading gentlemen, magistrates, members of parliament, and clergymen. These persons—all bound together by a unity of views, and known to each other by secret signs and pass-words (Verner, 524),—command twenty grand lodges of counties, under whose control are placed eighty district lodges; which again are in constant communication with, and are responsible for, the obedience of a corps of 1500 private lodges; whose members, varying from twenty to 250, are estimated at a grand total of from 200,000 to 220,000 men (Swan, 1178—Baker, 3171). This is, indeed, a formidable body, including (as Mr Randall Plunkett declares, Appendix, 114, B) individuals of every rank from the nearest to the throne to the poorest peasant. Happily, it professes to exist solely for the support of law and religion. What its interpretation of law and religion may be, and how far its practices agree with its professions, may be best gathered from the fruits of its labours. We proceed, therefore, to examine and compare these in detail.

Their first profession is of Christian charity. 'They detest 'an intolerant spirit, and will admit no one into their society who 'is not known to be capable of upbraiding any one on account 'of his religious opinions.' This is a praiseworthy sentiment, but one which they who are without the pale of Orangeism are in no degree inclined to attribute to the practice of Orangemen.

Sir Frederick Stovin, the Inspector-General of Police, who has had no small experience of the recent working of the Orange spirit, says, 'I do not ask what the opinions of Orangemen may 'be concerning Catholics; I am told their professions are most 'brotherly and affectionate, but the results are any thing but that.' —(Irish Report, 4519). Mr Jones, a stipendiary magistrate, who has himself been an Orangeman, speaking of the Orange spirit in the districts where it is most prevalent, says, 'Till I 'went to the north, and became a calm observer, I had no idea 'of the ferocious spirit that exists there'—'it is most revolting 'to contemplate.'—(Irish Report, 8519–8383). The inscription, in 1795, on the lintel posts of the door-ways of the Roman Catholics in Armagh, 'To Hell or Connaught with you,' breathes a spirit whose Christian charity was exemplified by the expulsion of 7000 Catholics, in order that a Protestant colony might be planted amid their smoking hearths and wrecked chapels. That the same expelling *spirit* still exists, though restrained by the force of law and public opinion, is apparent from the proceedings of the Grand Orange Lodge of the County Tyrone, which met on the 27th April, 1832, for the promotion and support of Protestant colonies—Joseph Green, Esq., Grand Master, in the chair. Amongst other resolutions, they declared, 'That the support we 'speak of means to encourage Protestant tenants, on the one 'hand, and to defend Protestant landholders on the other; to 'preserve a Protestant population, and to keep at its head an 'aristocracy truly Protestant.

'That such of us as are tenants will endeavour to merit this 'encouragement, and that such of us as are landlords pledge our-'selves to give it, seeing no reason *why Protestant colonization* 'should not be attempted on lands *that are reclaimed*, as well as 'on lands that are not reclaimed.'

'That, as Protestants, we reprobate the new system of Na-'tional Education, and that we *will not listen to any pastor* whom 'we see to encourage it, or whom we know to approve of it.'

This holy hatred of Catholics has frequently broken through even the restraints of military discipline. In 1810 the Ban and Iveagh Orange corps of yeomanry actually mutinied on parade, because another corps, in which there happened to be five or six Catholics, was drawn up in line to be inspected with them. 'So 'rooted,' says General Michael in his report (Irish Report, 3, Appendix, p. 32), 'and inveterate is the animosity at present 'subsisting between those yeomen denominated Orangemen and 'the Catholics, as to hold out but little hopes of reconciliation and friendship.' The Lurgan yeomanry, in which for years

the Orangeman's oath was substituted, on admission, for the oath of allegiance (Irish Report, 8752), in like manner mutinied in 1812; because one of the officers signed a petition in favour of Catholic Emancipation (Irish Report, 1, Appendix, p. 80). Again, what is more general than the system of Orange processions? And what are these processions but so many upbraidings and triumphs over the Catholics? It must be a quick Catholic ear which can catch any tolerant notes in 'Croppies, lie down' —'Boyne Water'—'Protestant Boys,' and other favourite Orange tunes which are played on these occasions, and not unfrequently accompanied by cries of 'To Hell with the Pope,' &c.

The harangues of the Reverend Mortimer O'Sullivan, or Marcus Beresford, grand chaplains of the Orange Society, who are now on circuit in England, preaching a crusade against the Catholics and their religion, are admirable specimens of unupbraiding practices; so also is the Report of the Grand Orange Lodge of Dublin, published in November 1834, when a return of the Tories to power unlocked their discretion. They then and there declare themselves to be 'a society of Christians, 'banded together *against the corrupters and destroyers of the Word 'of God;'* and opposed only 'by the insidious malignity of a 'bigoted faction, who have ever been not only our inveterate 'foes, but also the unremitting opponents of true religion.'—(Irish Report, 3—Ap. 6.)

Their next profession is a desire of supporting to the utmost of their power the laws of their country, and of maintaining the public peace. This has been put to the test by various laws against secret associations, and public processions. Some happily may be ignorant of the nature, origin, and object, of these processions. They commemorate the victory over James the Second at the Boyne on the 12th of July. This was an event which Protestants and all friends of good government may remember with gratitude. But its benefits were not unmixed. It sealed the destruction of the few liberties of four-fifths of the population of Ireland. It took the lives, attainted the honours, and confiscated the property of many of its aristocracy and ancient gentry; and inflicted those penal laws, which for nearly a century were the disgrace of Protestants and the torture of Catholics. If the Catholics hate, we Protestants should grieve over the commemoration of such acts.

But we return to our subject. Colonel William Blacker, formerly grand master of the county of Armagh, distinctly stated to the Committee (Irish Report, 8975 to 77) 'that from the first 'Orange procession in 1796, until the night of the last 12th

'July, the country was never so quiet as upon those procession 'nights, and that men who are loose in their conduct for all the 'rest of the year are steady then.' This startling assertion, was as stoutly met by Mr Christie, the Quaker, who declares (Irish Report, 5600) 'that there has scarcely been a 12th July to 'the best of his recollection in any year from the commencement 'of Orangeism till now, when a breach of the peace has not oc- 'curred, and frequently lives have been lost in consequence of 'processions.' Again, he adds, 'a life was lost at the very 'first procession which he witnessed. A surgeon of the name of 'Murdie was stabbed at his own door.' (Irish Report, 5634.)

All the other witnesses, with the exception of course of the Orangemen, concur in this opinion. Even Lord Caledon, who from his Tory politics might be supposed to have a leaning towards the Orangemen, distinctly declares 'that their institution 'has led to breaches of the peace, and that their processions are 'mischievous; the whole system tending to disunion.' (Irish Report, 5418–73.)

But these are matters of opinion. We proceed, therefore, to more substantial matters of fact and law. We confine ourselves to recent times. When the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel suddenly changed their policy respecting Catholic Emancipation, and from being the last to listen to solicitations, became the first to yield to virtual force, the whole body of Orangemen loudly and vehemently opposed them. Accordingly, measures were taken, and proclamations issued, against the processions and proceedings of Orange and other associations. (Irish Report, Appen. 143.) But the Orangemen not the less persisted; until, finding their former friends more in earnest than usual, they recurred to the best legal counsel to aid them in their distress. The following letter, which was, in this emergency, drawn up and approved by the grand committee, will explain the state of their case; as their subsequent deeds will evince their obedience to well-known laws. This letter is dated from their committee-rooms, 26th October, 1830:—'Sir and Brother; the grand secretary of 'the county Antrim having applied to this committee to have 'the opinion of counsel taken as to the legality of an interruption 'of an Orange procession at Ballymona on the 12th July last by 'the police, and the taking from them their badges, flags, &c.— 'The committee forthwith caused a case to be laid before two 'eminent barristers, Mr Sergeant Pennefather and Mr Holmes, 'both of whom have given it as their opinion, that under exist- 'ing circumstances, and the present state of the law, Orange 'processions are not *only decidedly illegal, but dangerous;* more 'particularly as the proclamation of the 18th July, 1829, not only

'referred to them, but contemplated such meetings, and that the 'police were fully justified in acting as they did at Ballymona. 'The committee, to prevent the loss of life or liberty, feel it 'imperative on them to request you will make such opinions of 'counsel speedily and generally known to our Orange brethren '*only*. The committee are as anxious as their brethren for the 'usual display of Protestant feeling. Still they feel called upon to 'recommend to the whole body at once voluntarily to give up all 'processions for the present, and publicly to make known their 'intention of doing so.'

This is an undeniable proof that the grand lodge and great body of Orangemen were fully aware of the illegality of Orange processions even in 1830. What has been the consequence of this knowledge of the law, and of these loyal injunctions of the grand lodge? Their resolutions were circulated in October, 1830; and by an official return (Irish Report, Ap. 3, p. 98), it appears that in the single province of Ulster, no less than fifty Orange processions (some of 5000 men) paraded on the 12th July, 1831! These were generally headed or countenanced by Orangemen high in civil station and authority; and even by members of the grand lodge who had prepared the above anti-procession injunction!

Was it that the Orangemen conceived the change of government in 1830 released them from their resolutions to obey the law? We know not: but, by the returns, and by the concurrent testimony of all the witnesses, whether Orange or not, it appears that the zeal and activity of Orangemen were greatly increased after that event. This zeal and these processions continued unabated through 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834, and 1835. In the present year, the Ulster return contains an account of some seventy places where Orange processions or demonstrations, more or less violent, took place, on the 12th and 13th July (Irish Report, 8105), in defiance of the law and all the efforts of the Government.

When we come to speak of Orange perversions of law, we may be able to show why these processions could not be more effectually put down, and why conviction of the offenders and their due punishment could rarely be obtained. Happily less of outrage and fewer scenes of bloodshed attended them than formerly. This partly arose from the vigilance of Government. But the principal cause sprung from the Catholics, who abstained from taking the law into their own hands;—that is, from interfering with the Orange processions, from a belief that they at length had a Government which would sincerely vindicate the existing laws (Irish Report, 3; Ap. 104). Still many lives were lost. But

the character of these processions, and the divided allegiance of Orangemen, are best gathered from examples. For this purpose we shall refer to the deposition of Mr Sharman Crawford, the member for Dundalk,—not on account of any marked features of violence attending the procession there mentioned,—for on the contrary it was rather more peaceable than usual; but because it affords an instance of Orange breach of law, in defiance even of Tory authority. There had been much bad blood in the neighbourhood of Crossgar in consequence of former processions—frequent quarrels between Orangemen and Catholics had taken place—one man, a Roman Catholic, had been shot in the arm. Great apprehensions of a riot were entertained as the time approached for the usual Orange procession (12th July, 1830). The proclamations against processions issued by the Lord-lieutenant in Council, were extensively posted up. The magistrates reported the state of the country to the Government, and Mr Crawford received instructions to attend at Crossgar and keep the peace. His deposition declares 'that' (Irish Report, 4313), 'agreeably to his instructions, informant attended at Crossgar on 'Monday the 12th July; found there a party of constabulary, 'consisting of twelve men, commanded by Fielding Giveen, Esq., 'chief constable. Informant first caused an arch, which had 'been erected in the village, to be taken down; informant then 'detached a party of four men with Mr Giveen, to take down 'another arch erected at the Cock public-house, about a mile dis-'tant from Crossgar. Mr Giveen reported, on his return, that 'from the threats and violence of the persons assembled he did 'not think it prudent to attempt the removal of said arch. By 'this time the Orangemen had assembled in large numbers, 'in procession, with fifes and drums, and colours; some indivi-'duals in the procession carried short poles with halberts or 'pikes on the ends of them; in some cases, drawn swords were 'carried by persons at the head of the lodges. A few pistol shots 'were fired, apparently loaded with powder, and a determined 'disposition was exhibited to resist the civil power. Informant 'met some of the first lodges, and stopped them, and read to them 'his Grace's proclamation, and commanded them to disperse, but 'without effect. Informant then attempted to stop other lodges 'for the same purposes, but no attention would be paid. They 'forcibly marched on, apparently defying the civil power. In-'formant then despatched an express to Downpatrick for further 'assistance. In the mean time, informant procured the attendance 'of Mr Hugh Taylor, junior (denominated district master of 'Saintfield), and a few other masters of lodges in a house, and read 'to them his Grace's proclamation, and commanded them to dis-

'perse, and stated every consideration in his power to induce them 'to do so. They treated the communication with respect, but 'said they had warrants for marching, bearing the authority of 'Government, and that they considered themselves justified in 'marching until these warrants were withdrawn. They produced 'to informant some of these warrants, bearing, as well as informant 'recollects, the signatures of his Royal Highness the Duke of 'Cumberland, Lord Enniskillen, and some other individuals. In-'formant endeavoured to impress upon them that they were acting 'under a wrong impression, but without effect, in saying that 'the Duke of Cumberland's name being attached to the docu-'ment, was an authority equal to that of the Government of the 'country, or greater. I argued the point with them; they stated 'to me that *the Duke of Cumberland is a greater Duke than the 'Duke of Northumberland.* I attempted to remove this delu-'sion, but without effect. They said they had a warrant from 'Government, though it appeared when I came to investigate 'it, that they had no warrant from Government, but those war-'rants.' Informant, after again charging them to disperse their followers, retired. Thereafter, Captain Damas arrived, with 'thirteen of the constabulary force from Downpatrick. After the 'arrival of Captain Damas, informant proposed to attempt reading 'the Riot Act, and take proper means for the forcible dispersion 'of the body; but on consulting with the officers of police, they 'said they were ready to obey orders, but apprehended, from 'the smallness of the force, and the spirit of resistance manifest-'ed, a loss of lives must be the consequence. Informant then 'sent another express to Downpatrick, for a detachment of mili-'tary' (4313). These arrived with three magistrates, and the Orangemen were finally dispersed. Nothing short of the temper and vigilance shown by Mr Crawford, and those who acted with him, could have prevented a violent outbreak; in which, probably, many lives would have been lost, and the peace of the country broken up for years.

But it may be said that these processions are composed only of the lower orders of Orangemen, who receive no countenance in such proceedings from their superiors, whom we have seen warning their humbler brethren of their illegality. Here facts contradict words. For on the 13th July, 1832, Captain Duff reported to Sir William Gosset, from Dungannon, a procession of not less 'than 'from 8000 to 9000 Orangemen, decorated with scarfs, emblems, '&c., &c., having sixty stand of colours, and forty bands playing 'party tunes, and 230 of them armed with muskets, independ-'ent of concealed arms:' Further, that 'it was headed by seve-'ral gentlemen of respectability and property, and amongst

'others, by Hon. A. G. Stuart, deputy-lieutenant, as also magis-
'trate for this county, and captain of the Killyman corps of yeo-
'manry, his horse decorated with orange and purple, but none on
'his person; and Mr Grier, a magistrate for this county, as also
'for Armagh, his emblem of his office of grand master of the
'county suspended from an orange ribband round his neck.
'Thirdly, Mr Lowry, jun., captain of the Cameroy corps of yeo-
'manry, decorated with orange and purple scarf. Fourth, Mr
'Lloyde, second captain of the Killyman corps of yeomanry.
'Also, that the Earl of Castle Stuart headed the procession in
'his own neighbourhood. His second son, the Hon. Charles
'Stuart, was decorated, and marched in the procession from Mr
'Lowry's to Mr Grier's. Several clergymen of the Established
'Church also attended' (8070). One more instance, and we have done. It is furnished by an affidavit taken on the 27th April, 1832, county Tyrone, to wit. 'The depositions of
'David Duff, chief constable of police, stationed at Dungan-
'non, county of Tyrone, who, being duly sworn, deposeth and
'saith, That, about the hour of twelve o'clock on Friday the 27th
'April, 1832, he saw a body of Orangemen, from four to five
'thousand in number, march into the town of Dungannon afore-
'said, in regular procession, having with them 24 stand of colours,
'their band playing the following tunes, viz.—"The Protestant
'Boys," "The Boyne Water," and "Croppies, lie down."
'He saw two pistols carried and discharged by two individuals
'(unknown) of said procession. Deponent observed, marching
'in front of the procession, Colonel Verner and Mr Grier, ma-
'gistrates of the county of Tyrone, both decorated with orange
'and purple; also observed Captain Lloyde, of the Killyman
'corps of yeomanry, decorated and marching in like manner: heard
'and believes that a riot ensued on said day, between the Orange-
'men and some Roman Catholics; heard that three shots were
'fired by the Orange party, and that a Roman Catholic, named
'Peter Tully, had his left arm broken, from a pistol shot fired by
'some of said Orangemen.' Captain Duff then deposes to certain particulars respecting the wound of this man, and thus continues:—'Deponent also heard and believes that a private meet-
'ing of the masters of the several lodges, together with Colonel
'Verner, Mr Grier, and Captain Lloyde, was held in the court-
'house of Dungannon on the said day, and believes said persons
'were so assembled for the space of one hour and upwards; that
'he, deponent, was told and verily believes that said private
'meeting was held for the purpose of making the necessary private
'arrangements connected with the Orange Society, previous to the
'12th July, as also for preparing petitions against the new edu-

'cation system, and parliamentary reform.'* (8052.) — We may add that Captain Duff took this affidavit in consequence of having heard that Colonel Verner contradicted his statements; that he transmitted it to Lord Caledon, the Lord-lieutenant of the county, and to Sir William Gossett, accompanied by the affidavits of a serjeant and two privates of the constabulary force (for which see Irish Report, 7870); who swore not only to having observed Colonel Verner, in the manner reported, but saw him take off his hat to cheer the procession he was leading through Dungannon, colours flying, bands playing. We have searched in vain to discover what steps were taken to remove, or even reprove, the two magistrates and the officers of yeomanry who thus transgressed the laws they were sworn to uphold.

It is remarkable that Colonel Verner and Mr Grier had signed an address, dated 5th July, 1830, in their capacities of magistrates, to the inhabitants of the county of Armagh, calling upon them to abstain from all party processions; 'trusting, that 'after the melancholy results which have repeatedly arisen on 'such occasions, no *person of respectability* will be found so re-'gardless of consequences, as to incur the heavy responsibility 'which must attach to those who act in opposition to this re-'commendation,' &c. (8737.) This 'heavy responsibility,' and praiseworthy obedience to the laws, and to the government of the Duke of Northumberland, seems to have sat very lightly on these Orange magistrates' shoulders in 1832.

If plain facts are of more value than protestations, we have already sufficiently shown that Orangemen of *all ranks and stations* have knowingly disobeyed and opposed the law of the land, as well as the *outward* or exoteric ordinances of their own society respecting processions.

But before we quit this branch of our subject, we must be allowed to quote an instance of the encouragement afforded to the Orange system, and its tumultuous assemblages, not by mere magistrates or lieutenants, but by the high and responsible officers of Government. On the sudden change of Administration, in November, 1834, a meeting of the county Tyrone was convened 'to address the throne in support of his Majesty's prero-

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* This belief was well founded; for the meeting here referred to subsequently published their resolutions, in one of which thanks were voted to Colonel Verner for his attendance. It was at this meeting that the Protestant colonization resolutions, which we have already quoted, were passed.

'gative.' On this ground Lord Caledon granted the meeting, and promised to attend. But, before it assembled, the following Orange placard was industriously circulated (Irish Report, 4565): 'Protestants of Tyrone—Will you desert your King? No; 'you will die first. The King, as becomes a son of George III., 'has spurned from his council the men who would have over- 'turned the most valued institutions of your country, and would 'have led your monarch to a violation of his coronation oath. 'Your sovereign has done his duty; will you abandon yours? 'If you will not; if you will support your King as honestly as 'he has supported you; if you will maintain the liberties which 'your fathers purchased with their blood; you will be found at 'the great Protestant meeting to be held at Dungannon on Tues- 'day, the 19th instant, at twelve o'clock; and your cry will be— 'The King and the constitution, the altar and the throne.' (4572.) Accordingly, Orange as well as Tory processions met here to fraternize and rejoice over the return of the good old times. Lord Caledon, Lord Belmore, Lord Abercorn, Lord Claude Hamilton, Lord Corry, and Lord Alexander, severally addressed the assembly. But we must do Lord Caledon the justice to say, that he expressed his displeasure at the Orange exhibitions. Still he, as Lord-lieutenant, continued at the meeting, although these processions were parading before his face. Sir Frederick Stovin declared (4576) 'that it was the most disgraceful thing 'he ever saw.' He himself was shot at: And, a week afterwards, the wife of Captain Duff discovered a notice that had been left in her prayer-book at church, previous to the meeting, warning her that her husband's and Sir F. Stovin's lives would be attempted (4577). In the presence of this meeting, and at a common public-house (4582), Lord Claude Hamilton thought fit to be made an Orangeman. He subsequently applied to be put upon the Commission of the Peace, as the following letter will explain:—

'*Dublin, Feb.* 9, 1835.

'Sir,—As Lord Claude Hamilton has requested me to recom- 'mend him for the commission of the peace, it becomes necessary 'for me to mention, for the information of his excellency the 'Lord-lieutenant, *the difficulty* I feel in complying with his lord- 'ship's wishes.

'Since I had the honour of being named lieutenant of the 'county of Tyrone, it has been my study to suppress party feel- 'ing; and I had the satisfaction to know that my exertions had 'been so far successful as to prevent the display of it upon all 'periodical occasions, except in the town of Dungannon.

'On the requisition of the custos rotulorum Lord Abercorn,

'Lord Castle-Stuart, and nineteen magistrates, in addition to 'several clergymen and country gentlemen, I convened a 'meeting of the county on the 19th December, for the purpose 'of addressing the King on his Majesty's assertion of the royal 'prerogative; and it was upon this occasion, I may say, *in the 'face of the country, Lord Claude Hamilton was initiated into the 'Orange Society, was decorated with Orange emblems, and was 'publicly chaired through the town by a large body of Orangemen, 'who were assembled on that occasion.*'

'This open and avowed adhesion to a particular party, and 'this disregard of what I consider the spirit which guides his 'Majesty's counsels, has been very painful to me, and places me 'in the embarrassing position which I attempt to describe.

'When I consider how my hopes of tranquillizing the coun-'try have been counteracted, and knowing, as I do, that the 'conduct of Lord Claude Hamilton had caused increased excite-'ment, *I cannot offer this recommendation to the Lord Chancellor, 'without exposing myself to animadversion.*

'On the other hand, when I reflect that he has been elected 'member for the county, and that his rank and station fully 'qualify him for the appointment, I know not how to withhold 'my recommendation, more especially as I do not believe that 'the act of which I complain was in itself illegal—and, above all, 'when I am willing to hope, that, if appointed to the magistracy, 'his decisions will not be biassed by party prejudice.

'Under these conflicting considerations, I lay the case before 'his Majesty's government, and if I find no objection is taken on 'their part, I shall submit his Lordship's name to the Lord 'Chancellor.—I have,' &c.

(Signed) 'Caledon.'

We subjoin Sir Henry Hardinge's reply:—

'*Castle, 9th Feb.* 1835.

'My Lord,—I have laid before the Lord-lieutenant your 'lordship's letter, of this day's date, and I am desired by his 'excellency to say, that the sentiments you express, and the 'judicious conduct you have always observed in the county 'of Tyrone, in suppressing all party feelings, meet with his 'excellency's entire concurrence.

'The line you have pursued is in strict accordance with the 'principles by which his Majesty's councils are guided; and it 'is only by *a firm and impartial adherence to this system that the 'peace of the country can be preserved.*

'The Lord-lieutenant regrets that any circumstance should

'have occurred by which your lordship should have been 'thwarted in carrying into effect this most desirable system of 'discouraging popular excitement; but his excellency, after an 'attentive consideration of the statement made by your lord-'ship, concurs in opinion with you, that, in the exercise of your 'discretion, it is expedient not to withhold the commission of the 'peace.—I have the honour,' &c.

(Signed) 'H. HARDINGE.'

This is an instructive specimen of the 'sayings and doings' of the late Government. Here is the usual conforming flourish about 'the firm and impartial adherence to the system by which 'alone the peace of the country can be preserved;' followed by the promotion to the bench of an out-and-out Orange neophyte, who is reported by the lord-lieutenant of his county for disregarding 'this spirit ("the firm and impartial system") 'of his Majesty's ministers;'—the whole gracefully crowned by the old Tory doctrine of expediency. 'It is expedient 'not to withhold the commission of the peace.' Undoubtedly! For Lord Claude was a county member, and his brother, Lord Abercorn, had influence and votes; and the Orange chiefs were staunch and recently reconciled allies. True, the discountenancing of Orangeism and all other factions, might be the salvation of Ireland; but votes would be the salvation of power and place. So expediency made 'firm and impartial' justice kick the beam.

One other little fact is worthy of remark. The two letters are both dated from the same place on the same day. Why then did not Lord Caledon and Sir Henry Hardinge personally communicate on this subject? Why, if they 'so concurred in opi-'nion,' did this correspondence take place? Is it not obvious that they did communicate? Is it not probable that Lord Caledon required this written authority for recommending an appointment by which, 'he exposed himself to animadversion?'*

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* The Appendix, 3–66, furnishes another illustration of Sir H. Hardinge's tenderness towards Orangemen when they transgress the law. There is there a report from Brigade-Major Gaher, stating that the Rev. Mr Knox and Mr Crossby had taken several stand of arms (which proved to be of the yeomanry), from a party of Orangemen in full march to attack some Ribbonmen at Maghery. But that those gentlemen were subsequently, when assembled at petit sessions, *compelled to surrender these arms to the threats of a mob collected for that purpose;*

We have hitherto considered Orangemen as disregarding or disobeying the law. We come now to view them in their administration of it, and in the support they afford to the peace of the country. The first evidence that we shall examine is that of Mr Kernan, a Catholic barrister on the North-Western Circuit, residing at Dublin and Enniskillen. He is of more than thirty years' standing at the bar; and has been actively engaged during the greater part of that time in specially defending Catholic cases. Mr Kernan was a member of the Roman Catholic Association, and is a Repealer. We notice these circumstances, in order that all due allowance may be made for the bias with which his opinions may be supposed to be formed. But he has also an ample store of stubborn facts drawn from the records of the courts and his own experience in them. These are not easily distorted; and it is from them that we shall proceed to illustrate the effect of the Orange system on the administration of justice.

Mr Kernan declares that for the last thirty years the returning officer at the assizes and sessions at Fermanagh, the sheriff generally, the sub-sheriff always, and, with barely an exception, the juries, have been Orangemen (7214); that during all that time he cannot recollect more than one or two Catholics on juries (7260); and that the verdicts in cases between Orangemen and Catholics have been generally contrary to the judges' charges, as well as to the evidence (7214).

The first case which he adduces in support of these strong assertions is that of the King against Hall (7216). This was the trial of an Orangeman, on an indictment preferred by the Catholic priest for breaking open his chapel, and taking thereout the vestments, and carrying them away. The evidence (7217) consisted of the admission of the charge by the prisoner to Mr Stewart, the provost of Enniskillen, and to another person. The prisoner being moved by compunction, had actually brought one of the (7247) witnesses to the spot where he had buried the vestments, which he caused to be dug out of the ground, and returned to the priest. This was the evidence for the prosecution. The prisoner appeared in the dock on the day of his trial *with his Orange ribbon on his breast.* 'Justice Fletcher, who tried the cause, told the jury, most of whom I have 'seen in orange processions (7225), that they had nothing to try;

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and for the forcible liberation of the prisoners taken on that occasion. To which report is appended this remark: '*Farther proceedings in this 'case thought unnecessary by Sir Henry Hardinge.*'

'that the prisoner's confession was sufficient to warrant his conviction. When called upon for his defence, the prisoner declined 'to call witnesses. He adduced no evidence whatever. The 'issue was sent to the jury: in a few minutes they returned a 'verdict of *not guilty*. The judge expressed great disapprobation, 'saying "he thanked God it was their verdict, and not his."' The prisoner was discharged; and on his going into the street, *he was hoisted on the shoulders of the Orangemen*, and carried through the town of Enniskillen in triumph (7218). This was in 1810; and Mr Kernan adds, 'I positively swear, to the extent of my 'knowledge, as a professional man, that the same party-feeling 'which produced so illegitimate a verdict in 1810 has prevailed 'up to the present hour, in the administration of justice be-'tween the Orange and Catholic parties' (7238).

He then travels over a succession of cases, which it is impossible even to refer to here. We can only call attention to some of the more prominent; as, for instance, the King against Kitson, where, on a trial for an assault and riot, all the Catholics were convicted, and every Orangeman acquitted; although Kitson, the principal Orange offender, had, with an unworthy distrust of a Fermanagh jury, fled to America—thanks to every magistrate around Doregonally having successively refused to receive informations against him (7312).

The case of the King against M'Causland exhibits an Orange magistrate, a Mr William Gabbet, peremptorily discharging a party of Orange yeomen, who had been duly committed by two other magistrates on a charge of capital felony (7336). For this he would have been removed from the bench but for his connexion with the great Orange chieftain, Lord Enniskillen (7384). On the following year he amply expiated on the Catholics his lenity towards Orangemen; for Mr Blackburn, the late Attorney-General, having been officially sent to Enniskillen, found, on examining the jail, eighteen or twenty Catholics, who had been confined for three weeks, without any committal or cause whatever assigned for their imprisonment. For this good deed he was again reprimanded, and Mr Blackburn ordered the immediate discharge of the persons thus illegally confined (7365).

The case of the King against Robertson and five other Orangemen, tried for the murder of M'Cabe, a Catholic, produced an acquittal so glaringly contrary to the evidence, and to Chief-Justice Burke's charge, that he requested Mr Kernan to suppress his notes of the trial, lest their publication should exasperate and provoke the Catholics to retaliate (7283).

Bad as these cases appear, they are only the escapes or acquit-

tals of Orangemen presumptively or confessedly guilty; but the case of the Macken riots, in 1829, is of a darker dye. Here the Orangemen not only were not tried, but the offenders, on their side, were actually summoned as jurymen upon the trial of their Catholic opponents; who being thus tried by a jury exclusively Orange, or Protestant, contrary to instructions from the Attorney-General, and being found guilty, one man was hanged, and the rest transported (7423—also Appendix G, 226).

We shall less wonder at the proceedings of these magistrates, when we learn who and what some of them are. For this purpose, and as an exemplification of the unequal and savage state of society consequent upon a long indulgence of party feelings and factions, we know of no case more instructive than that of Lieutenant Hamilton. We shall therefore make no apology for the length of our extracts.

This was a trial for murder. The transactions out of which it arose occurred on the evening of the fair day of Dromore. Mr Hamilton, the reputed murderer, was a lieutenant of yeomanry, of which his father, also a magistrate, was the captain. In the morning all was perfectly quiet; and, as it appeared, in evidence, 'Lieutenant Hamilton came marching into the fair in the 'evening with a party of his own company of yeomanry. They 'were armed with their guns and bayonets: the country had been 'disturbed a good deal with party-feuds. The corps assaulted 'several Catholic persons as they came into the town.' It was also stated that stones had been thrown at the yeomanry. 'They 'were armed, and marched through the fair. When they arrived 'opposite the house of a man of the name of James Kelly, a pub-'lican, Lieutenant Hamilton ordered them to halt, and imme-'diately after that, he gave them the word of command to prime 'and load, and fire into the house, which order they obeyed. 'Several persons that were then taking refreshment in the house 'were wounded by the shot, and the deceased Michael M'Brian 'was killed. According to custom, of course, the next day 'Kelly and several others came to consult me upon the business, 'in the town of Enniskillen, and I advised them to go to Lord 'Belmore, who was a magistrate of the counties of Tyrone and 'Fermanagh. Lord Belmore received them, and listened to their 'case, and told them he would meet them at a meeting of the 'magistrates, in a day or two afterwards, at Omagh. In the 'interim the friends of the deceased, and the party who were 'assaulted at the fair by the yeomanry, heard that Hamilton in-'tended to fly the country; and without waiting for the meeting 'of the magistrates, they made a prisoner of him, and brought 'him before two magistrates. The Rev. Mr Stack was the

'name of one; I have not the name of the other magistrate.' The father of the prisoner, who was also a magistrate, came, and attended before them. 'The people applied to those magis-'trates to grant a warrant for the purpose of committing Lieu-'tenant Hamilton for trial, and the magistrates refused,—saying 'they would take his father's security for the son's appearance; 'and they did take his verbal security for his appearance at a 'future day at the town of Omagh, where Lord Belmore was 'to meet the magistrates, and where his lordship did attend. 'Informations were taken by Lord Belmore against Mr Ha-'milton and against the whole corps of yeomanry; but young 'Hamilton thought proper to forfeit the verbal bail taken by the 'magistrates. He fled from the country, and did not return 'for some years afterwards, but is now returned, and *he is a* '*justice of the peace of the county of Tyrone.*' Mr Kernan then goes on to state, 'that the persons aiding and assisting—in 'fact, all the yeomanry that were of the party—were, after 'much delay in consequence of the absconding of Lieutenant 'Hamilton, tried at the summer assizes for murder, convicted of 'manslaughter, and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment.' The Committee then asked if Mr Hamilton was ever tried. Mr Kernan replies, 'that he believes not; but he knows he is 'now a justice of the peace in that county, in which he was 'charged with committing the murder; that there is no doubt 'he commanded his yeomanry to fire the shot which killed the 'deceased; and the chief defence of the yeomen was, that they, 'in firing the fatal shot, acted by command of Lieutenant Ha-'milton, their officer, and that, therefore, they were not liable; 'and it was by that means that the jury found them guilty of 'manslaughter, and not of murder.' (7326 to 7332.) Here is a deliberate murder, in broad daylight, in the presence of hundreds. The homicides scatheless, and roaming the country. The friends of the murdered man fleeing for justice to a noble lord, who tells them he will meet them in a day or two.* The principal offender charged with the murder, and an attempt to abscond—admitted to bail by two magistrates, on mere verbal security. The principal absconding from this bail—the accessories to his crime tried and found guilty of the minor offence of manslaughter, on the

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* As a further proof of the low state of even the sentiment of law, we may add that Mr Kernan attaches no blame to Lord Belmore for this remissness,—but, on the contrary, expresses his praise; adding, that but for Lord Belmore's interference, not one of the delinquents would have been brought to justice.—(7421, and Foot-Note.)

plea of the superior guilt of the principal. That principal returns, and is not tried for felony, but made a justice of the peace for the very county in which the widow of Michael M'Brian lives under the protection of the laws ! ! !

We do not aspire to give a case which shall match this in all points. But, on the authority of Sir Frederick Stovin, we can offer an appropriate pendant to it amongst a humbler class of offenders. An Orange riot with loss of life took place at Tanderagee on 23d June, 1830: wilful murder was found against Goult, Murphy, Ford, and Hagan. Goult, the principal, escaped, so also did Hagan. The other two were tried and acquitted of the murder by a jury, of which the majority was Orange, but are found guilty of riot and assault. They are sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. At the expiration of their sentence they are escorted from prison by a procession of Orangemen, with colours flying and drums beating. Ford is then enrolled in the police, on the recommendation of the very reverend Dean Carter, and Murphy is admitted into Dr Patton's Tanderagee yeomanry corps (C388).

We now revert to Colonel Verner. But we beg to say, that if we frequently remark on his conduct in Orange transactions, it is from no possible personal ill-will whatever. We hear and believe that he is an honourable and humane gentleman and landlord; and it is for this reason, and from the circumstance of his being a leading member of the Orange society, that we select him as an example. For we consider we shall best exhibit the evil tendencies and pernicious workings of the system by exposing its fatal influences on the judgment and on the conduct of a gentleman honourably distinguished in all other relations of life.

With this preface we proceed to relate the occurrences at Maghery in November, 1830. Our information is taken chiefly from the elaborate official report of Mr Justice Perrin, who was despatched by Government to conduct a full and legal investigation of the whole proceedings. In his report, Mr Perrin carefully quotes the evidence for every statement that he makes. It appears that some trifling quarrels and a scuffle took place between the villagers of Maghery (a Catholic village) and some Orangemen, who were passing through with their drums playing party tunes. Several Orangemen were beaten, and their drums broken. Colonel Verner met them returning discomfited and full of revenge. He persuaded them to go home quietly and to seek redress, if they needed it, at the next sessions. This was on the Saturday. On the Monday an alarm spread that the Orangemen were assembling at Killyman, in num-

bers, and with arms, in order to take their revenge on Maghery. Mr Boretree, a lieutenant in Colonel Verner's yeomanry, having heard this, rode after the Orangemen; and, having remonstrated with them in vain, he hastened to report to his captain (Lloyd) and to his colonel (Verner), 'that the Killy-'man boys were armed and coming over the bridge to wreck 'Maghery; and that if Colonel Verner could not stop them by 'shutting the iron gates on the bridge over the Blackwater, no-'thing could stop them.' Accordingly Colonel Verner, his captain, his lieutenant, and a serjeant of police, met them at the bridge. A parley ensued, on which it was agreed that two delegates from this illegal assembly should be despatched with the police serjeant to Maghery to demand saitsfaction for Saturday's wrong. Colonel Verner and his officers then returned to Church-hill for their breakfast; leaving an armed and tumultuous body, bent on a breach of the peace, to be restrained by one man—the gate-keeper of the bridge—who was ordered not to let them through. But the gate-keeper loved his breakfast also; and so the Killyman boys began to scramble over the gate, and to make for Maghery. They were interrupted by Lieutenant Boretree, who adopted the Irish expedient of diverting them from Maghery, by taking them to a whisky-house in an opposite direction, where he treated them to whisky, and so left them. The refreshed Orangemen returned to the bridge, and were soon heard hurraing for Maghery. Colonel Verner hastened with Captain Lloyd and his gamekeeper to stop them. Lieutenant Boretree had already reported, and the Orangemen themselves had not concealed from him their intention of wrecking Maghery. He had seen them armed with muskets, bayonets, swords, &c.: he was in the midst of his own tenantry, and of a hundred of his yeomanry, who had been inspected on the Saturday, and nearly half of whom he could have assembled in half an hour. But he contented himself with putting the Riot Act in his pocket, and writing the following note to his lieutenant, O'Neill:—'I am afraid there will be bad work in 'Maghery. Jackson, Lloyd, and I, are going down to prevent 'it. Will you have a few steady men ready in case I should 'need your or their assistance?' This, he says, was because he feared there *might be opposition in Maghery.* However, Mr O'Neill's men never appeared, although he says he warned several to be ready in case a signal was made from Church-hill House (Colonel Verner's). Colonel Verner renewed his endeavours to persuade the Orangemen to desist, but in vain, for they rushed into Maghery nearly pell-mell with him. Then the work of outrage and wrecking began. Fortunately the Maghery men had escaped.

'There was no opposition.' Thus no lives were lost, and the Killyman boys had it all their own way. It was of course in vain that Colonel Verner, at much personal risk, now strove to prevent them. He read the Riot Act. He might as well have read Dens' Theology. He had indeed remembered the act, but, with a supernatural want of judgment, had neglected to provide the means of enforcing it; consequently twenty-eight houses, belonging to Catholics, were wrecked, all their owners' little wretched furniture, and clothes, and tools, were broken and destroyed, and the few inhabitants who could be caught were beaten and abused. One unhappy widow, within eight days of childbed, was knocked down with an infant in her arms, whilst her half-witted son was shot at (the ball pierced his coat), and every article of furniture torn from her. These proceedings lasted for nearly an hour, at the end of which time Colonel Verner persuaded the Orangemen to move off. They did so with colours flying and drums beating, wrecking also two or three other houses by the way;—Colonel Verner, Captain Lloyd, and Lieutenant O'Neill, who joined them *after* the Maghery wrecking was over, marching either with these ruffians, or following in the rear along the high-road through a populous country! What Colonel Verner's feelings on this occasion may have been, we do not pretend to guess; we know only that he followed the Killyman boys as far as the gate of his own demesne, when he turned in, 'never having' (we copy his own deposition, App. 154) 'called upon any of the 'persons mentioned by him to arrest or stop any of the party, 'nor did he on his return desire any of them to do so.' Captain Lloyd, in the same manner, continued with them only until he reached his own house beyond the Blackwater. They were then left alone, and were so met by Captain Duff and a party of police that he had collected and brought from Dungannon on hearing a report of the threatened riot. He stopped and questioned them: but they had the wit to say that every thing had been settled by Colonel Verner. Finding no one with them, or following them, to give a contrary statement, he passed on to Verner's bridge, where he first heard the true state of the case. He immediately went to Colonel Verner for orders. The answer was, 'Colonel Verner was reporting the affair to the Castle, and '*had no orders to give.*' Mr Perrin's report declares these wreckers 'to have been guilty of felony,' and concludes thus:—'I 'am further of opinion, that Colonel Verner appears not to have 'performed his duty as a magistrate at Verner's Bridge, in 'order to disperse (as he was bound and required by law) 'the persons there tumultuously and unlawfully assembled, 'and compel them to depart to their habitations. That he

'did not take the measures and precautions proper for that pur-
'pose, which he was empowered and required by law to take,
'and which the result evinces to have been necessary for the
'preservation of the peace and the threatened breach thereof, and
'that he is liable to be prosecuted at suit of the Crown by in-
'formation for such (as it seems to me) criminal neglect of his
'duty. I do not deem it within my province to observe on the
'non-exertion of Captain Lloyd and Lieutenant Boretree, or of
'constable Crawford, not being, as I apprehend, the subject of
'legal cognizance.'

It will be asked, what were the consequences of all these outrages, and of this criminal neglect of duty? Was Colonel Verner prosecuted? On the contrary, he and Colonel Blacker were selected as the two magistrates to whom the informations were specially forwarded by the Crown (Mr Blackburn was then Attorney-General) for the institution of prosecutions (8687). But the Maghery men and the wreckers of their village were tried. The result is instructive. Mr Perrin's report names and specifies ten persons as spectators, more or less active, besides Colonel Verner and his officers, six others as countenancing, and twenty-nine (eleven Armagh and eighteen Tyrone men) as armed, and engaged in the outrages of the Monday:—that is, fifty persons are named as present. Informations were laid, and true bills found against many of them. But when the first seven were successively acquitted, the trial of the others was thrown up. It appeared, that out of all these depredators with whom there had been so much communication, both on the Saturday and on the Monday, not one could be recognised in the dock, either by Colonel Verner or his companions (8697). Other witnesses, the sufferers themselves, did recognise and identify some of the prisoners (8705); but their testimony was overborne by Colonel Verner's (8678). All were acquitted (8678). Up to this hour, not one person has suffered for the Maghery outrage. But not so the Catholics of Maghery. They indeed had broken drum-heads and bats on the Saturday to the value of ten shillings, according to the estimate of the Orangemen to whom they belonged. This had been done in a chance-medley scuffle, which those Orangemen had provoked as they were illegally returning from an illegal or black Orange meeting. For this offence those Catholics were tried, convicted, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment! and possibly this may have been a *mitigated* sentence, in consideration of the *trifling* loss of their houses and property on the following Monday. We are happy to state, that the active and beneficent interference of a name long dear to Ireland rescued these wrecked villagers from their prison—Lord Charlemont obtained their release.

We have dwelt so long on this memorable affair, that we must hurry over some others that we might wish to notice more at large.

In July, 1833, there was an Orange procession through Lurgan, in which Mr Hancock, a resident magistrate, and other bystanders, identified several persons. He and Mr Brownlow, the late member for Armagh, committed to prison the most prominent of those engaged in it, on their refusal to give bail (8822). Great excitement prevailed, and a rescue was feared.* The trial came on before Judge Moore. The jury acquitted eleven of the prisoners, on the ground that they were *ignorant of having committed an offence in forming a procession* (proclamations and special notices against them having been issued, and been notorious for years). The remaining three were convicted, *but the Judge discharged them without punishment* (8824). He even told them 'I perfectly 'concur in the verdict which the jury have returned. It does 'just as well as if every one of you had been found guilty;' and so indeed it did, for, after flourishing about obedience to the laws, &c. the worthy Judge concluded by discharging the convicted men, upon their own recognisances to appear at the next assizes, if required (Report, 3 Appendix, 193). As might be expected, the prisoners exclaimed in court, Thank God, we have so mild a judge!; and, as might also be expected, there were riots, with flagrant breaches of the peace, immediately afterwards. In one of them 3000 Orangemen conveyed back their acquitted and their convicted brethren in triumphal procession to Lurgan. Mr Hancock's house was attacked, under the able and reverend direction of the curate of the parish. But his wife and family were relieved from their just terrors by the arrival of a party of the 52d regiment (8825).

A fit sequel to this was an Orange exhibition on the following week, in front of Lord Mandeville's gates at Tanderagee, and under the windows and observation of another magistrate, Mr Loftie (3 Appendix, 189). Lord Gosford thus describes it: 'They erected a thing with a pole and a cross-beam to it, some-'thing like a gallows, and tar-barrels were got, and they dressed 'up a figure which was stated to be an effigy of Mr Hancock, the

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* Colonel Blacker's report to Sir William Gosset (D Appendix, 179) offers a pleasant paraphrase of this project. He says, 'The country had determined on escorting them to prison, a distance of fourteen miles,' but 'the magistrates took the precaution of sending off the prisoners at midnight,' on which the Orangemen, who were assembling at Portadown, were in a state any thing but placid at the disappointment.

'magistrate who had incurred their displeasure for proceeding, 'under the procession act, to commit the Orangemen who had 'marched in the procession contrary to law. This figure, or 'effigy, had a rope tied round its neck, and was hoisted up on 'this pole or gallows, the tar-barrels were set fire to, and the 'effigy was consumed amid the shoutings and hurraings of the 'people assembled about it' (3317). This compliment to a brother magistrate, and to the peace of the country, was got up, according to his own confession, by Mr Porter, Lord Mandeville's agent (8856). During the gaieties of the evening, this gentleman, who supplied the mob with beer, was chaired round the bonfire with a captain of yeomanry, who, according to his own account, submitted to the honours with much coyness (3 Appendix, 204). But the hero of the day was Dean Carter, a Reverend magistrate, who, having dined with Lord Mandeville, came forth from his lordship's gates (how attended we will not say) to honour this Orange *auto da fè* with his presence, and occasioned cheers for nearly an hour. These proceedings attracted the attention of Government. An enquiry was ordered; but Orange flesh and blood could not be expected willingly to take informations against Orange magistrates and friends for so Orange a ceremony. Accordingly we find Colonel Blacker (3 Appendix, 185) in correspondence with the Crown Solicitor, saying, 'he 'should be glad if the matter was not pressed at present, if *possi-* 'ble to avoid it.' Hereon he and Mr Woodhouse commenced a series of objections, by which they contrived to delay, avoid, and refuse taking any informations for two months; in spite of the urgency of the Government, and the unremitting attempts of Mr Patton the captain of police. We recommend Mr Patton's deposition (Irish Report, 3–194) to all who wish to learn how to keep justice, government, and a captain of police at bay. But the Orange triumphs of Armagh were drawing to a close. Mr Littleton despatched the Solicitor-General, Mr Crompton, to Tanderagee. A real investigation took place, and, sad to tell, the Reverend Dean Carter was removed from the bench (3317). So also was the Fabian Colonel (9340, &c.); and the Marcellus of the party, Colonel Verner himself, the deputy grand master of Armagh, threw up his commission as a magistrate, in indignation at this invasion of Orange rights and privileges.

We have neither space nor inclination to enter into the holy bonds which have long subsisted between Orangeism and the Established Church. Both Lord Gosford and Lord Caledon, Whig and Tory, testify to the injury that the church has received from the connexion (3535–5473). We utterly disclaim all wish to say or think any thing harsh of the Irish

clergy. We believe them to be as a body, more especially the working class, highly meritorious and deeply suffering. How far these sufferings have been prolonged and increased by the wisdom of the House of Lords, acting on the recommendation of the Archbishop of Armagh and his brother prelates, in twice rejecting a settlement of the tithe question, is well worth each rector's consideration. Those bishops and that House are independent of tithes and parishioners ; but not so the rector, for whose sake they are magnanimously intercepting his tithes, and exasperating his parishioners. In the midst of our pity and subscriptions for these martyrs to the constancy of the House of Lords, we may remember that there exist dissenting ministers, and a Catholic priesthood, who live and perform their duties without repining, on means scantier than those on which the clergy of the Established Church are said to be starving;—who also have undergone a persecution, and are daily enduring insults which make these Protestant sufferings appear light. Those who now call that priesthood 'a disgrace to the 'name of Christian ministers'—'unprincipled quacks'—'popish 'ruffians'—'atrocious hypocrites'—and 'wolfish fiends'—are the same Orangemen who of old, when the laws slept, wrecked their houses and their chapels in the name of the true faith. Mr Christie says (5707), 'when the wrecking of the Catholic 'chapels took place in my neighbourhood, it was observed by 'myself and by many others, that while lying unroofed, the 'Catholics, no matter how severe the weather, attended more 'attentively to their duty during that time than was observable 'when they had a good house to go to.' He farther adds, 'As 'I passed by these burnt chapels in the winter time, where they 'had to kneel down in the snow six inches deep, I really pitied 'them.' Let the Protestant clergy at least come out from among the detestable encouragers and perpetrators of such deeds.

We have now gone through a painful detail of wrongs. It may be objected, that our instances of misconduct have been taken more from the Orange than the Catholic side of the question. Undoubtedly they have; for the point at issue is not, whether the Catholic has done wrong, but whether the Orangeman has done right. Nay, more,—admit all the recriminations against the Catholics for violent obstruction of Orange processions, for severe and often savage retaliation of wrongs, for party spirit in the witness box (they seldom reach the jury or the bench), and for the secret working of their ribbon societies—yet, if proved to the fullest extent, to what do all these charges amount? They make out no case or excuse for the existence

of Orangeism. On the contrary, these offences of the Catholics are the necessary consequences of the Orange insults and outrages. Thus the heavier the charges which the Orangemen substantiate against the Catholics, the stronger is the recoil upon themselves. Mean while, the law itself is to be reproached for not putting both down.

But, before we enter on the consideration of any restrictive measures, it will be necessary to take a wider view of Orangeism.

Hitherto, we have seen it operating only in Ireland, and resting mainly on the narrow basis of sectarian jealousy and hatred. We now turn our views to England. The first essential difference consists in the proportion of Protestants and Catholics. This alone alters the character and tendency of British Orangeism; added to which, the long established respect for the laws, for order, and for public opinion, preclude those perturbations which are viewed as a matter of course in the orbit of Irish agitation. In England, Orangeism is little else than faction wearing the mask of bigotry: it has no substantial body of Catholics of which it can even pretend to be afraid. Politics are its real end and element.

The discipline and government of the English Society is similar or identical with that of Ireland. But the powers of the grand master are greater—'they are discretionary, illimitable, absolute' (App. p. 131, rule 4);—'implicit obedience being the imperative duty of all Orangemen' He has the power of assembling the whole Orange body, of whom there are not less than 50,000 in London. The meetings of the grand lodge are conducted with much pomp and form. His Royal Highness never enters or quits the lodge without a mace being carried before him (2359-2363); the members and grand dignitaries are requested to attend in their orders and regalia; and 'the reverend 'functionaries of the institution appear in grand lodges *in canoni-* '*cals*.'—(Ap. 131). The business to be transacted is propounded beforehand by the grand committee, who place their report in the hands of the grand master. Then his Royal Highness, sitting behind the mace, whilst the doors are guarded by officers denominated tylers, hears the report and proposed resolutions of the committee read aloud. They are put seriatim from the chair, and severally approved or rejected. But the grand master has an absolute veto over every proposition (946 to 953). The minutes of the proceedings are drawn up, revised and circulated, as in the Irish lodge.

The connexion between the English and Irish establishments is most intimate. They have the same signs, and pass-words; their respective circulars and reports are interchanged; the

members of the one establishment have the right of admittance to all the meetings of the other, and they have a common grand master. The rules (Ap. 129) declare 'the whole constitution 'to be one neighbourhood, within which every Orangeman is at 'home in the farthest parts of the world.' Adding significantly, 'that the mechanism of our institution is such that it shall spread, 'and lawfully spread, its operation over the whole country. 'Every movement shall be felt and answered in every part.'—(Ap. 129).

The same organization and subdivision of counties, districts, and private lodges, exists in England as in Ireland. But to draw closer the bonds of general union, to give vigour as well as private instructions to the various lodges, and to gain proselytes, the Orangemen of England, with the active assistance of their Royal Master, have established a missionary system of inspection and proselytism. Colonel Fairman was appointed his Royal Highness's grand commissioner, or inspector-general of counties, districts, and warrants, for Great Britain, and subsequently for Ireland. A Mr Nucella received a like commission for Italy and our garrisons in the Mediterranean (392–416); and the grand mastership of Canada, with extensive local powers, was conferred on a Mr Gowan. By virtue of his commission, Colonel Fairman completed two circuits through England and Scotland. He was preparing to give the benefit of his presence to Ireland, when a summons from the Committee of the House of Commons interrupted his design. Reports of his proceedings were duly read before the grand lodge, and highly approved of by that august body. He visited, held, and ordained lodges in Birmingham, Manchester,* Glasgow, and the principal towns of the manufacturing districts. His success is recorded in many letters, and amongst others in the following from brother Thompson, deputy-grand master of Neilston. It is incorporated in minutes of the proceedings on the 4th June, 1833 (Appendix, 41); and states, 'that he (Mr Thompson) had the pleasure and 'honour of accompanying Colonel Fairman during a part of his 'last mission in Scotland; that, from his own observation and 'experience, he could testify it had been the means of infusing 'new life and vigour into those districts of the institution; that a

* It was here that the treasonable communication respecting the succession to the throne is stated by Mr Haywood of Sheffield to have been made to him by Colonel Fairman. This matter is to be brought before the courts of law, and it does not, therefore, belong to us farther to advert to it.

'firm basis was thus laid for a great accession of strength to the 'lighting up the flame of Orangeism in the north, which all the 'efforts of its opponents would never be able to smother; that it 'would strengthen the hands of their most noble, and most esti-'mable deputy-grand master, the Duke of Gordon; and that he 'felt assured the interests of the institution could not be better 'promoted than by a speedy renewal of those visitations, so 'prosperously commenced, and by all its members so earnestly 'desired to be continued.'

There may be considerable differences of opinion as to the benign influence of this holy flame which the Duke of Cumberland's grand commissioner and his Grace the Duke of Gordon lit up in the north. Mr Innes, an advocate at the Scotch bar, was officially sent by the Lord Advocate to institute an enquiry into certain riots at Airdrie. He found that they took place on the 13th of last July (the 12th being on a Sunday), in consequence of Orange processions parading through the town, with banners flying and music playing party tunes (2900 to 2905). He says, 'there has 'been a considerable increase both in numbers and excitement 'amongst the Orangemen in and around Glasgow since the first 'tour of Colonel Fairman (2988)—that Colonel Fairman, as the 'royal delegate, was received wherever he went by the Orange-'men in procession; and that they regarded the Duke of Cum-'berland as their head with the greatest respect, conceiving that 'his name proved the legality and loyalty of their proceedings.' —(2979 to 2982).

Whilst this affiliating course has been thus in progress in England and Scotland, the associations have not been idle in their proselyting attempts abroad. Few are ignorant of the critical state in which Canada now stands with respect to this country. Those who have best attended to this subject—who know that Canada is densely peopled from the north of Ireland, and that the Catholic is the established religion—will be best able to appreciate the patriotic attempt to light up the same flame of Orangeism in that excited colony which we have just seen producing such effects in well regulated Scotland. The following is an extract from the proceedings of the grand lodge, held in Portman Square, on 19th April, 1832. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland in the Chair (E Appendix, p. 22).—'With a view to extend the advantages of 'our excellent institution in Upper and Lower Canada—for the 'purpose, too, of disseminating its principles far and wide—on 'the recommendation of the grand committee, whose members 'had examined documents and testimonials of his eligibility, the 'grand lodge have appointed Ogle Robert Gowan, Esq. to be

'the deputy grand master of all the provinces of British North 'America, with the dependencies, colonies, and settlements, be- 'longing, appertaining, or adjacent thereto.' It is stated that this person 'is desirous of being recognised by the grand 'lodge of the empire, and of being under the cognizance and 'command of its royal and most illustrious grand master, 'and that he is certified to be not only a sound Protestant and 'most zealous Orangeman, but worthy in every way of filling 'the exalted and responsible situation at which he aspires.— 'The merits of this gentleman, and the great benefits likely 'to be derived from his being promptly installed in the dig- 'nified and important post of which he no less loyally than duti- 'fully has sought a confirmation, are duly appreciated by the 'grand lodge; who accompany this notification of his appoint- 'ment to so high and extensive an office with their cordial thanks 'to him for his activity and spirit in the discharge of his func- 'tions, and with their sincerest wishes for the success and welfare 'of the institution, under his able guidance and management, 'in such a remote, populous, and extensive portion of his Ma- 'jesty's dominions.' The person, thus cordially thanked, and endowed with such authority, is declared by Mr Ryves Baker, the deputy grand treasurer of the Irish Orange Society, to be a man of bad character (9497). And the grand lodge of Dublin actually forwarded documents in support of the same opinion, and remonstrated against his appointment by their English brethren, on the ground of his moral unfitness, and of their own jurisdiction over the Canadas (Irish Appendix 3, p. 13).

The English lodge temporarily waived their jurisdiction, but retained their man.* For this was in 1832; and in the letter-book of the society, which was most reluctantly and partially submitted to the inspection of the Committee by Colonel Fairman, there is the entry of a report and communication from the grand lodge of Canada for the year 1834. It states that their numbers had then increased to 12,853 members, distributed under 17 county, 40 district, and 154 private lodges; and that there had been an addition to the society within the year of no less than 1611 members. The report contains also resolutions of the

* A resolution of the grand lodge, dated 4th June, 1832, declares, that in consequence of a representation from the grand lodge of Ireland, the appointment of O. R. Gowan, Esq. is premature, and for *the present* rescinded.—(English Appendix, 27). But subsequent documents show that this resolution, if of any value, respected rather the right of appointment, than the person appointed.

Canadian grand lodge, expressing 'deep sympathy with our 'Orange brethren in Ireland,' and 'a trust that their period of 'oppression had passed.'* Also votes of thanks to his Royal Highness, their illustrious imperial grand master, and the nomination of a delegate to proceed to England to confer with the grand lodges of London and Dublin, 'upon several important matters 'of mutual security and welfare.' There is also a resolution respecting military warrants, or lodges, to be held by regiments in Canada. All this is signed by Ogle R. Gowan, provincial grand master of Canada, and is dated on the 26th January, 1835. (English Appendix, 204.)

The measure of the allegiance of these 12,000 Orangemen, thus commanded, is given by Colonel Blacker, who, on the authority of numerous communications between the Orangemen of the north of Ireland with their brethren in Canada, boasts, 'that the Orangemen of Canada are anxiously watching the 'proceedings of the Government of England towards the Pro-'testants of Ireland; in order to see what part they should take 'as to assisting England in the preservation of Canada: that in 'fact their devotion to the British crown will be regulated by the 'conduct of the government in that respect.' (9352 to 9359.) When it is known that many of these 12,000 men thus professing *conditional allegiance*, are soldiers belonging to regiments stationed in Canada; and that Orange lodges have been established in those regiments by serjeants and privates, contrary to the express rules of the service, and without the cognizance of their officers, the country will be fully able to appreciate the merit of exciting Orangeism in Canada, and placing and continuing it under the direction of Mr Gowan.

We regret to say that it is not in Canada only that the discipline of the army has been tampered with. The grand lodges of England and Ireland have done so for years, under the hand and seal of His Royal Highness Field Marshal the Duke of Cumberland. In the body of their proceedings there are frequent resolutions which attest this fact. The 15th rule of the Irish society, for 1824 (App. 1–17), declares, '*that regiments are to be con-*'*sidered as districts*, and the masters of all regimental lodges 'shall make yearly returns of the numbers, names, and rank of 'the members of their lodges, to the secretary of the grand lodge.' And in the rules of the English society, which have undergone various revisions and corrections, the following article appears in the latest editions of 1826, 1833, and 1834. 'No

* Intelligence had reached Canada of the formation of Sir Robert Peel's Administration.

'person can be admitted into this institution for a less fee than '15s., nor advanced into the purple order, after a reasonable pro-'bation, for less than an extra fee of 5s., *except in cases of non-'commissioned officers, soldiers, and sailors,* when the fee of 'admission shall be at the discretion of the committee.'—(Eng. Appendix, 135.) The forgetfulness of the Orange witnesses with respect to the existence of lodges in the army, is almost miraculous. Lord Kenyon, for instance, says, 'with respect to the grand lodge 'of England, I can state most explicitly, that to my own know-'ledge, since I knew His Royal Highness the Duke of York 'had forbidden the establishment of any lodges in the army, I 'not only never have consented to the establishment of any such, 'but I stated distinctly that none such must be granted.' Now the committee reminded Lord Kenyon that the rule we have just quoted formed a part of the code which was frequently revised and amended by his lordship (2752, &c. and 2899). They showed him also another rule equally strong (2738) respecting military lodges;—also eight or nine letters from privates of different regiments respecting their lodges, and addressed to the grand secretary (2793). They informed him that Serjeant Keith is stated, in the circular revised by himself, to have appeared at the grand lodge at his house in Portman Square, as proxy for a regimental lodge, on the 16th April, 1833 (2759). They pointed out to him the letters of Mr Nucella, written in 1833, some of which were read, and all of which are stated to have been praised by him in the grand lodge, and which letters recount Mr Nucella's proceedings with the military lodges at Malta and Corfu (2784). The lodge also put before his lordship the following letter addressed to himself:—

'*Canterbury Barracks, 19th Nov.* 1832.

'My Lord,—I take the liberty of stating that the annual contribution from this lodge was sent in May last to Mr Chetwode, deputy-grand secretary to the loyal Orange institution of Great Britain, the receipt of which has not been noted to me. I hope your lordship will have the kindness to cause an acknowledgment to be sent, as also the present rules and regulations of the institution, as there are none in possession of a later date than 25th March, 1822, with the exception of the opening and closing prayers.

'I have heard that Mr Chetwode is not now in office, and not knowing whom to address, will I trust plead my excuse in thus troubling your lordship.

'In granting my request, your lordship will confer a lasting obligation on myself and brethren of the lodge of the 1st or Royal Dragoons, and I beg leave to subscribe myself,—Your lordship's most obedient and very humble servant, (Signed) THOMAS SHIELDS, 1st Royal Dragoons.

Memory being thus pungently excited, his lordship could not

choose but say, 'A little while ago I gave that answer' (the denial of all knowledge of the existence of military Orange lodges); 'but when this letter, &c. is put in my hand, of course I admit 'I must have known it at that time.' (2766.) After this acknowledgment, when asked by the Committee 'If you had 'perceived that Mr Nucella had established lodges in the army, 'would you have taken steps to stop it?' (2788)—his lordship despondingly replies, 'I have seen so many instances of 'negligence, *that I cannot say what I might have done;* but I 'am persuaded that, consistently with my duty to his Royal 'Highness, I *ought to have* interfered.'

The warrant-book of the Irish grand lodge affords evidence on a larger scale. It appears from this record that there are some *two-and-thirty regiments* to which warrants for holding lodges have been granted by the Irish establishment. Colonel Blacker, the assistant grand secretary, succeeded in showing that only some few of them were dormant or extinct. Still, after making the most liberal allowance for these pleas, there remain in confessed activity the twenty following military warrants, all of which have been issued within a few years.

In 1827,	.	79th regiment.
1829,	.	60th.
1830,	.	15th and 66th regiments.
1831,	.	1st dragoon guards.
1832,	.	50th, 80th, 81st, and 83d regiments.
1833,	.	59th.
1834,	.	1st (two warrants), 70th, 85th, and 89th regiments.
1835,	.	15th hussars, 4th dragoon guards, 1st (2d battalion), 7th and 60th regiments.

But whilst our neighbours in Dublin have been thus actively *recruiting*, their brethren in England have in no degree been idle. This may be gathered from two reports of the Orange lodges in England. The first is corrected up to the year 1830, and contains the numbers of thirty regiments to which warrants have been granted (App. 19, p. 141). The second is without a date, but appears to have been corrected up to a later period than the first, and furnishes a return of thirty-seven military lodges, with short notices respecting their stations, &c. (App. 21, page 157). Several of these lodges also are said to be dormant or extinct. But happily the few letters, with the inspection of which Colonel Fairman indulged the Committee before he absconded with his public-private letter-book, threw light enough to revive many of these so-called *dormant* lodges, and to introduce others not mentioned in those returns. For instance, the lodge of the 50th regiment is stated to be dormant, and that all

correspondence with the 43d had ceased since 1824. Yet (at page 173 of the Appendix) we find, amongst the *private* letters, that the 50th are doing well, having got a warrant from the Dublin grand lodge. 'The 43d have a London warrant, and their 'master is Corporal Lowrey.'—'Please to send us one of the 'last circulars, and by so doing you will much oblige No. 1780. 'I remain yours, JONES KENNES, First Committeeman.'

This is duly indorsed for Serjeant William Walker of the 50th. Other letters mention lodges in the 9th battalion of the artillery (page 173), the 71st regiment (page 181); the 32d, 38th, and 37th (page 198); and that the soldiers of the 12th, 84th, and 86th attended a lodge at the Antelope, at Portsmouth, in 1833 (page 153). Thus, then, we may justly assume there are many more lodges existing in the army than appear on the face of those two returns; although we freely admit, that out of the thirty-seven English, and twenty Irish warrants, which they enumerate, there are a few entered as belonging to both associations, and some may be truly dormant or extinct. But take these returns in any way the most favourable, we shall find, independently of the revelations of the *private* correspondence, that more than *fifty regiments* have, or lately had, Orange lodges established in them, either by the grand lodge of Dublin or of London.

Now, these proceedings are directly contrary to the rules and regulations of the army. So long ago as July, 1822, the Duke of York issued an order against the establishment of Orange lodges in regiments; stating 'that his Royal Highness cannot 'too strongly reprobate a practice so fraught with injury to 'the discipline of the army.' (Second Irish Report, page 12.) This order was repeated in November, 1829, and further enforced by Lord Hill, calling upon commanding officers of regiments to exercise the utmost vigilance to prevent the introduction, and to ascertain the existence of, Orange lodges in their regiments; and to warn their men that their meeting as Orangemen cannot be permitted under any pretence, but 'will subject 'them to trial and punishment for disobedience of orders.' (Second Irish Report, page 12). These orders have been of course most widely circulated. That of 1822 was forthwith embodied in the printed code of rules and regulations, with which every officer is ordered to supply himself (71). It is thus hardly possible, that some of the military officers, who are Orangemen, should have been ignorant of the precise nature of these orders. Indeed, Lord Kenyon refers to a conversation respecting them in the grand lodge with his Royal Highness (2712). 'One 'of the first things,' he says, 'that occurred subsequently to the 'vote that his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland should 'become grand master was a matter of that description,—(military

'lodges)—on which occasion I recalled to His Royal Highness's 'attention that order of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, 'and he most explicitly stated that no such Orange lodge should 'be allowed to be established in any regiment.' This settles the question as to the cognizance of the leaders of the English association. With respect to the Irish, Mr Stewart Blacker admits, 'that to his own knowledge there is a vast difference of opinion 'on that subject with many of the intelligent and influential 'members belonging to the grand lodge of Ireland. Some do 'not think it right, or proper, or conducive to the well-being and 'discipline of the army in general that such societies should 'exist; but they have been overborne by a certain majority on 'that point.'—(Irish Report, 2327).

But the official despatches of Mr Nucella, the continental grand commissioner, or missionary-in-chief to our garrisons in the Mediterranean, afford the most decisive evidence. We say official; because Mr Nucella had full authority from the grand lodge for his proceedings (390); and his reports were addressed to Colonel Fairman, as secretary to the society, and read at the meetings of the grand lodge in Portman Square. (Report, 3 Appendix, 57). This special commission, or itinerant warrant, empowering him to form lodges, &c., was signed by his Royal Highness the grand master. (3091, 412, 416–419). It was displayed by him at Malta and elsewhere to those to whom he was accredited; and was received by them with the utmost respect and submission. He passed rapidly through Italy, and thence to Malta. In a report, dated 4th October, 1833, he says, 'Out of the four regiments here, I find that only the 42d 'and 94th are sitting under warrants; but the other regiments, 'the 7th and 73d, have only precepts from the 42d. I shall there-'fore grant S. Procter, of the 7th, and Charles Staples, of the 73d, 'warrants—subject *to the approbation and confirmation of our royal* '*grand master*. I shall communicate to the four regiments the 'new system, and perhaps be able to establish a lodge for the 'artillery companies;' also 'a permanent lodge amongst the 'respectable Protestant English residents of Malta.' His next despatch (Malta, 31st October) reports, 'that he had attended 'every lodge that had been held since his arrival;' and that he was preparing returns, &c., when his career was interrupted by the commanding officer of the 42d. 'I am sorry to have 'to state to you, that lodge No. 104 is prevented from as-'sembling by the commanding officer, Major Middleton, who 'threatened to bring any man of his regiment to a court-'martial, who should so assemble, after his public notice forbid-'ding such assemblage. As soon as it was reported to me, I 'waited on the major, and expostulated with him on the subject,

'showing him the printed papers I brought with me, &c. His 'reply was most gentlemanly and friendly, and he even went so 'far as to say, he agreed with our principles, but he felt himself 'bound to act as he did, as commanding officer of the regiment, 'under an order in his possession from the commander-in-chief, 'dated so far back as 1829. I answered that I could only ex- 'press my astonishment at such an order, as our principle was 'obedience to the laws, and *had nothing to do with political dis- 'cussions*, and that I should report the whole to our grand lodge. 'The consequence has been, that the master and brethren have '(I think prematurely) burnt their books, papers, sashes, and 'every thing belonging to their lodge, except their warrant, 'and would have burnt that, but from my assuring them that they 'had no right to do so, as it belonged to the grand lodge; and 'I counselled them to advise with the grand lodge as to the 'warrant, telling them their lodge, in my opinion, still existed as 'firmly as ever.' This was a check which ought, we should think, to have deterred any 'loyal and devoted' man from continuing to expose the soldiers to punishment by leading them to set at naught the general orders of the army. But not so Mr Nucella, who confesses (3191) that he attended a lodge of the 7th Fusileers, after this interview with Major Middleton. When pressed by the Committee for an explanation of this unwarrantable conduct, he replies (3138), 'I took it for granted the commanding officer did 'not object, because, if I had heard that he did, I should have 'quitted the lodge immediately.' Had not Major Middleton told him that military lodges were contrary to express orders, and that attendance on them subjected soldiers to punishment? We next find him at Corfu, from whence he writes, 26th November, 1833, as follows:—'I have been baffled in my endeavours to 'obtain either the sanction or the tacit acquiescence of Lord Nu- 'gent to the establishment of a permanent lodge among the civi- 'lians of this island,' adding, 'that his excellency expressed to me, 'though in terms of kindness and politeness, his marked disappro- 'bation at such an establishment in this city.' He had no better success with Sir Alexander Woodford:—'I am grievously dis- 'appointed,' he says, 'for I have found here that no lodge is 'permitted to assemble, nor will be, the Commander-in-Chief 'of the Ionian Islands (all which I had intended to visit, but 'this now became unnecessary) feeling himself obliged to act 'under an order from the Horse Guards, prohibiting the soldier 'from holding or sitting in any lodge whatever.' How little this person cared for these orders, appears from another part of the same despatch, where he says,—'In the mean time, as the two 'lodges in regiments are actually sitting there (at Malta) under 'the warrants I granted them, as I informed you in a former de-

'spatch, both they and I wish you would send them out the regular 'warrants, under such numbers as the grand lodge may choose.'

On Mr Nucella's return to England, he was greeted with the following vote of thanks from the grand committee. 'Having heard read the highly interesting, important, and valuable 'communications of Brother Nucella, from Corfu, Malta, and 'other remote places, of various dates, during a tour no less 'extensive than useful, your grand committee beg to offer him 'their warmest congratulations, &c. The acceptable proofs he 'has afforded on all occasions of his unremitting zeal to promote the objects and to extend the principles of our institution, have been such as cannot fail to ensure the approbation of the grand lodge. In bearing this testimony to his 'merits, the committee would be guilty of great injustice were 'they not to recommend him strongly for some especial mark 'of honour for the heavy claim he has established on the gratitude of the high dignitaries, and of the brotherhood in general.' This was followed by a similar vote from the grand lodge, assembled under the presidency of the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Kenyon, Lord Wyndford, &c., on the 9th June, 1834,—Declaring, that '*the zealous exertions of Brother Nucella, as 'detailed in his letters, afforded high gratification, and called 'forth the unanimous approbation of the grand lodge.*'—(1st Report, Appendix, 57.)

We confess we cannot conceive how proof can be carried further, or conviction brought nearer home. Therefore, when we mention the correspondence of the grand lodge within these last two or three years with soldiers in Bermuda, Canada, New South Wales, Gibraltar, and Corfu, it is with no view of strengthening our proofs, but of showing the dangerous extent to which these mal-practices have lately been carried; as well as the systematic perseverance with which soldiers have been entrapped into disobedience of orders by a society of officers, gentlemen, and peers! When warrants are sent forth, bearing the sign manual of a Prince of the Blood, and supported by a long array of great names, it is little surprising that men of humble station should be seduced from their duty by the ambition of becoming their brethren, correspondents, and associates. It says much for the good sense of the soldiers, and the vigilance of their officers, that more have not been so seduced. But while we say this, we must remember that the Committee were favoured only with such letters as Colonel Fairman chose to read to them from the private-public letter-book with which he absconded, and which may be supposed to contain clues to other, and deeper proceedings. Enough has been discovered to compel even Orangemen to acknowledge,—

1. The existence to a great extent of Orange lodges in the army.

2. The knowledge of these by the principal and directing members of the associations both of Dublin and London.

3. Their knowledge also of express orders from the Horse Guards, prohibiting them.

And, 4thly, The encouragement and sanction given by the Orange body, and its leading members, to the continuance and establishment of such lodges, notwithstanding their knowledge of orders, and of their enforcement by the commanding officers of regiments.

On the 5th August, 1835, (2 Irish Rep. p. 3), his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland wrote to Mr Wilson Patten, the chairman of the committee, a letter in which he states that 'Having understood that an impression is prevalent that I, as grand 'master of the Orange institution in Great Britain and Ireland, have 'countenanced, and even issued warrants to various regiments in 'his Majesty's service, I beg positively to deny the fact, nay even, 'that when such a proposal was made to me, I instantly declined 'it, saying that it was contrary to the regulations and orders issued 'from the Horse Guards; and I therefore know of no lodge in any 'regiment.' His Royal Highness then mentions the encouragement which he considers their late Majesties George the Third and Fourth showed to Orangeism in 1798; and thus concludes— 'I certainly have issued *no* warrant to that effect, as I have be-'fore said. It is true I have signed many blank warrants, as far 'as they have no specific number of the lodge, or even name. 'They came to me previously signed by the deputy grand mas-'ter in Ireland, the grand treasurer, and the grand secretary.'

Colonel Fairman's, Mr Nucella's, and Lord Kenyon's examination before the English committee took place between the day when this letter was written and the 24th of August. Sergeant Hame's letters, Mr Nucella's despatches, Sergeant Keith's presence in the grand lodge, the special rules of 1826, 1833, and 1834, offering a premium on the admission of soldiers and sailors, all were then, it seems for the first time, heard of by the deceived and astonished grand master! The consequence was the following letter to the members of the Orange Institution:—

'*August* 24.

'Having learned, through the especial information of the deputy grand master of England and Wales, that, owing to acknowledged indiscretion and negligence on his own part, and a like indiscretion or negligence, as he reports, on the part of other officers of the Orange institution, many grants of warrants, or renewals of former grants, have without my knowledge, and contrary to my declared determination, been issued from time to time in contravention of the order of the late illustrious com-

mander-in-chief, his Royal Highness the Duke of York. This instrument is signed by me, and countersigned by the deputy grand master of the Orange institution of England and Wales, for the purpose of declaring that all warrants held by any persons in any regiment belonging to his Majesty's service must henceforth be considered as null and void. It having been further notified to me by the deputy grand master of England and Wales, that an irregularity inconsistent with the due construction of law has by his oversight been allowed to creep into the last published rules and regulations of the society, by which district lodges are acknowledged to exist instead of distinct warrants issued to individuals.

(Signed) 'Ernest, Grand Master.
Witness, 'Kenyon, Deputy Grand Master.'

This document was communicated to the committee, who most respectfully offered his Royal Highness an opportunity of recalling his recollections, and of making any further explanations he might think proper to give on the important subject under their consideration. This was declined, and here the personal enquiry ends. We have no wish to pursue it. But we must be allowed to congratulate the country on the discovery of a systematic course of tampering with the discipline and integrity of the army, which seems to have been most actively carried on since the death of George the Fourth.

We now come to consider the political tendencies of Orangeism. Colonel Verner says the society has never interfered as a body in any political question (Irish Rep. 454). Lord Kenyon considers the society to be a religious institution (2650), and the Rev. Murtough O'Sullivan calls it 'the most ancient, the 'best, and most sacred of institutions' (Eng. Rep. App. 77). We are much at a loss to find any theory by which to reconcile such *glaring inconsistency of words and deeds.* The address (Eng. Rep. App. 63) to the imperial grand master, at the first grand lodge after the return to power of the Tories, states, that 'as dutiful subjects we humbly beg leave to ap-'proach your Royal Highness with an assurance of our unfeigned 'and most fervent attachment to the person and government 'of the King, and with our full recognition of his Majesty's 'inherent and constitutional right to exercise on all occasions 'his royal prerogative in the dismissal or selection of those ser-'vants by whom the councils of the Crown are to be regulated. 'In respectfully offering to our illustrious grand master the 'homage of our profound reverence and brotherly affection, we 'farther crave leave to declare our veneration for the altar, and 'our unshaken sentiments of allegiance to the throne, nor can we 'refrain from expressing the just indignation with which we are 'deeply penetrated by the menaces and assaults so profanely

'levelled by the impious at those holiest of our establishments, 'who, in raising up their sacrilegious hands against the sanctity 'of each under the pretext of reform, secretly contemplate the 'ultimate overthrow of both. At such a crisis of alarm, when 'the very existence of institutions the most sacred, is undis-'guisedly threatened, not to rally round them would be the 'height of criminality. We fondly hope, therefore, it may not 'be deemed obtrusive in us as Orangemen thus spontaneously 'to record our firm and unalterable determination to defend *the 'Church and State in all their indissolubilities*, from a thorough 'conviction that their severance would be attended with immi-'nent risk to the national religion and ancient monarchy, if not 'the absolute ruin of social order and civil liberty, of which we 'reckon their inviolable junction the surest, nay the only sure 'safeguard.' This affectionate address concludes with the hope, 'That with an uninterrupted enjoyment of health, your Royal 'Highness's active and valuable life may be prolonged, *to watch 'over the destinies of this nation*, with the same vigilance and 'energy you have so fearlessly manifested throughout your en-'viable career, to support the Protestant ascendency, and the 'consequent advancement of the repose, the welfare, and glory 'of the empire, which, by the mercy of Providence, has been '*so miraculously rescued from the brink of destruction.*'

Lest our readers should be tempted to consider this the mere trash of an Orange pot-house, we hasten to inform them that the address bears the signatures of a vice-president of the Royal Society of literature, no less reverend a personage than the Bishop of Salisbury, together with those of the Duke of Gordon, Marquises of Thomond and Chandos, Lords Roden, Cole, Wynford, Kenyon, &c., Colonels Verner and Percival, Henry Maxwell, M.P., Edward Nucella, &c. &c. The reply of his Royal Highness is perfectly worthy of the address. After thanking these lords and gentlemen, and rendering meet praises to 'the loyal and re-'ligious institution' for the great and manifold benefits that have arisen from it, the illustrious grand master proceeds to notice 'the 'clamours raised by a factious body of our opponents, now notori-'ously known by the name of destructives, charging us with pro-'ceedings which they have the *effrontery to denounce as illegal.* 'But by unity, by amicable and strenuous co-operation, which 'ought to prevail throughout this institution, we can alone expect 'to maintain our *proud supremacy over a faction devoid of all ho-'nour and principle;* whose object is to malign us in every way, 'and whose partisans, in their hearts, *cherish a wish to overthrow 'the most perfect system of government that was ever framed by 'human* wisdom; and after sowing the seeds of anarchy to *faci-'litate their schemes of plunder*, to set up in their stead some

'baseless fabric of their own,' &c. 'I cannot impress too forci-
'bly upon your minds the fact, that it is only by perfect unani-
'mity and the most harmonious proceedings—by unceasing in-
'defatigability, and the most steadfast adherence to that line of
'policy we have hitherto practised, such demagogues can be
'successfully deterred from the commission of further ravages
'and unheard-of encroachments. During no period were your
'services so much required as at the present; things are going on
'rapidly from bad to worse, and unless a *seasonable check* be in-
'terposed, our end must be awful in the extreme. With ingre-
'dients the most pernicious and inflammable the political hemis-
'phere is now pregnant and labouring. It *remains with us*
'*consequently to administer such alternatives* as may effectually
'prevent the additional inroads of those firebrands, to whose mis-
'chievous aims an allusion has already been made.' After other matter of an equally *unpolitical* strain, delivered in language equally choice and dignified with that above exemplified, his Royal Highness proceeds to dismiss the assembly in a form strikingly similar to that usually adopted from the throne.—'My
'lords and gentlemen, I thank you very much for the confidence
'you repose in me as the grand master of this loyal, religious, and
'highly useful institution, through whose valour Ireland was re-
'scued, as Great Britain yet may be, from the horrors of a rebel-
'lion and an intestine war. I feel grateful for the manner in
'which it is conveyed to me, and I can assure you it will in future
'be my study, as it has always been my undeavour, to sustain
'those principles I have professed through life, and which have
'called forth tributes no less welcome to me than worthy of
'yourselves.'

To our plain apprehensions these proceedings savour strongly *of politics*. But, proceeding in our usual course, we shall state a few facts illustrative of the *political uses* to which this most sacred of institutions has been turned.

In the first place, it is usual to expel members for voting for liberal candidates. See the case of Mr Whittles and others (3223, English Report), which occurred no later than the election for Rochdale in 1835. Mr Swan, the assistant secretary to the Irish association, distinctly avows that the Orange body interferes in the election of members of Parliament (Irish Report, 1536 and 1545), and in the registration of voters. He admits several recent instances: a resolution of the grand lodge of the 7th January, 1835, says, 'we
'pledge ourselves by every means in our power to support, at
'the forthcoming election for the city of Dublin, the constitu-
'tional candidates, G. A. Hamilton and John West, who have

'so fearlessly come forward to rescue this city (Dublin) from 'the hands of the enemy of his country.'—(Irish Report, 1542).

This rescuing was attempted more boldly, though not more successfully at Trim. Mr Randall Plunkett and Mr Lambert were candidates for the county of Meath at the last election. Mr Plunkett is grand master, and Mr Lambert grand treasurer of the county grand lodge. Trim is the polling place. Dr Mullen, a physician, residing at Drumshaughlen in the county, states (Irish Report, No. 3, pp. 1, 2), that a body of 200 armed Orangemen from the neighbouring counties marched into Trim, two and two abreast on the first day of the poll. They were headed by a clergyman, the Rev. Mr Preston of Kilmeague. Dr Mullin was here asked, had the Rev. gentleman a crucifix in his hand? 'No, he had a pistol in his hand' (6101). The police, who also offered every obstruction to the voters on the liberal side, admitted this armed body of strangers into the court-house whilst the polling was going on; and Sir William Somerville, the high sheriff, actually took a dagger from one of them in court (6098-9). During the election they were gratuitously lodged in the gaols, and had the use of the county beds and bedding. The gaol committee, consisted of county magistrates, all of them (with the exception of Lord Killeen, who was absent) being supporters of the Orange candidates (6201). After the election these Orangemen marched home through Kells, where they murdered a Roman Catholic, for which three of them are to take their trial.* (6105, &c). Mr Plunkett published an address, in which he says, 'to 'those brave Orangemen who attended me at Trim, my thanks 'are here due for the *protection* they afforded me.' Dr Mullen distinctly states that there were sufficient military and police present to keep the peace during the election, and that Mr Plunkett's voters were not in the least obstructed (6174).

From the useful *protection* afforded to their chiefs by the 200 armed Orangemen at Trim, we may pass to the well-organized Orange meetings of 3000 at Dublin, 5000 at Bandon, 30,000 at Cavan, and 75,000 at Hillsborough. These all took place in well-appointed order, and in compliance, as Orangemen declare, with an interpretation, which we humbly submit to be more loose than loyal, of a hint, as they are pleased to call it, from his Majesty, that they should 'speak out' (Irish Report,

* The trial of these prisoners came on at the March assizes, but, as the jury could not agree upon their verdict, it has been postponed till the summer. As a proof of the miserable party spirit which perverts the administration of the law, we add, that the jury was composed of six Catholics, and six Protestants, the first six were for convicting, the last six for acquitting the prisoners (6143).

1 Appendix, 76). But lest the import and use of these meetings should be misunderstood, the official circular which thus boasts of them, says, 'In conclusion, brethren, we cannot impress 'on you too strongly to be on the alert. It is impossible not to 'foresee, that the present state of things cannot much longer 'exist, and we may soon, very soon be called upon to exert our 'best energies either in a political or *real contest for our hearths* 'and altars. It is needless for us to point out to you the neces- 'sity of standing firmly together and acting in concert, and not 'to allow any private pique among ourselves, or ancient preju- 'dices against certain influential characters for infraction of pro- 'mises, or dereliction from public duty, which may have arisen 'from mistaken views (and appear to be sincerely repented of) to 'stand in the path of public duty, and thus, by the slightest ap- 'pearance of division among ourselves, again permit the intrusion 'into power and ascendency of persons who would prostrate the 'Protestant institutions of this country beneath the feet of hireling 'demagogues and Popish priests.' *

Not content with the wealth and numbers of their own association, the Orangemen have lately been holding forth the hand of confederation to the Brunswick and Conservative clubs of England and Ireland (Irish Report, 1 Appendix, 73, English Report, Appendix, 98). Nay, they have even set on foot a sort of scheme for the very thing, which of all others, they profess most to abominate. It is suggested (Irish Report, 1 Appendix, 76, English Report, Appendix, 97) that the country should be parcelled out into baronies, districts, and divisions, for the collection and transmission of contributions towards forming 'a 'National Protestant Fund.' That weekly domiciliary visits should be established 'for the reception of even the smallest sums 'from the poorest persons at the most convenient periods.' 'That 'the fund be intrusted to Lord Roden, Lord Lorton, and Lord 'Enniskillen;' and 'subscriptions received by Lieut. Col. Fair- 'man, at the office of the Orange Institution, Cannon Row, 'Westminster.' What is this but the so much denied O'Connell *rent* in an Orange envelope? And yet these good men cross their arms and thank their God they are not as other men are, *rent collectors*, *association formers*, *agitators*, even as this O'Connell's is!

Their address—'To the Members of the Carlton Club, and 'to the Conservatives of England,' is edifying. (English Report, Appendix, 113, 114, 115). It sets forth the necessity

* This address of the Irish grand lodges was so highly approved of by their brethren in England, that they republished it in a kind of second edition of their own circular of the 16th Feb., 1835. Appendix, 71.

and advantages of 'consolidating resources,' which, 'by or-'ganization and good management,' acting 'in concert with 'promptitude and vigour *out of Parliament*, may arrest the 'whelming torrent within;' and of 'giving courage to their 'friends in both Houses, by *the ostensibility of physical weight*:' 'And where,' it says, can be found 'such an union, such a 'nucleus for useful expansion, as the Loyal Orange Associa-'tion?' 'It is governed,' they say, 'by a grand master, the 'first prince of the blood, who, with the aid of noblemen and 'gentlemen eminent for loyalty, wisdom, and sound discretion, 'will be able (when the institution shall become more exten-'sively ramified) to muster, in every part of the empire, no small 'portion of all that is sound in the community, and thus present, 'in every quarter, a phalanx too strong to be overpowered by 'the Destructives—which will give a moral, as well as known '*physical strength* to the government of the King, and will 'enable it to set at defiance the tyrannous power that has been 'so madly called into existence. Even in ordinary times, the 'Orange institution can be made eminently useful, for the pur-'pose of intercourse between the higher, the middle, and the 'lower orders, not only in cementing that mutual regard and 'respect without which the social system must ever be incom-'plete and insecure, but as a desirable medium of facilitating cor-'respondence with bodies and individuals upon all points in 'which concert is absolutely necessary to defeat the insidious or 'audacious assaults of the levellers.'

Our task is now nearly complete. We have seen enough of 'the proceedings, extent, and tendency of the Orange Institu-'tions of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies,' to feel satisfied, that the existence of this 'oldest, best, and most sacred of insti-'tutions' is not for the peace or well-being of the community. It may be objected, that many of its proceedings are so silly, that they can scarcely be dangerous. But this is a mistake. The Orangemen, and more especially the Irish Orangemen, have had a firm, and fierce faith, in the truth and righteousness, and utility of their pernicious institution. Founded on principles of exclusiveness and insolence, they have believed themselves to be meek and charitable;—existing as a privileged minority amongst a conquered and oppressed population, they have considered themselves the injured and offended;—combining against, or acting beyond the law, they have thought themselves the most loyal of subjects;—and reprobating bigotry, they have been at best but the bigoted persecutors of imputed bigotry. There are many, too, who have entered and used the Association as a stepping-stone to power and connexion; or who have seen in it an engine well fitted for securing that ascendency in

Church and State, which has been a fruitful source of ascendency in patronage and pelf to them and their party.

There can be no doubt, that Orangeism has been, and continues to be, hurtful to the very cause and principles *it professes* to support. Our charges against it are,

That it has rendered Protestantism weaker than it found it.

That it has fomented hostile and intolerant feelings between co-sects of the Christian religion.

That by its annual processions and commemorations of epochs of party triumph, it has exasperated and transmitted ancient feuds which have frequently led to riots, with loss of property and life.

That in consequence of the civil and religious antipathies thus engendered, the administration of justice in all its departments, whether of the bench, the jury, or the witness box, has become tainted or suspected.

That, prompted by the encouragement or remissness of former administrations, the ambition or presumption of individuals has at length organized an association of nearly half a million of men, held together by secret signs, and an affiliation kept up throughout the empire, contrary to law.

That this society has strengthened itself by secretly introducing its lodges amongst the privates of more than fifty regiments, both at home and on foreign service; contrary to the known rules and regulations of the army. That gatherings, or demonstrations of physical strength, have been recommended by the executive authorities of the society both in England and in Ireland, and have frequently taken place to a great extent.

That this association, addressing itself to the religious passions of the multitude, is placed under the absolute command of a Prince of the Blood, who, as imperial grand master, has, amongst other powers, that of assembling the whole Orange body, as far as practicable, at any given place or time.

These are grave charges. We have carefully quoted the authorities upon which they are founded. It is for the country and for Parliament to decide how far the charges are true, and what remedies ought to be applied. But there is a distinction to be observed in the working and mischiefs of Orangeism in England and in Ireland. In the one country they are direct, immediate, and illegal; in the other, contingent and unconstitutional. In the one they are acts, in the other menaces. In both the remedy is the same—a due enforcement of the law by a vigilant, firm, and impartial Government. All notions of additional enactments against Orangeism, or of prosecution of Orangemen for past misdeeds, are at least idle. They might create a reaction in favour of the very society they were framed to put down. For the efficiency of all law lies not in its sharp fangs, but in the

harmony of its enactments with public opinion. That opinion is already pronounced against Orangeism; and cannot fail to be more strongly expressed, when its misdeeds shall become generally known. And of law there is abundance in Ireland against all possible offences. The deficiency has been not in the parchment, but in the flesh and blood,—in the officers who were to interpret and to carry it into effect; more especially when the questions at issue concerned party proceedings. The long patronage or countenance afforded by Tory governments to Orangeism has filled many offices of the state, and more especially the magistracy, with its members. Now it is not in the nature of things that those persons should, even with the most honest intentions, be able to decide fairly on Orange and party matters. On the contrary, we have seen criminal neglect of duty on such occasions imputed, on high authority, to magistrates, in other matters respected and respectable. Some of them have been removed from the bench. But this has been for some specific neglect or transgression of duty, and not *because they were Orangemen.* This is the point at which we wish to arrive. Lord Hill has already set the example. The following order was issued on the day that the last grand lodge met in Portman Square:—'Lord Hill has reason to 'apprehend that the orders, prohibiting the introduction of 'Orange lodges into the army, have not been duly communicated 'to the non-commissioned officers and privates, or, if communi-'cated, that they have not been explained and understood. His 'lordship now refers the commanding officers of regiments to the 'confidential circulars of the 1st July, 1822, and the 14th No-'vember, 1829, upon the foregoing subject, and declares that any 'officers, non-commissioned officers, or soldiers, who shall hereafter 'institute, or countenance an Orange lodge, or any other meeting 'or society whatsoever, for party purposes, in barracks, quarters, 'or camp, shall be brought to trial before a general court-martial 'for disobedience of orders. His lordship, moreover, perempto-'rily forbids the attendance of either officer or soldier at Orange 'lodges, by whomsoever or wheresoever held.'

We anxiously wait to see what course will be pursued by, or regarding Field-marshal the Duke of Cumberland, General the Duke of Gordon, Colonel Verner, Colonel Percival, and other Orange officers. If a reply to an address from an Irish Orange lodge which appeared in the daily papers on the 19th of December last, and which bore the signature of 'Ernest, Grand 'Master,' be correct,—then we presume his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland has made his election, and prefers the absolute power and dignity of the grand mastership of an illegal or forbidden association, to the honour of being a Field-marshal in the British army.

But if abstinence from party politics is necessary in the Army, is it less so on the Bench, and in the general administration of Law? We cannot doubt, that Parliament will express so strong an opinion in favour of purging justice from all party taint, as will support the Government in issuing and enforcing an order similar to Lord Hill's. Lord Mulgrave has already manfully placed his foot on that path, by resolutely withstanding all Orange accessions to office. But he has as wisely waited for the expression of the opinion of Parliament upon the Orange misdemeanours now revealed, before proceeding to the further, but equally necessary measure of declaring that no man should hold a Commission of the Peace, or any place under the crown, who is an Orangeman. This would bring the matter to issue, between the leaders of Orangeism and the Government. At all events, until measures be taken whereby the rulers and chiefs of Orangeism may be checked, the prosecution of the misguided tenants and followers for riots and processions is a mockery and an injustice.

But if Orangemen are to be removed from office, who are they to whom such removal can be intrusted? It is absurd to suppose that the Tories will put down their old allies and fast supporters. By the pressure of political emergencies they are occasionally thrown apart. The Tory concedes with tears, and the Orangeman hears of his concessions with rage and execration; but time flows on; 'ancient prejudices against certain influential characters for infraction of promises, or dereliction from public duty* 'are forgiven;' and both unite against the common foe, — the friends of civil and religious liberty.

This was the case no later than last year, when the address, just referred to, was published, and when the Tory Government formed a *real, substantial, official coalition of Tories and Orangemen.* They swore in three noted Orangemen, or abettors of Orangeism, as Irish Privy Counsellors; the sons of the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Enniskillen held office; and Lord Roden was offered the appointment which brought him nearest the person of his sovereign. It must be remembered, too, that this trust, and these favours, were conferred on Orangemen when the Tory Government were most anxious to keep up an appearance of liberality,—when, in fact, they were fishing for the support of Lord Stanley, in order to place him in the same landing-net with Mr Recorder Shaw. Are these then the men to put down Orangeism?

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* Address of Irish Grand Lodge, 12th November, 1834, re-copied by English Grand Lodge, 16th February, 1835. English Appendix, page 71.

But, if the Tories could not formerly carry on their government without the Orangemen, then how should they now, when Orangemen are stronger, and they themselves are weakened by their open coalition with them? In fact, they have been in a false position ever since the breaking up of Lord Liverpool's Administration, when the split took place, which was the close of their long reign. Since then, all has been make shift or give way. They are too weak to stand alone, and they know it. With one hand leaning upon Orangeism, they beckon, with the other, to a fraction of the liberal party. One thing is certain; namely, that in such a ticklish union, the Tories would not destroy, though they might not be unwilling temporarily to put in the shade, their *corps de reserve*—for, without the Orangemen behind them, they would be at the mercy of Lord Stanley.

But we verily believe the Tories have no hopes, nor any very sincere desire for an alliance with Lord Stanley's small party. Their affections tend in an opposite direction. Already many of them have gone over to the Orange Tabernacle. Their object is, to set up a 'no Popery' cry—and what is this but Orangeism? The writings, the preachings, the speeches of the party tend this way. But by thus regaining office, although the administration might be Tory or Conservative, or Conforming or Reforming in name, it would be Orange in spirit. Sir Robert Peel might, and, no doubt, would, as in the last session, just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike, when pressed on Orange matters; but he would not the less give 'very gracious answers' from the Throne to their addresses; and seats on the bench of the magistracy, in the Treasury, or in the Cabinet, to their leaders or abettors. He neither could, nor would, break with them. He was not strong enough to do, or to attempt it before, much less now.

In conclusion, we have shown the mischiefs which Orangeism inflicts on Ireland, and the dangers with which it threatens the empire. We have shown the necessity, and the means of putting it down. We have shown who both can, and wish to put it down; also who neither can, nor whose interest it is that it should be put down. All, therefore, who desire the continuance of Orangeism, and the raising of the No Popery cry, will band together against the present Government. Its existence, and that of Orangeism, are in an inverse ratio to one another.

No. CXXVII. will be published in April.

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Printed by Ballantyne and Company, Paul's Work, Edinburgh.

FL-9-5-53

Author Edinburgh Review 19471 P LE E

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